A N

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. XIII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καταιόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἰυρήσιις ἀκόπως, ὥσιρ ἕτιροι συνῆξαν ἰγκόπως. Baſil Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLVI.

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AN

Univerſal Hiſtory.

CHAP. XIII.

The hiſtory of Rome *from the death of* Pompey *to the death of* Cæſar.

Honours heaped upon Cæſar *at* Rome.

WHEN the news of *Pompey*'s death reached *Rome*, the ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould heap moſt honours on the conqueror, now become abſolute maſter of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was, by the unanimous conſent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed conſul for five years, named dictator, contrary to the antient cuſtom, not for ſix months only, but for a whole year, declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; impowered to make peace and war with whom he pleaſed, to levy what forces he thought fit, *&c.* ſo that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in *Cæſar* alone, who, without any violence or proſcriptions, was raiſed to a higher pitch of power and authority, than *Sylla* had acquired by the death and banithment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in perſon to *Rome*, to take poſſeſſion of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed *Marc Antony*, his general of the horſe, and ſent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of *Italy* during his abſence. As for the dictator himſelf, after he had put an end to the war of *Alexandria*, and ſettled his favourite *Cleopatra* on the throne of *Egypt*, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Aſia* againſt *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Boſporus*, ſon of *Mithridates*

Cæſar marches againſt Pharnaces.

ridates the Great, who finding the *Romans* engaged in a civil war, laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Aſia*. In the very beginning of the troubles, he raiſed a powerful army, and, appointing *Aſander* governor of *Boſporus* in his abſence, he paſſed the *Euxine* ſea, and made himſelf maſter of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and ſeveral places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cæſar* had ſent *Domitius Calvinus* with part of his army againſt him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*; but *Pharnaces*, having overcome *Domitius* in a pitched battle, made himſelf maſter of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*. Puffed up with this ſucceſs, he treated the *Roman* merchants and publicans, who reſided at *Amiſus* the capital of *Pontus* with great cruelty; and having ſeized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to paſs from thence into the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called. This extraordinary progreſs at length rouſed *Cæſar*, who was ſpending his time in wanton dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, he haſtened with the reſt into *Syria*; and, having appointed *Sextus Cæſar*, his relation, governor of that province, he purſued his march northward againſt *Pharnaces*. As he paſſed through *Galatia*, *Dejotarus*, who had ſided with *Pompey* and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator, in the habit of a ſuppliant and ſtripped of his royal robes, begging, he would extend to him the effects of that clemency, which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his ſubmiſſion or praiſes; but nevertheleſs, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, and reſtored to him the enſigns of royalty; but at the ſame time ordered him to ſend forthwith to his aſſiſtance the legion, which he had trained up in the *Roman* diſcipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed againſt *Pharnaces*. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Pharnaces* had reconquered, and, without giving any reſpite either to himſelf or his troops, or hearkening to the propoſals of peace, which the king made, with no other view, but to gain time, he advanced againſt him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory, an account of which he wrote to his friend *Aminitius*, or *Anitius* in the following words *Veni*, *vidi*, *vici*, *I came*, *I ſaw*, *I conquered*; which, being all diſſyllables, and having the ſame cadence, happily expreſs the diſpatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where *Triarius* had been formerly defeated by *Mithridates*, repaired the honour of the

Pardons Dejoratus.

Defeats Pharnaces.

the *Roman* arms. After this defeat, *Pharnaces* fled with a thouſand horſe, the only remains of his vanquiſhed army, to *Sinope*, where he cauſed the horſes to be killed, and putting the men on board his ſhips in that port, he ſailed with them back to *Boſporus*; but he was no ſooner landed, than *Aſander*, whom he had left his lieutenant in that kingdom, and who, in his abſence, had ſet up for himſelf, ſeized him, and, having put him to death, reigned in his ſtead. Hereupon *Cæſar* gave *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* that kingdom, as a reward for the eminent ſervices he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the hiſtory of that kingdom. But *Cæſar*, in declaring him king of *Boſporus*, gave him only an empty title; for, *Aſander* being in poſſeſſion of it, he was to recover it by force of arms, in which attempt he loſt his life, inſtead of gaining the crown, being overcome and ſlain in battle by *Aſander*, who held the kingdom without any further oppoſition, the *Romans* not being at leiſure, on account of the inteſtine broils that ſtill continued among them, to give him any diſturbance [q].

Sets out for Rome.

AND now *Cæſar* having ſettled affairs in *Aſia* in the beſt manner he could, and left *Cælius Vinicianus* in *Pontus*, to keep that kingdom in awe, ſet out for *Rome*, attended only with one legion. He paſſed through *Aſia*, and from thence croſſed over into *Greece*, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quæſtors at *Rome*. His ſudden arrival in *Italy* filled ſome with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the ſenate and people in ſuſpenſe. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconſiderate zeal of ſome rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of *Sylla* and his uncle *Marius*, than the dictates of his own good-nature. *Cicero* was one of the firſt who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for *Pompey*, and, after his defeat, returned to *Italy*, where he had lived at ſome diſtance from the capital, not caring to appear there, till he had obtained his pardon of *Cæſar*. He therefore no ſooner heard, that the dictator was landed at *Tarentum* and was marching from thence to *Brundufium*, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and reſpect. *Cæſar*, who knew him while he was yet at ſome diſtance, in order to ſave him the confuſion of making ſubmiſſi-

How he received Cicero.

[q] DIO. l. xlii. PLUT. in Cæſ. APPIAN. in Mithridat. p. 254. SUET. in Jul. HIRT. de bell. Alexand.

ons, not ſuitable to the rank he had held in the republic, diſmounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked a great while with him alone, without ſhewing the leaſt diſſatisfaction, or taking any notice of his paſt behaviour. *Cicero* was greatly taken with this kind reception; but nevertheleſs thought it adviſeable to keep at a diſtance from the capital, whither he repaired very ſeldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and compoſed moſt of thoſe books, which will be the admiration of all ages. *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother, who had formerly ſerved under the dictator in *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow *Pompey*; but, notwithſtanding his ingratitude, *Cæſar* pardoned him, at the earneſt intreaties of *Aulus Hirtius*, *Caius Trebonius*, and the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, the orator's inſeparable friend, even in his greateſt misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms againſt him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindneſs, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, ſo different from that of *Sylla* and *Marius*, gained him the affections of the people, and drew over great numbers of ſenators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and uſurper. He entered *Rome* without the leaſt pomp or ſhow, being attended only by a ſmall number of legionaries; and finding great diſturbances in the city, occaſioned by a miſunderſtanding between *Marc Antony*, his general of the horſe, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no leſs attached to *Cæſar*'s intereſt than *Antony* himſelf, he reſtored *Rome* to its former tranquillity, and eaſily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which *Dolabella* had propoſed, containing an abolition of all debts. This law had occaſioned the miſunderſtanding between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, the former oppoſing it to the utmoſt of his power, and the latter ſtirring up the poor and meaner ſort of citizens to get it paſſed by force. Matters were carried ſo far, that *Antony* was ordered by the ſenate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in the very forum, between *Antony* and his legionaries on one ſide, and *Dolabella* at the head of the inſolvent debtors on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldneſs, eight hundred of them being killed upon the ſpot; whereas the general of the horſe loſt only a very ſmall number of his men in the fray. *Cæſar*'s preſence put an end to all diſturbances. As he ſeemed to diſapprove

His clemency.

Enters Rome.

Appeaſes the diſturbances he found in the city.

prove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave both the ſenate and people in the full poſſeſſion of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppoſe or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was viſible in *Rome*, and at the ſame time all orders of men were ſubordinate to the ſovereign will of the dictator. During his ſhort ſtay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent ſhows, and remitted them the rents of the houſes which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe who ſtill continued in arms againſt him, and cauſed them to be ſold publicly by auction. The lands, houſes, and moveables of *Pompey*, whoſe children ſtill diſturbed the public tranquillity, were together with the effects of many others, expoſed in the forum to public ſale; but no body bidding for thoſe of *Pompey*, out of reſpect to the memory of ſo great a man, *Marc Antony* purchaſed them at a very low price, and immediately took poſſeſſion of his houſe, where he ſpent his time, as is plain from *Cicero*'s ſecond *Philippic*, in a continued ſcene of debauchery. When *Cæſar*'s officers demanded the ſmall ſum he had agreed to pay for *Pompey*'s houſe and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, ſaying, He did not expect *Cæſar* would exact ſo paltry a debt of one who had done him ſo great ſervices. This provoked *Cæſar*, and occaſioned ſome coldneſs between him and his general of the horſe. As to *Cæſar*'s other friends, none of them had occaſion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus, he appointed ſome of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whoſe care the *Sibylline* books were committed, and for their ſake increaſed the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partizans. As the number of ſenators was greatly diminiſhed by the death of ſome and flight of others, he raiſed to the ſenatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and ſuch of the knights as had followed his ſtandards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the conſular year, with which his dictatorſhip expired, he aſſembled the tribes in the *campus Martius*, and propoſed to them two of his lieutenants; *Q. Fufius Calenus* and *P. Vatinius*, to be choſen conſuls for the current year. This he did with no other view, but to honour with the conſular dignity thoſe two officers, who had ſerved, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The ſhortneſs of their conſulate made *Cicero* ſay by way of raillery, That the year,

Pompey's *houſe purchas'd by* Marc Antony.

in

Cæſar's *ſecond conſulſhip.*

in which *Vatinius* and *Fufius* were conſuls, had neither ſpring, ſummer, nor autumn. The next year *Cæſar* cauſed himſelf to be created conſul; but did not part with the dictatorſhip. As conſul, he took for his collegue *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was juſt then returned from *Hither Spain*, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great diſappointment to *Marc Antony*, who aſpired at the conſular dignity; but his late behaviour and ſcandalous debaucheries had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, beauſe he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he diſcharged the office of general of the horſe [r].

Cato's *behaviour after the battle of* Pharſalia.

And now *Cæſar*, having ſettled affairs in *Italy*, and taken the moſt proper meaſures to prevent any new diſturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into *Africa*, where *Pompey*'s party was ſtill very powerful, being headed by the famous *Cato* and many officers of great diſtinction. When *Pompey* followed *Cæſar* into *Theſſaly*, he left in his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, as we have obſerved above, fifteen cohorts, under the command of *Cato*. When news of *Pompey*'s overthrow was firſt brought to *Dyrrhachium*, *Cato* reſolved with himſelf, if *Pompey* were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into *Italy*, there diſband them, and retire from the tyranny of *Cæſar*, as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if *Pompey* were ſafe, to keep the troops together for him. With this deſign he left *Dyrrhachium*, which was too near *Theſſaly*, where *Pompey* had been defeated, and croſſed over to the iſland of *Corcyra*, where the fleet lay. There he found *Cicero*, to whom, as he was a ſcrupulous obſerver of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, ſince *Cicero* had a right to the firſt poſt, as having been conſul; whereas he had only been prætor. But *Cicero*, who already repented his having declared for *Pompey*, and was then returning to *Italy*, under various pretences declined the offer; which ſo provoked *Cneius*, *Pompey*'s ſon, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and drawing his ſword, in the tranſport of his paſſion would have killed him on the ſpot, had not *Cato*, ſtarting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him, till the frightened orator was out of reach. The ſame night *Cato* conveyed him privately out of the camp, and by that means ſaved his life. *Cicero* immediately went on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*, whence he wrote

Cicero *in great danger.*

[r] Plut. in Cæſ. & Anton. Cic. Philip ii. Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. Liv. Cic. ad Attic. & paſſim alibi.

to

to *Oppius* and *Balbus* (E), two of *Cæſar*'s moſt zealous partizans, conjuring them to uſe their good offices in his behalf, and excuſe him with the conqueror, for having inconſiderately followed *Pompey*'s party. While *Cicero* was ſailing towards *Italy*, many illuſtrious *Romans*, who had eſcaped from the battle of *Pharſalia*, arrived in the iſland of *Corcyra*, not knowing what rout *Pompey* had taken; ſo that *Cato* ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurrounded by many officers of diſtinction. That zealous republican did not doubt, but *Pompey* was fled either towards *Egypt*, where young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of *Africa*, which *P. Accius Varus* had ſeized before the battle of *Pharſalia*, after having killed *Curio*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent againſt him, and cut his army in pieces. He therefore reſolved to haſten after him, and having taken all his

Cato *retires to* Africa.

(E) *Caius Oppius* was one of *Cæſar*'s chief favourites. *Chariſius Aulus*, *Gellius*, and *Pliny* tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of ſeveral works much eſteemed by the antients, among the reſt, of the lives of *Scipio Africanus* and of *Pompey the Great*. *Plutarch* reproaches him with leſſening the exploits and glory of *Pompey*, and magnifying thoſe of *Cæſar*. In *Suetonius*'s time he was deemed the true author of the hiſtory of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spaniſh* wars, which paſſed then, and have been tranſmitted to us, under the name of *Hirtius*. The ſame writer aſcribes to *Oppius* ſeveral other works, none of which have reached our times. As for *Balbus*, he was a native of *Gades*, or according to others, of *Carteia*. He ſerved firſt in the armies of *Quintus Metellus* and of *Pompey* againſt *Sertorius*. Several years after he became acquainted with *Cæſar*, while he governed *Spain* in quality of prætor, and, was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a *Roman* citizen. Theſe were afterwards called in queſtion; but *Balbus* found a zealous advocate in the perſon of *Cicero*, and was ſolemnly acknowledged by the ſenate and people for a citizen of *Rome*. It was cuſtomary for foreigners honoured with this diſtinction, to aſſume the name of the perſon they choſe for their patron; and agreeable to this cuſtom *Balbus* took the name of *Cornelius*, having choſen *Lentulus*, who was of the *Cornelian* family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, one *Theophanes*, a great favourite of the latter, adopted *Balbus*, and appointed him his heir. *Sidonius Apollinaris* commends ſome memoirs written by *Balbus* after the manner of a journal; *Quis Balbi ephemeridem*, ſays he, *fando adæquaverit* (34)?

(34) *Sidonius Apollin. l. ix. epiſt.* 24. *Plin. l. vii. Dio. Caſſ. l. xlviii. Cic. ad Attic. iii. epiſt.* 7.

men

men on board, ſet ſail, ſteering his courſe towards *Africa*. Before he embarked, he gave thoſe who were not willing to follow him, free liberty to depart and return to *Italy*. On his arrival in *Africa*, he found there *Sextus*, *Pompey*'s younger ſon, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in *Egypt*. This news occaſioned a general conſternation among the troops; but nevertheleſs they all declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties, and that, after *Pompey*, they would follow no other leader but *Cato*. Out of compaſſion therefore to ſo many brave men, who had given ſuch proofs of a ſincere love for their country, and whom he was aſhamed to abandon, in a ſtrange country amidſt ſo many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and, without delay, marched towards the city of *Cyrene*, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before ſhut their gates againſt *Labienus*. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, had landed before him in *Africa*, and taken refuge in the dominions of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, where he had found *Accius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Appius Varus*, at the head of a conſiderable army. Hereupon *Cato* reſolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beaſts of burden with water and other neceſſary proviſions, he ſet out on his march, which was attended with inexpreſſible difficulties. His troops travelled for ſeveral days together through inhoſpitable deſerts, covered with burning ſands, and infeſted by lions, tigers, ſerpents of a monſtrous ſize, *&c.* (F); ſo that they were obliged to be conſtantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched ſeven days together, *Cato* himſelf being always the foremoſt, to encourage

Cato's march through the deſerts of Africa.

(F) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cato* took with him on his march ſome of thoſe who were called *Pſilli*, and made it their buſineſs to cure the biting of ſerpents, by ſucking out the poiſon. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in *Homer*, that, in antient times, wounds were cured by ſucking. But theſe *Pſilli* pretended, as we read in *Plutarch*, to a power of inchanting the ſerpents, and diſarming them of their fury, by ſtupifying them and laying them aſleep. We find in holy ſcripture inſtances of perſons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded, what we read in *Jeremiah*; *For, behold, I will ſend ſerpents, cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed* (35). But theſe wretched inchanters often paid dear for their preſumption.

(35) *Jerem. c. viii. ver.* 17.

his

his men, who were quite exhauſted, by his example. *Plutarch* tells, that ſince the battle of *Pharſalia*, he had never mounted on horſeback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to ſhew his concern, he had, ever ſince that fatal day, uſed to ſit at table, ſaying, that he never lay down but to ſleep (G). The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, chearfully ſurmounted all difficulties, and arrived at length, to the number of ten thouſand men, at *Utica*. There a warm diſpute aroſe among the chief officers about the command of the army. *Varus*, who immediately joined *Cato*, together with *Scipio* and other ſenators of diſtinction, claimed the command as governor of *Africa*; which province had been allotted him by *Pompey* himſelf. On the other hand, the whole army demanded *Cato* for their leader; and even *Varus* and *Scipio* were willing to comply with their deſire: But *Cato* himſelf oppoſed his own promotion, ſaying, that he would not tranſgreſs thoſe laws, which he had taken arms to defend; and that he, who was only proprætor, ought not to command in the preſence of *Scipio*, who was proconſul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to ſee a *Scipio* at the head of a *Roman* army in *Africa*, and that the very name would inſpire the ſoldiers with courage. *Cato*'s words decided the diſpute; all readily yielded to *Scipio*, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in *Africa*, appointed *Labienus*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral wars under *Cæſar*, his firſt lieutenant. *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*, no ſooner heard of *Cato*'s arrival, than he came to *Utica*, to confer with him and the other officers. That prince had always ſhewn a great attachment to *Pompey* and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he aſſumed an air of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to *Cato*. The firſt time he had an interview with *Cato* and *Scipio*, he ordered his own ſeat to be placed in the middle; which *Cato* obſerving, he took up his own chair, and placed himſelf on the other ſide of *Scipio*, to whom he thus gave the moſt honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtineſs of thoſe republicans, even at their time the republic was ready to ſink,

Cato declines the command of the army, which is conferred on Scipio.

(G) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a days. On the contrary, we ſhould think a lying poſture at our meals very inconvenient; but this ſingle example of *Cato* inconteſtably proves, that it was preferred in thoſe days, and that ſitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious poſture.

if not ſupported by foreign ſtates and princes. Under *Scipio* were ſeveral officers of great diſtinction and experience in war, namely, *Labienus*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, the two ſons of *Pompey*, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, *Fauſtus Sylla*, who had married their ſiſter, beſides a great number of ſenators and knights, all reſolved to prefer death to the loſs of their liberty, and either ſave the republic, or fall with it. King *Juba* promiſed to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, and join them with all his forces, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field [r].

Cæſar reſolves to carry the war into Africa.

Cæſar, now maſter of all *Aſia*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Italy*, reſolved to carry the war forthwith into *Africa*, and there cruſh the remains of *Pompey*'s party; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for that expedition, news was brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed *Galba* and *Coſconius*, two officers of the ſenatorial order, who had endeavoured to appeaſe them. *Cæſar*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately diſpatched *Criſpus Salluſtius*, the famous hiſtorian, to quell the ſedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. *Salluſt* had great obligations to *Cæſar*, who had cauſed him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having reſtored him to his place in the ſenate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to *Capua*, where the mutineers were then encamped: but found it a more difficult taſk to appeaſe a ſeditious ſoldiery, then to harangue a diſarmed multitude. He was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and haſten back to *Rome*, to acquaint *Cæſar*, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldneſs, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, ſent ſome truſty officers to aſk them what they wanted. Their ringleaders anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with *Cæſar* himſelf. *Let them come into the city then*, replied *Cæſar*, *and appear in the field of* Mars, *without any other arms but their ſwords.* Upon this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for *Cæſar*, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went im-

The tenth legion mutinies.

[r] Plut. in Cat. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio. l xliii.

mediately

mediately to hear their complaints. The preſence of a general, famous for ſo many victories, inſpired them with ſuch awe and reſpect, that even the boldeſt among them could not utter a ſingle word. Then *Cæſar*, mounting his tribunal, encouraged them to ſpeak and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to diſcharge them, alledging their age, their wounds, and their long ſervice. As *Cæſar* was entering on a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and with large preſents inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunderſtruck, when he anſwered, without ſhewing the leaſt ſurpriſe or concern, *Your demand is juſt; I do diſcharge you, and you may be gone.* *Cæſar*, perceiving the conſternation and ſurpriſe theſe words occaſioned among them, after having kept ſilence for ſome time, added, *I do not, however, deſign to rob you of your rewards; theſe I will give you, when I ſhall have triumphed over the reſt of my enemies.* At theſe words they crouded round his tribunal, begging, that, ſince he intended to reward them, he would ſuffer them to deſerve the promiſed rewards with further ſervices. But *Cæſar*, without ſeeming to take notice of their demand, *Go, fellow-citizens*, ſaid he, *return to your houſes and families.* The word *fellow-citizens*, inſtead of *fellow-ſoldiers*, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were ſoldiers, that they had not accepted of their diſcharge, and that they would follow him into *Africa*. But *Cæſar*, pretending to deſpiſe both their offers and ſubmiſſions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themſelves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict ſuch puniſhments upon them as their inſolence deſerved, than to diſband them in ſo ſhameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he aſcended the tribunal once more, and, addreſſing himſelf to them, told them, That the revolt ſurpriſed him ſo much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; that nevertheleſs he could not prevail upon himſelf to puniſh thoſe, whom he had once ſo tenderly loved; that, on his return from *Africa*, he would give them the rewards he had promiſed, and lands too for their ſubſiſtence; but that he would not by any means ſuffer them attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them that he could conquer without them. This ſpeech made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate

Cæſar's *addreſs in appeaſing the mutiny.*

them than debar them from ſharing with him the glory of his victories. *We will follow you as voluntiers*, they all cried out with one voice, *if you refuſe to admit us in the number of your legions*. Theſe words, which were manifeſtly ſpoken from a true ſenſe of their crime, and a ſincere repentance, touched *Cæſar*; he could no longer diſſemble, but ſtyling them again *fellow-ſoldiers*, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they ſhould ſhare with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories[t]. Having thus by his intrepidity, reſolution, and addreſs, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he purſued with great ardour the neceſſary preparations for the new war in *Africa*, ordering his legions in the mean time to aſſemble at *Rhegium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired ſoon after himſelf, and finding there but one legion of new levies and ſix hundred horſe, with them he croſſed over into *Sicily*, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all poſſible expedition. On his arrival in *Sicily*, he incamped on the ſhore, declaring, that he was determined to ſet ſail, as ſoon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions and a body of two thouſand horſe, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly on the ſixth of the calends of *January*, that is, on the twenty-ſeventh of *December* according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarqued the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with *Alienus* prætor of *Sicily*, to convey over to him the other legions, as ſoon as they came up. In four days he arrived off *Adrumetum* on the coaſt of *Africa*; and having landed his troops at a ſmall diſtance from that city, by the advice of *Plancus*, one of his lieutenants he ſent to ſummon *Conſidius*, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but *Conſidius*, truſting in his numerous gariſon, which conſiſted of two legions and three thouſand *Mauritanian* horſe, killed with his own hand the meſſenger, and then marched out at the head of all his troops to attack *Cæſar* in the camp he had formed in great haſte, and conſequently but very indifferently fortified. *Cæſar* thought it adviſeable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coaſt towards *Ruſpina*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Adrumetum*. *Conſidius* purſued him, and greatly harraſſed his troops on their march. On this occaſion it was, that thirty *Gauliſh* horſe,

Cæſar *pardons the mutineers.*

He paſſes over into Sicily.

And from thence into Africa.

[t] Appian. Hirt. Liv. Dio. ibid.

who

who marched in the rear, put to flight two thouſand *Mauri-tanian* horſe, and drove them back to the very gates of *Adrumetum*. *Cæſar* with much ado reached *Ruſpina*, being continually harraſſed by the enemy's parties; but not finding ſufficient proviſions in that neighbourhood to ſubſiſt his army, he turned towards *Leptis*, ſituate on the coaſt between the two *Syrtes*. As *Leptis* was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and ſupplied his army in the beſt manner they could. He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from *Sicily* arrived on board ſome galleys, and a ſmall number of tranſports. Theſe informed him, that the reſt of the fleet were ſteering their courſe towards *Utica*; which gave *Cæſar* great uneaſineſs, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He therefore immediately diſpatched *Rabirius Poſthumius*, with orders to ſail along the coaſt, and direct to *Leptis* ſuch of his veſſels as he ſhould meet on his courſe. In the mean time, as the enemy were maſters of the country, and *Cæſar*, in a manner, beſieged in *Leptis*, his army was reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions; forage eſpecially was become ſo ſcarce, that he was forced to feed his horſes with a ſea-weed, which he mixed with graſs, to take off its ſaltneſs. He ſent out indeed ſeveral parties to bring in proviſions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loſs. One day a party of horſe, whom he ſent out to forage, meeting an *African*, who played with great art on the flute, diſmounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horſes to their ſervants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling upon them unexpectedly, cut moſt of them in pieces, and purſued the reſt to their camp; which they would have entered with the fugitives, had not *Cæſar* and *Aſinius Pollio*, at the head of a few cohorts, put a ſtop to their flight, by placing themſelves in the gate of the camp, and by that means obliging the horſe to face the enemy. In another encounter, which happened a few days after, the beſt part of *Cæſar*'s foot was put to flight by a ſtrong detachment from *Scipio*'s army. On this occaſion *Cæſar*, ſeeing one of the ſtandard-bearers flying with the reſt, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, ſaying, *Look that way; the enemy is there.* However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to ſtand their ground; but was forced himſelf to give way, and retire with them in no ſmall diſorder to his camp. As he was daily more and more ſtraitened for want of proviſions, and durſt not venture out of his camp with the few forces he had with him, he reſolved to go himſelf in queſt

Is admitted into Leptis.

Is greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions.

Several of his parties defeated.

queſt of his fleet; and accordingly embarquing in the dead of the night, he ſet ſail, attended only with a ſmall number of officers. The next day, when the ſoldiery miſſed him, they gave all up for loſt, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp, and deſerting to *Scipio*, who, with ten legions, and twenty elephants, was advancing againſt them. But their fears were ſoon calmed; for *Cæſar*, the next day meeting by good fortune the reſt of his fleet, returned with them to *Leptis*, and decamped as ſoon as they were landed, with a deſign to advance farther into the country. He had ſcarce marched three miles, when his ſcouts brought him word, that the enemy appeared; and ſoon after he diſcovered a very numerous army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. *Cæſar* immediately ordered his men to halt, and, having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being ſurrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's firſt onſet. This numerous body of *Roman* and *Mauritanian* forces was commanded by *Labienus*, who attacked *Cæſar* with ſuch fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience, to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy maſter of the field. He was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a ſoldier of the tenth legion, by killing *Labienus*'s horſe, occaſioned ſome confuſion among the enemy's battalions. Thoſe who were next to the general, ſeeing him fall, and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to retire. *Cæſar*, obſerving the conſternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and, attacking with great intrepidity and reſolution the enemy's firſt line, put them to flight, before *Labienus*, who was ſtunned with his fall, recovered himſelf; but as *Labienus*'s ſecond line ſtill kept their ground, *Cæſar* thought it adviſeable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the firſt line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As *Cæſar* was retreating, *M. Petreius* and *Cneius Piſo*, two zealous partizans of *Pompey*, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred *Numidian* horſe, and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that *Petreius*, on this occaſion, remembering the favours he had formerly received at *Cæſar*'s hands, ſpared his benefactor, under the pretence that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, *Cæſar* got ſafe to his camp at *Leptis*, and from thence marched

Meets Labienus.

His army in danger of being cut in pieces.

Retires in good order to his camp.

marched the ſame night to *Ruſpina*. In the mean time *Scipio* joined his lieutenant *Labienus* with eight legions, and four thouſand horſe; and then *Cæſar*, intrenching himſelf under the walls of *Ruſpina*, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Italy* and *Sicily*, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours, without which he ſhould be obliged to abandon *Africa*, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to *Italy*. *Alienus*, prætor of *Sicily*, upon the firſt notice of his danger, ſent him powerful ſuccours; which were no ſooner arrived, than he reſolved to march out of his camp, and offer *Scipio* battle, who, with an army twice as numerous as his, was incamped at a ſmall diſtance, to prevent his drawing any forage or proviſions from the neighbouring country. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to *Scipio*, adviſing him, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a battle with a commander experienced in war, and encouraged with ſucceſs; but to uſe delay, which, he ſaid, would cool the heats and paſſions of men, which are the chief ſupport and ſtrength of uſurpers; but *Scipio*, fluſhed with his late ſucceſs, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, ſince he was not content himſelf to lie ſecure within walls and trenches, but muſt hinder others from making uſe of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then *Cato* openly declared, that he was ſorry he had yielded the command to *Scipio*, who, ſaid he, will not uſe his power wiſely in war; and if he ſhould, contrary to all appearance, ſucceed, will, without all doubt, uſe his ſucceſs as unjuſtly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if *Scipio* ſhould conquer, he did not doubt but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as *Cæſar* himſelf [u].

Receives reinforcements from Sicily.

BUT to return to *Cæſar*: being informed that the enemy laid great ſtreſs on an oracle, importing that the family of the *Scipio's* ſhould be always victorious in *Africa*, and, having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family, known by the name of *Scipio Salutio*, he gave him the title of general, either in raillery, as *Plutarch* obſerves, to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy's army, or ſeriouſly, to bring over the omen to his ſide. After this he quitted his camp at *Ruſpina*, and marched ſtraight to *Utica*, with a deſign to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay ſiege to that city, which was the great magazine of

Cæſar marches to Utica.

[u] PLUT. in Cat. & Cæſ. APPIAN. HIRT. ibid.

all

all their proviſions and ammunition. He incamped before the place, without being in the leaſt diſturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, whom they daily expected with eighteen thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected ſuccours, and, together with *Scipio* and *Labienus*, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of *Cæſar*, who was again greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he was thus beſieged, news was brought him, that the ninth and tenth legions were at length arrived from *Sicily*, and in full march to join him. Hereupon *Cæſar*, leaving in his camp a ſufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the reſt to meet them; and brought them ſafe to his camp before *Utica*. As he now thought himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for ſeveral days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he reſolved to decamp, and leaving *Utica*, which was in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege, to attack *Thapſus*, a place of great importance, but not ſo well provided and fortified. *Juba*; *Scipio*, and *Labienus* followed him, and incamped ſeparately about fifteen huudred paces from the enemy.

Is in a manner blocked up by the enemy.

Marches to attack the enemy, and defeats them.

Cæſar was no ſooner informed that they were intrenching themſelves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition, through thick woods and a country almoſt impaſſable, fell upon *Scipio*'s men, before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking firſt *Labienus*'s camp, and afterwards *Juba*'s, made himſelf maſter of them, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loſs only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, *Thapſus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately ſubmitted; and the heads of the party, giving up all for loſt, either laid violent hands on themſelves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. *Scipio* endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſea; but his veſſel being taken, he choſe rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. *Juba* and *Petreius* ſought death in a ſingle combat, in which *Juba* being killed, *Petreius* ordered one of his ſlaves to diſpatch him.

The chief men of Pompey's *army either killed or taken.*

Afranius and *Sylla*, with a ſmall body of troops, took their rout along the coaſt of *Africa*, with a deſign to join the two ſons of *Pompey*, whom *Cato* had ſent into *Spain*; but were met, defeated, and taken by *Sitius*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, who would have ſaved them; but his ſoldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of *Pompey*'s party,

ty, *Labienus* alone found means to make his eſcape, and convey himſelf ſafe into *Spain*. And now the enemys forces being diſperſed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all *Africa* ſubmitted, except the city of *Utica*, where *Cato* commanded, and had formed a kind of ſenate, compoſed of three hundred *Romans*, who had repaired to him from different parts. The news of the victory gained by *Cæſar* at *Thapſus* threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. Some of the citizens betook themſelves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to ſave themſelves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. But *Cato* endeavoured to calm their fears, repreſenting to them, that perhaps things were not ſo bad in truth, but more than half increaſed by fame, as is uſual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for ſome time; and having called together his ſenate or council, conſiſting of three hundred *Roman* citizens he firſt commended their courage and fidelity, and then intreated them by no means to ſeparate, ſince, while they kept together, *Cæſar* would have leſs reaſon to deſpiſe them, if they fought againſt him, and be more ready to pardon them, if they ſubmitted to him. Conſult among yourſelves, ſaid he; if you think fit to ſubmit, I will impute your reſolution to neceſſity; but if you reſolve to ſtand up in defence of your rights and liberties, I will be your companion, and, if you think fit, your leader. We are to fight againſt one, whoſe affairs are not in ſo good a condition as is generally believed. *Spain* has already declared for the ſons of *Pompey*; *Rome*, unaccuſtomed to ſlavery and oppreſſion, will be ready to ſhake off the yoke upon every turn of affairs; *Italy* will never ſubmit to a ſovereign, who acknowledges no other law but his own caprice; *Utica* is well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions and military engines, and in a condition to ſtem the courſe of this mighty conqueror's victories. Let us therefore defend to the laſt what ought to be more dear to us than our lives and fortunes. Notwithſtanding the uncertainty of war, we ſhall lead a moſt happy life, if we ſucceed, or die a moſt glorious death, if we miſcarry. *Cato's* words inſpired even the moſt cowardly with courage. They forgot the preſent danger, and declared with one voice, that they would ſtand a ſiege, proteſting they would rather die with *Cato*, than ſave themſelves by abandoning a perſon of ſuch exalted virtue. When they came to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſome were for ſetting the ſlaves at liberty; but this *Cato* oppoſed, ſaying, That no ſlave ought to be ſet at liberty without the content of his maſter. We ought not, ſaid he, even in our preſent circumſtances, to make free with

All Africa, *except* Utica *ſubmits.*

Cato *encourages the* Romans *in* Utica *to ſtand a ſiege.*

the property of others; but let every one diſpoſe as he pleaſes of what is his own. Some of the ſenators immediately ſet their ſlaves at liberty, and furniſhed them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former reſolution, ſhewed great backwardneſs in parting with their ſlaves, from whoſe labour they drew great advantages. *Why ſhould we riſque all, ſaid they among themſelves, to preſerve Utica? Have we forgot what enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that Cæſar, to whom all the power of Rome has ſubmitted? and which of us is a Pompey, a Scipio, or a Cato? Now that all men give way to Cæſar's fortune, ſhall we alone engage for the liberty of Rome, and in Utica declare war againſt one, who has driven Pompey the Great and Cato himſelf out of Italy? No, let us know ourſelves, ſubmit to the conqueror, and ſend deputies to implore his mercy. Cato, tho' he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to Juba, who, with a ſmall body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to Scipio, who lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, adviſing them not to come near the place, ſince he ſuſpected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the ſenators who formed his council. Not long after, a conſiderable body of horſe, who had eſcaped from the battle, appearing at ſome diſtance from Utica, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint Cato with the different ſentiments that prevailed among them, and to aſk his advice; for ſome were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themſelves up in the city, were for going to Juba. Cato haſtened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon ſo many worthy ſenators, but to ſeek the mutual ſafety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable and well furniſhed with corn and other proviſions for many years. The ſenators likewiſe, who attended Cato, with tears in their eyes beſought them to ſtay. Hereupon the officers went to conſult the ſoldiers; but, in the mean time, news was brought to Cato, that the greater part of his ſenators were raiſing a tumult in the city, and ſtirring up the inhabitants to exclude Cato and ſend deputies to Cæſar. This news being immediately divulged among the horſe, they deſired their officers to return to Cato with this anſwer, That they ſhould not be afraid of Cæſar, while they followed Cato, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces all the Uticans, who would not fail to betray them and plot their ruin, as ſoon as Cæſar appeared. This condition ſeemed too cruel to the virtuous Cato, who therefore choſe rather to deprive himſelf of ſo powerful and neceſſary a ſupply,*

The ſenate at Utica *reſolves to ſubmit.*

Cato's *humanity.*

than

than conſent to it. Upon his return to the city, the ſenators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to withſtand *Cæſar*; nay, they even threatened to ſeize thoſe ſenators, who were for ſtanding a ſiege, and to deliver them up to *Cæſar*. Hereupon *Cato* with much-ado prevailed upon the horſe to ſtay, at leaſt one night, in the city, in order to facilitate the eſcape of thoſe worthy ſenators, who were thus threatened by the reſt. While they were preparing to ſet out, news was brought, that *Cæſar* was drawing near with his whole army; and then *Cato*, ordering all the gates to be ſhut, except one towards the ſea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board ſome veſſels he had prepared for that purpoſe, he returned to the city, and diſmiſſed the body of horſe, adviſing ſeveral of his friends to join them, and abandon a city, which would ſoon fall into the enemy's hands. *Plutarch* obſerves, that tho' he was very preſſing with his other friends to ſave themſelves by flight, yet he gave no ſuch advice to his ſon, not thinking fit to perſuade him to abandon his father. As *Cæſar* drew near, the ſenators, who remained in *Utica*, appointed *Lucius Cæſar*, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed *Pompey's* party, to intercede for them and make their ſubmiſſions to the dictator. *Cato* approved of their choice, and even compoſed the ſpeech, with which he was to addreſs *Cæſar*. *Lucius*, in taking his leave of *Cato*, told him, That he ſhould not ſcruple to kiſs the hands and fall at the knees of *Cæſar* in his behalf; but *Cato* would by no means give him leave ſo much as to mention his name. *I will not*, ſaid he, *be indebted to a tyrant, for thoſe very things which are marks of tyranny; to ſave men is an inſtance of his tyranny, as if he were lord of their lives.* However, as *Lucius* was departing, he recommended to him his ſon and the reſt of his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, bid him farewel. While the reſt were preparing to attend *Lucius* in the habit of ſuppliants, *Cato* was greatly ſurpriſed at the conſtancy of a young *Roman*, named *Statilius*, who, tho' in the flower of his age, and a noted enemy to *Cæſar*, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an uſurper for his life. *Cato*, having attempted in vain to perſuade him to yield to fortune and join the other ſuppliants, recommended him to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two celebrated philoſophers, ſaying, *It belongs to you to bring down this young man's ſpirit, and to make him know what is*

Cato's *conſtancy.*

Statilius *a follower of* Cato.

good for him (H). Towards the evening he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the *Romans* and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themſelves upon his mercy. As for himſelf, he went, according to his cuſtom, to bathe before ſupper; and while he was in the bath, remembering *Statilius*, he cried out aloud to the philoſopher *Apollonides*, who always attended him, *Well*, Apollonides, *have you brought down the high ſpirit of* Statilius *? Is he gone without bidding us farewel ? No*, anſwered the philoſopher, *I have diſcourſed much with him, but to little purpoſe; he is ſtill unalterable, and determined to follow your example. This*, anſwered *Cato* with a ſmile, *will ſoon be tried.* He then called his ſon, and adviſed him, among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; telling him, *That to act therein as became him was now impoſſible, and to do otherwiſe diſhonourable.*

After he had bathed, he went to ſupper, at which he ſat, as he had always uſed to do ever ſince the battle of *Pharſalia*, contrary to the *Roman* cuſtom. Several of his particular friends, and ſome of the principal citizens of *Utica*, ſupped with him. Among the former were *Apollonides* the *ſtoic* philoſopher, and *Demetrius* the *peripatetic.* After ſupper, many philoſophical queſtions were diſcuſſed, and, among the reſt, thoſe fundamental principles, which were called the *paradoxes of the ſtoics*; and this in particular, *that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are ſlaves.* The moment this was propoſed, the peripatetic took up the argument againſt it (I); but *Cato*, raiſing his voice, maintained the inconteſtable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and in the heat of the diſpute, let ſome words drop, which plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to put an end to his life, and by that means ſet himſelf at liberty. Hereupon, when he had done ſpeaking, the whole company kept ſilence and ſeemed much dejected; but *Cato*, to divert

Cato maintains the principles of the ſtoics.

(H) By theſe words *Cato* implied, that the diſpoſition of mind, in which *Statilius* fancied himſelf to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true conſtancy; and that what became *Cato*, who had always made a profeſſion of ſevere virtue, and was *Cæſar*'s equal, did not become ſuch a young man as *Statilius*. *Epictetus* obſerves, that it is only for *an extraordinary perſon to imitate an extraordinary virtue.* It is not fitting for a perſon of common ſize to attempt ſo high a flight.

(I) The peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or ſervitude, taking theſe words in a ſenſe too conſtrained and literal.

them

them from any ſuſpicion of his deſign, turned the diſcourſe, and began again to talk of the preſent affairs, ſhewing great concern for his friends who were at ſea, and for thoſe who were travelling by land, ſince they were to paſs through a dry deſert, which afforded nothing for their ſupport.

WHEN the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he uſed to do after ſupper, gave the neceſſary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having firſt embraced his ſon and every one of his friends, with more than uſual tenderneſs. As this renewed their ſuſpicion of his deſign, his ſon, entering his room unknown to him, ſtole away his ſword, which he uſed to have always by him. *Cato* now alone, lay down, and taking up *Plato*'s dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read ſome time, in a tranſport of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raiſed in his breaſt, he looked up for his ſword, and miſſing it, called one of his ſlaves; and, without ſhewing the leaſt eagerneſs or concern, only aſked him, Who had taken away his ſword? As the ſlave made no anſwer, he continued reading; and a little while after, not ſeeming importunate or haſty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book again, and having finiſhed the whole dialogue without any tidings of his ſword, he called all his ſervants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed and delivered into his enemy's hands, naked and diſarmed. One of his ſlaves attempted to appeaſe him; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when *Cato* gave him ſuch a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noiſe his ſon and the reſt of his friends came running into his room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and intreaties, to divert him from any deſign he might have on his own life; but *Cato*, raiſing himſelf up, *Why does no body perſuade me by reaſon*, ſaid he, *or teach me what is better, if I have deſigned any thing that is ill? Muſt I be thus diſarmed, and hindered from making uſe of my own reaſon?* Then turning to his ſon, *And you young man*, ſaid he, *why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when* Cæſar *comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for againſt myſelf I ſtand in no want of a ſword; to end my days I need but hold my breath a little while, or ſtrike my head againſt the wall.* Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed his ſon and the reſt of his friends, except the two philoſophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, to whom he addreſſed himſelf more calmly thus: *Can you*

Reads Plato's phædo.

His ſon and friends endeavour to divert him from laying violent hands upon himſelf.

bring

bring any reaſon to prove, that it is not baſe and unworthy of Cato *to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this ſubject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I ſhall think fit to reſolve on.* As the philoſophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, *Cato* told them, That he would not fail to aſk their advice, when he ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of what their philoſophy taught; *but, in the mean time,* ſaid he, *go tell my ſon, that he ſhould not compel his father to what he cannot perſuade him.* Upon this they both withdrew, and ſent him his ſword by a young ſlave. *Cato* took it with great pleaſure, and, having drawn it and examined the point, ſaid in putting it up, *Now I am maſter of myſelf.* He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (K), he lay down, and fell into a ſound ſleep.

About

(K) And yet this dialogue ſeems too long to be read twice over in ſo ſhort a ſpace; but that which ſeems moſt incomprehenſible is, that *Cato*, before he laid violent hands on himſelf, ſhould read over that dialogue, which proves in the ſtrongeſt terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. *A philoſopher*, ſays *Plato* in that dialogue, *will never lay violent hands on himſelf, that not being lawful even for thoſe to whom death is more deſireable than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themſelves though it be ever ſo neceſſary; for God has placed us in this life as in a poſt, which we are never to quit without his permiſſion. The gods take care of us, and we muſt conſider ourſelves as their peculiar property. If one of your ſlaves ſhould diſpatch himſelf without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would puniſh him, if it lay in your power.* How could *Cato* perſiſt in his reſolution againſt ſuch ſtrong arguments? He might poſſibly juſtify himſelf from what is added by *Socrates*; *We muſt wait with patience till it pleaſes God to ſend us an expreſs order to remove out of this life.* He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as ſuch an order; and thus has *Cicero* commented upon it in the firſt book of his *Tuſculan* queſtions: *Cato autem ſic abiit e vita, ut cauſam moriendi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus injuſſu hinc nos ſuo demigrare; cum vero cauſam juſtam deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, ſæpe multis, næ ille, mediusfidius, vir ſapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam exceſſerit; nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; ſed tanquam a magiſtratu, aut ab aliqua poteſtate legitima, ſic a deo evocatus atque emiſſus exierit.* But this trifling diſtinction deſtroys the very end and deſign of the dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the ſtate he is in, and interpret it as an expreſs order from God to quit his ſtation, the prohibition of ſelf-murder would

About midnight he called up two of his freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his phyſician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he ſent to the port, to ſee whether his friends had ſet ſail, and ordered the former to apply ſome remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his ſlave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aſide all thoughts of putting an end to his life. *Butas* ſoon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were imbarqued, except *Craſſus*, who had ſtaid on account of ſome buſineſs, but was juſt ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the ſea very rough. At this he ſighed, ſhewing a great deal of compaſſion for thoſe who were at ſea, and ſent again *Butas* to ſee, whether any of them were driven back and wanted his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, he again fell aſleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when *Butas* returning, acquainted him, that the ſtorm was allayed, and that no noiſe was heard in the port. Then *Cato* laying himſelf down again, as if he intended to ſleep, deſired *Butas* to withdraw and ſhut the door after him. He was no ſooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he had waited till thoſe of his party were out of danger, taking his ſword, ran it into his body; but not being able to uſe his hand ſo well which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn ſome figures of geometry. The noiſe of this alarmed his ſon and his friends, who, breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels in great part out of his body. Such a dreadful ſight and his ghaſtly looks, his eyes being yet open, ſtruck them all with ſo great terror that they ſtood ſome time motionleſs,

His whole concern is about his friends.

Stabs himſelf with his ſword.

would be unneceſſary, ſince a reaſon would never be wanting upon occaſion to juſtify it; therefore this action in *Cato* is not by any means warrantable. However, it muſt be allowed, that it was leſs criminal in him, than it can be in thoſe, who deſtroy themſelves for ſome private reaſons, when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or ſome other paſſion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the puſillanimity of ſuch and the deſpair of a brave man, who kills himſelf, not for any private reaſon, but, if the expreſſion may be allowed, for ſome reaſon of ſtate; for though the action carries in it a brutal fury and the blind impulſe of an ungovernable paſſion; yet, as *Plutarch* has well obſerved on another ſubject, where he compares *Romulus* and *Theſeus*, *he is more excuſeable, who is tranſported by a ſtronger cauſe, as by a more ſevere ſtroke.* And what ſtroke can be more ſevere than the ruin of our country?

without

without being able, in that ſurprize and confuſion, to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. At length *Butas* accoſting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and ſewed up the wound; but *Cato*, after ſome time, coming to himſelf, thruſt away the phyſician, rent open his wound again, and tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the moſt virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced; had all the virtues, and none of the faults, of *Cato* the cenſor, one of his illuſtrious anceſtors, and would, with his invincible conſtancy and reſolution, have ſupported the ſinking republic, had not the gods themſelves, as *Plutarch* obſerves, decreed her deſtruction. His death was no ſooner known, than the inhabitants of *Utica*, flocked to his houſe, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible, *Roman*. Though at that very inſtant word was brought them, that *Cæſar* was drawing near, yet neither fear of the preſent danger, nor the commotions and diſcord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerneſs each of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmoſt pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a perſon of his merit and rank. How ſtrong muſt the impreſſions have been, which the virtue of *Cato* left in their minds, ſince they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whoſe mercy they were that moment to throw themſelves! When *Cæſar*, who was now at the very gates of *Utica* with all his forces, heard of *Cato*'s death, he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words; Cato *I envy thee thy death, ſince thou haſt envyed me the glory of ſaving thy life* (L). Upon *Cato*'s death, the city of *Utica* was

Puts an end to his life.

The concern of the inhabitants of Utica *at his death.*

(T) *Plutarch* ſeems to queſtion whether *Cæſar* would have pardoned *Cato* or no. The diſcourſe, ſays that writer, which *Cæſar* wrote againſt *Cato*, is no great ſign of his kindneſs, or that he was inclined to ſhew him any favour. Is it probable, adds he, that *Cæſar* would have been tender of his life, when he was ſo bitter againſt his memory? But, with *Plutarch*'s leave, we are of opinion, that *Cæſar* would have ſpared him, as he did *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Marcellus*, his moſt inveterate enemy, and many others, not indeed out of any friendſhip he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by *Plutarch*. *Cæſar* wrote it not out of hatred to *Cato*, but in his own vindication. *Cicero* had written an encomium on *Cato*, and called it by his name. A diſcourſe compoſed by ſo great a maſter, upon

was by *Lucius Cæſar* delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned ſome, but cauſed others to be privately put to death. Among the latter was *Lucius Cæſar* himſelf, who had treated with great cruelty ſuch of *Cæſar*'s adherents, as he had got into his power during the war; among the former were *Cato*'s ſon, his daughter, *Statilius*, and moſt of his friends. His ſon was afterwards ſlain in the battle of *Philippi*, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he ſtayed in *Cappadocia*, in the houſe of *Marphadates*, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal converſation with his wife, by name *Pſyche*, which in *Greek* ſignifies *ſoul*. This gave the *Romans* occaſion to ſay by way of raillery, *That* Cato *and* Marphadates *were good friends*; *for they had but one ſoul*; *that* Cato *was noble and generous, and had a royal ſoul*, &c. *Cato*'s daughter was married to *Brutus*, one of the conſpirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. As for *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, he was prevented by the philoſophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed *Brutus*, to whom he proved very faithful and ſerviceable, and at length died, with many other illuſtrious *Romans*, in the battle of *Philippi* [w].

Cæſar *reduces* Mauritania *and* Numidia.

Cæſar, now maſter of *Utica*, and of the whole *Roman* province in *Africa*, marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both thoſe kingdoms to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Criſpus Salluſtius* to govern them in quality of proconſul, with private inſtructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to ſhake off the yoke. The fruitful plains of *Numidia* he divided among the ſoldiers of *P. Sitius*, who had reduced great part of that country. *Sitius*, being driven out of *Rome* we know not on what account, had taken refuge in *Mauritania*, and there aſſembled a conſiderable number of *Roman* exiles, with whom he entered into the ſervice of *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, then at war with *Juba*. *Bogud* ap-

[w] PLUT. in Cat. & Cæſ. DIO CASS ibid.

upon ſuch an excellent ſubject, was immediately in every body's hands. This touched *Cæſar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who choſe rather to kill himſelf than fall into his hands, as no better than a ſatire againſt himſelf. He therefore publiſhed an anſwer to it, containing a collection of charges and accuſations againſt that great man, which he ſtyled *Anticato*.

pointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, invading *Juba*'s dominions, and making himſelf maſter even of *Cirtha* his capital. This diverſion was of great uſe to *Cæſar*; for it obliged *Juba* to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of *Sabura*, one of his beſt generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his abſence, *Sitius*, having defeated and killed *Sabura*, made himſelf maſter of the whole country, and then marched with his victorious army to join *Cæſar*, whom he ſcarce knew. On his march he met a body of *Romans*, who had ſaved themſelves from the battle of *Thapſus*, under the command of *Afranius* and *Fauſtus Sylla*, defeated them, and took their leaders priſoners, together with *Sylla*'s wife the daughter of *Pompey*, whom he delivered up to *Cæſar*, who not only pardoned her, but ſent her into *Spain* to her brothers. Soon after *Sitius*'s fleet ſurpriſed in the port of *Hippo* the ſquadron which was conveying into *Italy Scipio* and other *Romans*, who had left *Utica*, and took moſt of them priſoners. *Scipio* laid violent hands on himſelf; but the reſt were brought to *Sitius*, who conſigned them to *Cæſar*. Theſe ſervices the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on *Numidia*, which he beſtowed on *Sitius*, appointing him ſovereign of that diſtrict, after having driven out a *Numidian* prince named *Manaſſes*, who had declared for *Juba*, and ſerved in his army againſt *Cæſar* [x].

P. Sitius renders Cæſar important ſervices.

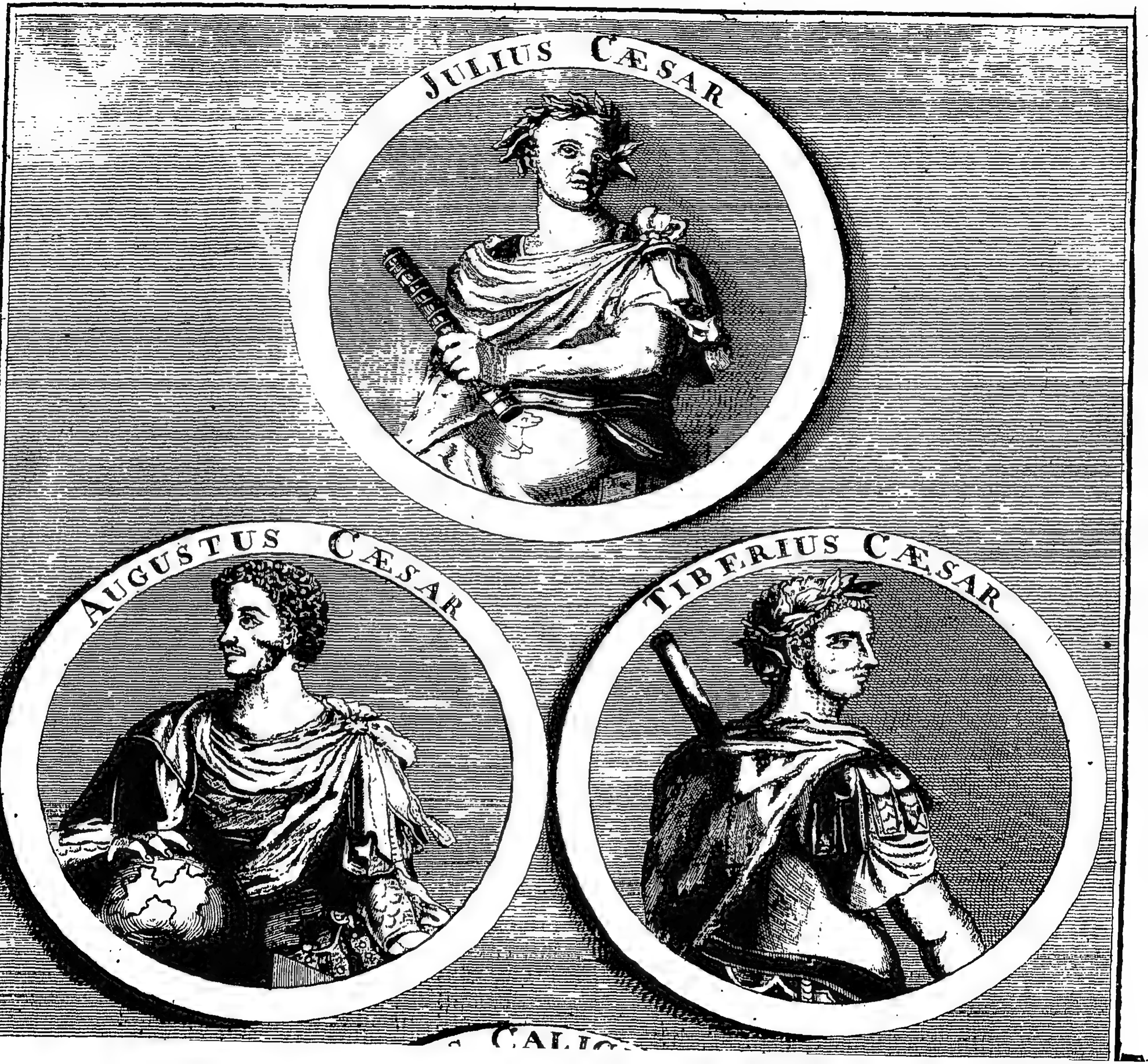
How rewarded.

Carthage and Corinth rebuilt.

And now *Cæſar*, having brought all *Africa* under ſubjection and ſettled the affairs of that province, repaired to *Utica*, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did ſoon after his return to *Italy* for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; ſo that theſe two famous cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins, in which they had lain about an hundred years. Two years after they were both re-peopled with *Roman* colonies; and from theſe new inhabitants of *Corinth* were deſcended thoſe *Corinthians*, to whom St. *Paul* wrote his two epiſtles. As the dictator had now no enemy to contend with in *Africa*, he left that country, loaded with glory and ſpoils, and ſet ſail for *Italy* on the ides of *June*, that is, on the fourteenth of the *Julian April*; and arriving three days after at *Caralos*, now *Cagliari*, ſailed from thence, on the third of the calends of *July*, for *Oſtia*, which he did not reach, the weather proving very ſtormy, till the twenty-ſixth of the *Julian May*, that is, twenty-eight days after. As

[x] Hirt. de bell. Africano.

he


JULIUS CÆSAR
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR
TIBERIUS CÆSAR

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

TIBERIUS CÆSAR

CAIUS CALIGULA

D. Pomaiede Sc.

he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the ſucceſs of his arms. The ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and ſacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together, in thankſgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in *Africa*. His uſual guard was by a decree of the ſenate trebled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorſhip was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of cenſor, which had been hitherto divided between two magiſtrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of *prefect*, or *reformer, of manners*, that of *cenſor* ſeeming too vulgar. His perſon was declared ſacred and inviolable; and, to raiſe him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he ſhould ſit, during his life, next to the conſuls; that he ſhould give his opinion the firſt in all public deliberations; that he ſhould ſit at all public ſhows in a curule chair, and that, even after his death, the chair ſhould be placed as uſual at the ſhows, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went ſo far as to place his ſtatue in the capitol next to that of *Jupiter*, with this inſcription on the pedeſtal, *To* Cæſar *a demi-god*. *Cæſar* had too much penetration not to know, that this profuſion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any ſincere kindneſs or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting ſuch marks of diſtinction, he declared, That he would make no other uſe of the authority, with which they were pleaſed to truſt him, than to prevent any further diſturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. I ſhall not ſaid he, renew the maſſacres of *Sylla* and *Marius*, which I cannot reflect on without horror. I wiſh I had been able to ſave the republic without ſhedding a drop of blood, and without depriving *Rome* of one ſingle citizen; but, ſince that was not in my power, now that my enemies are ſubdued, I will make no further uſe of the ſword, but endeavour to gain by good offices thoſe who ſtill continue obſtinate. You ſhall all find in me not a *Marius* or a *Sylla*, but an indulgent father and zealous protector. As for my troops, I ſhall keep them together, not ſo much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They ſhall not, however, be any charge to you; the ſpoils I have brought with me from *Africa*, will be ſufficient to maintain them, and likewiſe to defray for ſome time the expences of the government. This ſpeech and the pardon he granted a few days after to *M. Claudius Marcellus*,

Cæſar turns to Rome.

Honours beſtowed on him by the ſenate and people.

Cæſar's ſpeech to the ſenate.

one of his moſt inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the ſenate and people. *Marcellus* had been conſul five years before, and, during his conſulate, employed all his intereſt and authority againſt *Cæſar*. He had fought under *Pompey*'s banners at *Pharſalia*; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had choſen the city of *Mitylene* in the iſland of *Lesbos* for the place of his reſidence, and there led a quiet life, being intirely taken up with the ſtudy of philoſophy. *Cicero*, who had always profeſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for *Marcellus*, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly the firſt time *Cæſar* appeared in the ſenate, *Lucius Piſo* having addreſſed him with an affecting ſpeech in favour of the illuſtrious exile, all the conſcript fathers ſeconded him, and, quitting their places, ſurrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the moſt worthy members of their body. *Cæſar* heard them with great attention, and, as ſoon as they had done ſpeaking, *I willingly pardon* Marcellus, ſaid he, *out of regard to your interceſſion, conſcript fathers, and to his own merit. Let him return and take his place in the ſenate. I ſhall not for the future look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body.* The conſcript fathers returned him thanks, and *Cicero* in particular, in that famous ſpeech, which is ſtill admired by all the learned. But *Cæſar*'s clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the firſt notice of what had paſſed at *Rome*, he left *Mitylene*, and came to *Athens*, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into *Italy*; but when he was ready to imbarque, he was ſtabbed by one *Magius Chilon*, a no leſs zealous follower of *Pompey* than himſelf. What prompted him to this murder is not well known; ſome ſuſpected *Cæſar* of being privy to it; but that ſuſpicion ſeemed quite groundleſs to *Cicero*, ſince *Magius* with the ſame dagger put an end to his own life, and died on the ſpot with *Marcellus* (M).

Cæſar *pardons* Marcellus.

(M) *Cicero* writes on this ſubject to *Atticus* thus: *We can by no means ſuſpect* Cæſar *of having any hand in the death of* Marcellus, *ſince* Magius *ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dagger, which he had plunged into* Marcellus's *breaſt. I am at a loſs to know what could prompt him to ſo black an attempt.* Marcellus *had been bail for him a little time before at* Sunium. *Perhaps, as* Magius *was not in a condition to ſatisfy his creditors, he had recourſe to* Marcellus, *who refuſed to ſupply him with the neceſſary ſums in a rough and uncivil manner, which was natural to him; and hence their quarrel* (35).

(35) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* xiii. *epiſt.* 10.

The

THE dictator having, by his clemency and extraordinary civility he ſhewed to all without diſtinction, delivered the ſenators from their fears, in the next place ſummoned the people, and, appearing in the aſſembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a moſt obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his perſon. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his laſt victory, ſubdued a country ſo rich, and of ſuch extent, that it would yearly ſupply the city with two hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and three millions of meaſures of oil. In conſideration of the many conqueſts he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the ſenate and people. Accordingly he triumphed four times the ſame month, *viz.* over the *Gauls*, over *Egypt*, over *Pharnaces*, and over *Juba*. In the firſt triumph were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the priſoners appeared *Vercingetorix*, who had ſtirred up all *Gaul* againſt *Cæſar*, and attempted to relieve *Aleſia* at the head of three hundred thouſand men. His ſoldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, the axle-tree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of *Fortune*, the victor narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by the wheels. The ſuperſtitious *Romans* drew from thence preſages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience, that unforeſeen accident occaſioned then, was, the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then *Cæſar*, to prevent all diſturbances in the dark, embelliſhed his triumphal proceſſion with a new ornament, cauſing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each ſide of his chariot; with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, diſpoſed in the ſhape of ſo many pyramids, which in a maner turned night into day, and conducted, without the leaſt confuſion, the numerous croud to the capitol. There *Cæſar*, to ſet the people an example of religion, mounted the ſteps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the uſual ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, he viewed the ſtatue, which the ſenate and people had erected to himſelf near that of the god; and being offended at the inſcription, *To* Cæſar *a demi-god*, ordered the fulſome title of *demi-god* to be immediately cancelled. The ſecond triumph was over *Egypt*, when the pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus*, and *Achillas* were carried before the triumphal chariot, with repreſentations of the cities of *Peluſium* and *Alexandria*, *His triumphs.*

andria, of the palace of the *Egyptian* kings, of the tower of *Pharos*, &c. Before the chariot walked many priſoners of diſtinction; among the reſt *Arſinoe*, the ſiſter of *Cleopatra*, loaded with chains; but, after the ſhow, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and only baniſhed from *Egypt*, that ſhe might not create new diſturnances in that kingdom to the prejudice of *Cleopatra* (N). The third triumph ſhewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*. In the midſt of the ſpoils, which the conqueror had brought from *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, the famous words *Veni*, *vidi*, *vici*, were carried on a table in large characters, to ſhew rather the diſpatch, than the difficulty, or importance, of that victory. The ſubject of the fourth triumph was the conqueſt of *Africa* and *Numidia*, with the defeat of *Juba* and his allies. In this triumph *Juba*, the ſon of king *Juba*, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the ſhow was over, *Cæſar* ſet him at liberty, and gave him an education ſuitable to his rank, appointing maſters to teach him the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and ſuch ſciences as the young noblemen of *Rome* ſtudied in thoſe days. By this means he became one of the moſt learned men of the age he lived in; inſomuch, that the emperor *Auguſtus*, in conſideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards beſtowed on him the kingdom of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony* (O). The *Romans* were not ſo well pleaſed with this triumph as with the other three, *Cæſar* having cauſed the ſtatues of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato* to be carried before him among thoſe of the foreign kings and princes whom he had ſubdued. They could not behold *Cato* tearing his bowels, as the ſtatue repreſented him, without expreſſing their concern with loud ſighs and tears for the death of ſo great a man. The veſſels of gold and ſilver, which in theſe triumps were carried

Juba, *the ſon of king* Juba, *led in triumph.*

(N) This young princeſs took up her reſidence in *Aſia Proper*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the requeſt of *Cleopatra*, cauſed her to be put to death (36).

(O) He was the author of ſeveral works, and, among the reſt of the hiſtory of *Rome*, which he wrote in *Greek*, and which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients, but is now intirely loſt, as are alſo all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of *Aſſyria*, and chiefly collected from the writings of *Beroſus*.

(36) *Hirt. de bell. Alexand. Joſeph. antiq. l.* xv. *c.* 4.

ried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of ſixty-five thouſand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, beſides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thouſand and thirty-three pounds, which were preſents made him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, by princes and cities after his victories. Out of theſe ſums he paid his ſoldiers their arrears, and beſides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that ſum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the *Roman* people, whoſe favour he courted, he gave to each particular perſon ten buſhels of corn, ten meaſures of oil, and added a hundred denarii by way of intereſt, to the three hundred he had promiſed them before he ſet out for *Africa*. After this he entertained the people at twenty-two thouſand tables with ſix thouſand murænas, and an incredible profuſion of other dainties and rich wines, which moſt of them had never taſted before; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of theſe feaſts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thouſand gladiators, with repreſentations of ſea and land fights, in which were ſometimes three, ſometimes four thouſand combatants on a ſide, and with all ſorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (P). Theſe entertainments laſted

His liberality towards the ſoldiers and the Roman *people.*

(P) The two famous *mimics*, or, as they were then called, *pantomimes*, *Laberius* and *Publius*, acted on this occaſion. *Laberius* was by birth a *Roman* knight, but nevertheleſs acted on the ſtage mimic pieces of his own compoſing. *Cæſar* rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he preſented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred ſeſterces, and a golden ring, which was reſtoring him to the equeſtrian dignity he had forfeited by performing on the ſtage. *Macrobius* has given us part of a prologue of this author (37), which may ſerve for a taſte of his wit and ſtyle. *Horace* indeed taxes his compoſures with want of elegance (38). But *Scaliger* thinks the cenſure very unjuſt, and the verſes cited by *Macrobius* more elegant than thoſe in which *Horace* finds fault with them (39). When *Laberius*, was going, after he had received the golden ring of *Cæſar*, to reſume his place among the knights, *Cicero* told him, as he paſſed by the *orcheſtra*, where the ſenators ſat, that he would with all his heart make room for him there, but that he was already ſqueezed up himſelf; this he ſaid in alluſion to the many ſenators *Cæſar* had lately created. No wonder, replied

(37) *Macrob. Satur. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (38) *Horat ſatyr. l.* i. *ſatyr.* 10. *v.* 5, 6. (39) *Scaliger de re Poet. l.* i. *c.* 10.

Laberius,

lasted several days, and drew such multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the croud, among the rest two senators [r].

Reforms the government.

Cæsar, having by his largesses, entertainments, and shows, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good order in the city. In order to this he published many wholesome laws. In the first place, as many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country; he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families, recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to *Rome* from all parts of the world such persons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them for their encouragement all the rights and privileges of *Roman* cititizens. At the same time he published a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age and under forty, to absent themselves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatsoever (Q). By other laws he restrained the profuse

[r] Dio. l. xlii. Plin. l. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. Suet. in Cæs. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 56.

Laberius, that you, who commonly make use of two seats at once, fancy yourself squeezed up, when you sit like other people. This was a severe wipe on the inconstancy and double dealing of the orator (40).

Publius was a *Syrian* by birth, but received his education at *Rome* in the condition of a slave. Having by several specimens of wit obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of *Italy*. At last being brought to *Rome* to bear a part in *Cæsar*'s plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from *Laberius* himself (41). A collection of sentences taken out of his works is still extant, which *Joseph Scaliger* highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to translate them into *Greek*.

(Q *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people, who from three hundred and twenty thousand were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand; so great a waste, says he, had the civil war made in *Rome* alone; not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the provinces had suffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious mistakes in this passage, as the learned

(40) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (41) *Idem ibid.*

Rualdus

profuſe way of living, which at that time prevailed in *Rome* and all over *Italy*; he confined the uſe of litters, of embroidered robes and jewels to perſons only of the firſt rank, or of overgrown eſtates; he limited the expence of feaſts by many ſumptuary laws, which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigour, his officers often breaking into the houſes of the rich citizens, and ſnatching from off their tables ſuch meats as had been ſerved up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets ſwarmed with informers, ſo that nothing could be brought thither, or ſold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to puniſh with heavy fines ſuch as he found guilty of the leaſt breach of the laws he had enacted for the reſtraining of luxury. As for the ma- *Sumptuary laws.*

Rualdus obſerves. The firſt is, where it is ſaid, that *Cæſar* took a cenſus of the people; *Suetonius* does not mention it, and *Auguſtus* himſelf in his *Marmora Ancyriana* ſays, that in his ſixth conſulate he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty two years before. The ſecond is, that before the civil wars broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the number of the people in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted, that in leſs than three years thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens were reduced by that war to a hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that a little while after *Cæſar* made a draught of eighty thouſand to be ſent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left no more than ſeventy thouſand ſouls in *Rome?* But what is ſtill ſtronger, eighteen years after, *Auguſtus* took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty three thouſand *cenſere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & ſexaginta tria millia,* ſays *Suetonius.* Such an increaſe in ſo ſhort a time muſt be prodigious, if not impoſſible. *Rualdus* has not only diſcovered theſe miſtakes, but the ſource of them; he makes it appear, that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough underſtanding of the *Latin* tongue, has been miſled by the following paſſage in *Suetonius*, who ſays of *Cæſar*; *recenſum populi ne more, nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (42). *Suetonius* ſpeaks there of the review taken by *Cæſar* of the needy citizens, who ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand. *Plutarch* miſtook *recenſum* for *cenſum* the muſter taken by the cenſors, and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

(42) *Sueton. in Jul. c.* 4.

nagement of the public money, he reſerved that intirely to himſelf, but committed the adminiſtration of juſtice to the ſenators and knights, chuſing from among them ſuch perſons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As his long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of uſurping an abſolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footſteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor ſhould be continued in his government above a year, and no conſular above two. All the magiſtrates in *Rome*, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he ſuffered to aſſemble in the comitium, to maintain at leaſt ſome appearance of a republican ſtate, not daring to chuſe any but ſuch as he propoſed, or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæſtors, and even the conſuls, were all perſons who had ſerved under him, and were inviolably attached to his intereſt. The government of the countries ſubject to the republic was committed to ſuch only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus *Sicily* was allotted to *A. Allienus*, *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *M. Junius Brutus*, *Tranſalpine Gaul* to another *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, *Achaia* to *Servius Sulpitius*, *Numidia*, to *Criſpus Salluſtius*, *Illyricum* to *P. Vatinius*, *Syria* to *Q. Cornificius*, and *Spain* to *Q. Caſſius Longinus*; ſo that the abſolute authority of *Cæſar* ſeemed to be equally eſtabliſhed in the capital and in the moſt diſtant provinces. In *Syria* indeed his power was diſputed by one *Cæcilius Baſſus*, who created great diſorders in that province. He was a *Roman* knight, and had fought on *Pompey*'s ſide in the battle of *Pharſalia*. After that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there, pretending to be a merchant, underhand engaged in his party many who had been favourers of *Pompey*, and even ſome of the *Roman* ſoldiers who were ſent thither to gariſon the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæſar*, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he haſtened northward againſt *Pharnaces*, he was ſummoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. *Baſſus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, told the governor, that he was raiſing voluntiers, and making other preparations with no other deſign but to aſſiſt *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* in the reduction of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been given him by *Cæſar*. *Sextus* believing him, he was diſmiſſed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a conſiderable number of conſpirators, he ſeized on the city of *Tyre*, giving out, that *Cæſar* was killed in *Africa*, and that thereupon he was appointed

Diſpoſes of all employments.

Cæcilius Baſſus *raiſes diſturbances in* Syria.

appointed by the ſenate preſident of *Syria*. By this impoſture he increaſed his forces ſo as to be able to take the field, and engage *Cæſar*; but he was intirely defeated, and forced to take ſhelter in *Tyre*. There he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then by his emiſſaries ſtirred up the troops under the command of *Cæſar*, who was given to all manner of lewdneſs, to rebel againſt their leader and murder him. Upon his death, the troops which he commanded joined *Baſſus*, excepting a ſmall body that retired into *Cilicia*. *Baſſus* ſeeing himſelf again at the head of a conſiderable army, marched ſtraight to *Apamea*, and ſeizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his reſidence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But *Antiſtius Verus* putting himſelf at the head of thoſe who had retreated into *Cilicia*, and drawing to him ſeveral others of the *Cæſarean* party in that country, marched back with them into *Syria*. There he was joined by the ſons of *Antipater* with auxiliaries from *Judæa*, and by ſeveral of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to ſhew their attachment to the dictator and by that means gain his favour. Thus *Antiſtius* was enabled to make head againſt *Baſſus*, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to *Apamea*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Antiſtius*; but, as he was a brave ſoldier and experienced commander, his adverſary, having ſpent the whole ſummer before the place without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced towards the end of the campaign to raiſe the ſiege and forbear all hoſtilities, till he received new ſupplies both of men and proviſions [z].

Sextus Cæſar *governor of* Syria *murdered by his own men.*

The various ſucceſs of Baſſus.

Cæſar, being informed of what paſſed in *Syria*, immediately diſpatched *Statius Murcus*, whom *Joſephus* through miſtake names *Marcus*, to ſucceed *Sextus* in the government of *Syria*, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. Theſe, with the troops which *Antiſtius* commanded, formed a very conſiderable army; ſo that *Baſſus* was again obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Apamea*, the ſiege of which place was renewed by the united forces of *Murcus* and *Antiſtius*. During the ſiege, both ſides ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring princes and ſtates. *Alcaudonius*, an *Arabian* king, being on this occaſion ſent to both by *Baſſus* and *Murcus*, came with all his forces, and placing himſelf be-

[z] Dio. l. xlvii. Libo apud Appian. de bell. civil. l. iii. Epit. Liv. l. cxiv. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c 17. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 8

tween *Apamea* and the camp of the *Cæſareans*, that covered the ſiege, offered his aſſiſtance, by way of auction, to that ſide which ſhould give moſt for it; and *Baſſus* having bid higheſt, he immediately joined him. At the ſame time *Pacorus* came to his aſſiſtance at the head of a numerous body of *Parthians*; which two reinforcements added ſuch ſtrength to the beſieged, that the *Cæſareans* were again forced to raiſe the ſiege, and leave *Baſſus* maſter of the field [a]. Hereupon the dictator ſent orders to *Q. Martius Criſpus* governor of *Bithynia*, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the aſſiſtance of *Murcus*, and at his approach *Baſſus* retired to *Apamea*, where he was cloſely beſieged the third time, but held out till the death of *Cæſar*, when he was relieved by *Caſſius*, who ſeized on the province of *Syria*, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Cæſar *reforms the kalendar.*

While the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the eaſt, the dictator himſelf, to ſhew that nothing eſcaped his care, undertook at *Rome* the reformation of the *Roman* kalendar, which it belonged to him to rectify as pontifex maximus, an office he had bore long before he was either conſul or dictator. This reformation was at this time much wanted; for by reaſon of the faults of the former kalendar the feſtivals of the *Romans* and their ſolemn days were removed by degrees, and put out of their due time, till at laſt they came to fall in with ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their primitive inſtitution. The year which the *Romans* made uſe of till this time conſiſted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a ſolar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus with the college of the pontifices to add ſuch intercalations as ſhould make all even. This they uſually did by caſting in an intercalary month every two years, which alternatively conſiſted of twenty two and twenty three days. This ſhort month is called by *Plutarch* in one place *Mercidinus* [b], and in another *Mercidonius* [c]. The place it was allotted in the *Roman* kalendar was between the 23d and 24th of *February*. But the care of this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in or left out the intercalary month according as they had a mind to prolong or ſhorten the time of the annual magiſtrates then in office; by which means great diſorders crept into the political as well as the aſtronomical year; to prevent which *Cæſar* undertook that

[a] Dio l. xlvii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. ibid. l. iii. & iv. Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 9. [b] Plut. in Numa.
[c] Idem in Cæſ.

reformation,

reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever ſince, and happily completed it (R).

YET

(R) This he did by the following methods: 1*ſt*, He aboliſhed the lunar year, conſiſting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty five days, by which the *Romans* had hitherto computed their time; and introduced the uſe of the ſolar year, conſiſting of the time in which the ſun goes through the *Zodiac*, and comes about again to the ſame point, whence his courſe began. 2*dly*, Having, according to the beſt obſervations of thoſe times, concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and ſixty five days and ſix hours, of theſe he made his ſolar year to conſiſt. 3*dly*, Theſe three hundred and ſixty five days he diſtributed into twelve artificial, inſtead of lunar, months before in uſe, ſome of them conſiſting of thirty one days, ſome of thirty, and one, that is, *February*, of twenty eight. 4*thly*, The ſix hours over and above, in four years, making a day, he made every fifth year to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty ſix days, and this is what we call the *Leap Year*. 5*thly*, This day he added between the 23d and 24th day of *February*, in the ſame place in the *Roman* kalendar, where formerly the intercalary month *Mercidinus* had been inſerted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of thoſe days, which was called *Sextus Kalendas*, twice in the kalendar, the year was thence called by the *Latins Annus Biſſextilis*, the *Biſſextile* year. But we, inſtead of putting the 24th day of *February* twice in the biſſextile or leap year, number on the days, ſo as to make the month conſiſt of twenty nine. 6thly, *Cæſar* began this year on the kalends, or firſt day of *January*, becauſe on that day the annual magiſtrates of *Rome* entered on their offices. 7*thly*, The firſt of *January* he then fixed to the winter ſolſtice; but it has now over-run that time ſeveral days, by reaſon that the *Julian* ſolar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural ſolar year. 8*thly*, To bring this reformation into practice, beſides the month *Mercidinus*, which was inſerted in *February*, as uſual, *Cæſar* added to this preſent year two months more, which he put in between the months of *November* and *December*; ſo that this year thereby conſiſted of four hundred and forty five days, *viz* three hundred and fifty five days for the common *Roman* year, twenty three for the month *Mercidinus*, and ſixty ſeven for the other months added between *November* and *December*; ſo that this year, which was the longeſt the *Romans* had ever had, putting their affairs out of their uſual order, was called by them the year of confuſion. In the ſettling of this point *Cæſar* made uſe of the aſſiſtance of *Soſigenes*, an aſtronomer of *Alexandria*, for the aſtronomical calculations, and of *Flavius* a ſcribe, for the forming and digeſting of them into a kalendar, according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in diſtributing the days of each month into their *kalends*, *nones* and *ides* and fixing the feſtivals, and other ſolemn times, to the days on which they were to be obſerved. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the

Yet ſo commendable and uſeful a work gave offence to ſome, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occaſion from thence to ſay, that, after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewiſe in heaven. It is no ſtrange thing to hear ignorant people talk at that rate; but that *Cicero*, who had long before tranſlated *Aratus*, and conſequently ought to have been better acquainted than any with the diſorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of ſuch a weakneſs, is ſurpriſing. Yet the orator made the reformation of the kalendar the ſubject of ſeveral ſevere jeſts. As one chanced to ſay in his company, that the next morning the *Lyra* would riſe, *Yes*, replied *Cicero*, *by* Cæſar's order, inſinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to ſubject even the celeſtial bodies to his power. But *Cæſar*, who knew better than *Cicero*, what advantages would accrue to poſterity from ſo uſeful an undertaking, and what glory to himſelf, thought it beneath him to take any notice of ſuch low jeſts [c].

The two ſons of Pompey, *in* Spain.

While *Cæſar* was thus employed at *Rome* in works of peace, the two ſons of *Pompey*, having aſſembled beyond the *Pyrenees* ſuch of their father's party as had eſcaped from the battles of *Pharſalia* and *Thapſus*, made themſelves maſters of great part of *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, who had formerly ſerved under their father, flocked to them from all parts; inſomuch, that they ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of a very numerous army, compoſed partly of *Romans*, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewiſe experienced officers, and among the reſt *Labienus*, who had learnt the art of war under *Cæſar* himſelf, and had on many occaſions given ſignal proofs both of his courage and the wiſdom of his conduct.

[c] Plut. in Cic. & Cæſare.

the old confuſion, not well underſtanding the new computation, inſtead of interpoſing the leap day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which diſorder was continued for thirty ſix years following; by which means twelve years having been made leap years inſtead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon *Auguſtus*, who ſucceeded *Julius Cæſar*, to bring matters into the right courſe again, ordered, that for the twelve years next enſuing no leap year ſhould be made; whereby the three ſupernumerary days, which had been erroneouſly caſt in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been obſerved ever ſince without any alteration, except that made by *Gregory* XIII. which we have mentioned above.

Cæſar

Cæſar had indeed, after the conqueſt of *Africa*, diſpatched firſt *Caius Didius* into *Spain*, to oppoſe the progreſs of the two young generals in that country, and after him *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, two of his lieutenants, with ſuch a body of troops, as he thought ſufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in awe. But the republican party, being favoured by the natives, had gained the aſcendant over them, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, and, obliged the *Cæſareans* to ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrong holds. The dictator's preſence was therefore neceſſary; and accordingly he reſolved to go in perſon, and put a ſtop to their further progreſs. But, before he left *Rome*, he aſſembled the comitia, and, having cauſed himſelf to be choſen conſul the fourth time, as dictator he appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whom the tribes had given him for his collegue, his general of the horſe. All the inferior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppoſe the election of ſuch as he thought fit to recommend to the aſſembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of chuſing whom they pleaſed, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms: Cæſar *recommends ſuch a perſon to ſuch a tribe, and begs they would oblige him ſo far as to chuſe him.* This recommendation from *Cæſar* was in reality an order, which no one had courage enough to diſpute or oppoſe; ſo that, all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of ſuch perſons as were intirely addicted to him, he had no reaſon to apprehend the leaſt diſturbance in the capital during his abſence. Having thus ſettled matters, *Cæſar* took his leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he had invited to *Rome*, and kept in his own houſe during her abode in that city, and ſetting out for *Spain* about the beginning of this year, which was the firſt *Julian* year, he arrived in twenty four days in the province of *Bætica*. There he aſſembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and, putting himſelf at their head, marched without loſs of time towards *Corduba*, hoping to ſurprize *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of *Cæſar*'s arrival and deſign, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to his brother *Cneius*, who was then beſieging the city of *Ulla*, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and intreating him to break up the ſiege, and haſten with all his forces to his aſſiſtance. *Cneius* had reduced the place to the laſt extremity, and was then preparing for a general aſſault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprize and

Cæſar choſen conſul the fourth year.

He ſets out for Spain.

fly

Inveſts the city of Ategua.

fly to *Corduba*. *Cæſar*, having upon his arrival attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to inveſt the city of *Ategua*, about ſixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither *Cneius* followed him, and incamped on ſome hills at a ſmall diſtance from *Cæſar*'s intrenchments, with a deſign to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him to raiſe the ſiege. But the dictator, notwithſtanding the many and almoſt unſurmountable difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, purſued his point with a conſtancy and reſolution peculiar to himſelf. The beſieged defended themſelves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmoſt extremity, the gariſon, which conſiſted moſtly of *Romans*, reſolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, ſet fire to the city, and attempt by a general ſally to force the enemy's lines, and retire to *Cneius*'s camp, which was in ſight of the city. The cruel maſſacre was put in execution; but the gariſon, after having attempted in vain to make their way through *Cæſar*'s camp, were driven back into the town with great ſlaughter. At length *L. Minutius Flaccus*, who commanded in the city and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, during the ſiege, in a moſt eminent manner, ſurrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put *Cæſar* in poſſeſſion of the few magazines which the flames had ſpared. From *Ategua Cæſar* marched to *Burſavolis*, which he ſurpriſed, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, for having cruelly maſſacred ſuch of their countrymen as had adviſed them to ſurrender. After the reduction of theſe two places, *Cæſar* marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Ucubis*, now *Lucubi*, according to *Mariana*, in the kingdom of *Grenade*. *Cæſar* poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp, which gave occaſion to daily ſkirmiſhes, in one of which *Cæſar*'s cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great ſlaughter. *Pompey* was ſo elated with this advantage, that he reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action. He even wrote to his friends, that *Cæſar* had with him only raw and unexperienced ſoldiers, that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement ſo long as he could avoid it; but that he would find means to force him to it. In order to this, he marched towards the city of *Hiſpalis*, now *Seville*, and from thence advanced into the plains of *Munda*

And makes himſelf maſter of it and other places

Pompey *incamps in the plain of* Munda

da (S), and incamped there. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days easy march appeared with his army in the same plain where *Pompey* was incamped. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising ground, whereof one side was defended by the city of *Munda*, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front. *Cæsar* likewise drew up his troops with great art, and, having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post and come to meet him. But, as they did not stir, *Cæsar* made as if he intended to fortify himself in that post, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works. *Pompey*'s army was by far the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six hundred horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour and bravery. *Cæsar* had eighty cohorts, three legions, *viz.* the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse. As the enmy drew near, *Cæsar* betrayed a great deal of uneasiness and concern, as if he were doubtful of the success, knowing he was to engage men no ways inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occasions given signal proofs of their bravery and conduct. *Cneius*, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and *Labienus* esteemed scarce inferior to *Cæsar* himself. However, the dictator, desirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death or that of his rivals, gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution. At the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides betook themselves to flight, leaving the *Romans* to decide their quarrel by themselves

Cæsar *follows him thither.*

(S) The city of *Munda* is placed by the antient geographers in the province of *Bætica*, about twenty miles from *Malaga* in an agreeable and fruitful plain watered by a small river, or rather a rivulet. It was in former times a place of great note, but is at present, as *Mariana* informs us, a sorry village known by its antient name.

The battle of Munda. Year of the flood, 2959. Before Chriſt, 40. Of Rome, 708.

ſelves. Then the legionaries engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; *Cæſar*'s men being encouraged by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and thoſe of *Pompey* exerting themſelves out of neceſſity and deſpair, ſince moſt of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned when defeated under *Afranius* and *Petreius*. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. *Cæſar*'s men, who had been always uſed to conquer, found themſelves ſo vigorouſly charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and tho' they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifeſt that ſhame alone kept them in their poſts. All authors agree, that *Cæſar* had never been in ſo great danger; and he himſelf, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the firſt time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himſelf abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had ſome thoughts of ſtabbing himſelf with his own ſword, and by a voluntary death preventing the diſgrace of a defeat. But returning ſoon to himſelf, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than, in a fit of deſpair, by his own, he diſmounted from his horſe, and ſnatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, he threw himſelf, like a man in deſpair, into the midſt of the enemy; crying out to his men, *Are you not aſhamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?* At theſe words the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, *Pompey*'s men ſtill kept their ground, and, tho' greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the *Cæſareans* began to deſpair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his diſheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already laſted from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. At length a mere accident decided the diſpute in favour of the dictator. *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, of whom we have ſpoke above, had joined *Cæſar* ſoon after his arrival in *Spain* with ſome ſquadrons of *Numidian* horſe; but in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the ſhouting of the ſoldiers intermingled with groans and the claſhing of their arms, he had abandoned his poſt, and retired with the auxiliaries under his command to a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle ſpectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But to-

Cæſar *in great diſtreſs.*

wards

wards the evening, partly out of ſhame, and partly out of compaſſion on his friend *Cæſar*, he reſolved to fall upon *Pompey*'s camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. *Labienus*, appriſed of his deſign haſtened after him, to the defence of the camp; which *Cæſar* obſerving, cried to his legionaries, *Courage, fellow-ſoldiers, the victory at length is ours*; Labienus *flies.* This artifice had the deſired effect: *Cæſar*'s men, believing that *Labienus* was truly fled, made a laſt effort, and charged the wing he commanded ſo briſkly, that after a moſt obſtinate diſpute they put them to flight. Though the enemy's left wing was thus intirely defeated, the right, where the elder *Pompey* commanded, ſtill kept their ground for ſome time. *Pompey*, diſmounting from his horſe, fought on foot like a private man in the firſt line, till, moſt of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took ſhelter in the city of *Munda*. The camp was immediately attacked and taken ſword in hand; and as for the city, *Cæſar* without loſs of time drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of *Munda*, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the *Roman* republic, and raiſed *Cæſar* to the higheſt pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time to diſpute his authority. This victory was gained on the ſixteenth of the kalends of *April*; that is, according to our way of counting, on the ſeventeenth day of *March*, when the *Dionyſian* feſtival, or the *Liberalia*, were celebrated at *Rome* (T), the very day, as *Plutarch* obſerves, in

Cæſar gains the day by a ſtratagem, and forces the enemy's camp.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that this battle was won on the *Dionyſian* feſtival, τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, ſays that writer; which paſſages, as madam *Dacier* rightly obſerves, moſt interpreters have groſly miſtaken. The old *Latin* verſion, ſays ſhe, has it thus: *hanc victoriam obtinuit ſaturnalibus*, this victory was gained on the feſtival of *Saturn*. The *Dionyſia* and *Saturnalia* were two very different feſtivals. Others, who have tranſlated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by *the feaſt of the* Bacchanals. How could *Cæſar* gain a victory on the day of a feſtival, which had been aboliſhed a hundred and forty one years before, and ſuppreſſed throughout all *Italy* by an order of the ſenate, on account of its abominations as we are informed by *Livy* (43)? *Plutarch* by the *Dionyſia* means that feaſt which is called by the *Romans Liberalia*, and ſtands in their kalendar againſt the 17th of *March*. *Liberalia*, ſays *Feſtus*, *Liberi Feſta, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionyſia.* As

(43) *Liv. l.* xxxix.

in which *Pompey the Great* four years before had ſet out for the war. In this action *Pompey* loſt thirty thouſand men, among whom were the famous *Labienus*, *Attius Varus*, and three thouſand *Roman* knights. Seventeen officers of diſtinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and enſigns together with *Pompey*'s faſces which he had aſſumed as governor of *Spain*. On *Cæſar*'s ſide only a thouſand men were killed and five hundred wounded [d].

Beſieges Munda.

THE battle being over, *Cæſar*, in the firſt place, completed his lines about *Munda*, uſing, inſtead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raiſing them up in heaps, ſo as to equal the height of the walls. This ſight filled *Cæſar* with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the ſiege to *Fabius Maximus*, one of his lieutenants, and, having cauſed the bodies of *Attius Varus*, and *Labienus* to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of *Munda*, and marched towards *Corduba*, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had diſappeared after the battle. But he was diſappointed; for the elder *Pompey* fled with a hundred and fifty horſe from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at *Carteia*, a city about a hundred and ſeventy miles diſtant from *Corduba*. The inhabitants opened their gates to him; but were no ſooner informed of the ſucceſs of the battle at *Munda*, than they ſent deputies to *Cæſar*, acquainting him, that they had ſecured *Pompey*. But, as a good number of the inhabitants ſtill remained in *Pompey*'s intereſt, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animoſities ſo far as to engage each other in the ſtreets, and fill the city with blood and ſlaughter. In one of theſe tumultuary actions *Pompey* himſelf received ſeveral wounds; but having nevertheleſs, after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of one of the gates, he eſcaped to his fleet, and, hoiſting ſail, put to ſea with thirty galleys. But *Didius*, who commanded *Cæſar*'s fleet at *Gades*, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to ſea after him, having firſt taken on board a conſiderable body of horſe, as well as foot, in caſe there

The elder Pompey *flies to his fleet.*

[d] PLUT. in Cæſ. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. Auth. comment. de bell. Hiſpan.

Liber and *Dionyſius* are two names of *Bacchus*, this is what has miſled thoſe interpreters, and made them believe, though very abſurdly, that the feaſt, called *Liberalia*, was the ſame with the *Bacchanalia*. Thus far the learned madam *Dacier*.

ſhould

ſhould be occaſion to purſue the enemy by land. After four days ſail he came up with their galleys; and, ſurpriſing them, while both the ſoldiers and mariners were employed aſhore in procuring neceſſary proviſions, which they had not had time to take in at *Carteia*, he burnt ſeveral of them, took the reſt, and, by that means, cut off the enemy's retreat by ſea. *Pompey*, ſeeing himſelf thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight croſs the mountains. But as he had been dangerouſly wounded at *Carteia* in his ſhoulder and left leg, and beſides had now the misfortune, as all things ſeemed to conſpire againſt him, to put his ancle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter; the enemy's horſe, who had been put on board for that particular ſervice, ſoon came up with him. Upon their approach the unfortunate *Roman*, diſcovering a caſtle on a ſteep hill at a ſmall diſtance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The *Cæſareans*, under the command of *Ceſennius Lento*, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by aſſault, but were repulſed by a ſhower of darts, and purſued in their retreat with great ſlaughter. Hereupon *Didius* began to beſiege the caſtle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it; which ſo terrified *Pompey*'s men, that they reſolved to quit the place, and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a ſally, but were, for the moſt part, cut off in their retreat. *Pompey* retired with the reſt, but not being able to keep pace with them, by reaſon of his wounds; he concealed himſelf in a cave, where he was betrayed by ſome of his own ſoldiers, and delivered up to the *Cæſareans*, who immediately put him to death. Thus periſhed the elder *Pompey*, after having exerted his utmoſt efforts to revenge the death of his father, and ſave his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but nevertheleſs in this firſt eſſay, as we may call it, performed ſuch wonders as forced *Cæſar* to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, ſome writers tell us, that he was not preſent at the battle of *Munda*, but remained in *Corduba*, to defend that important place in caſe of any misfortune; others ſay, that he retired to *Corduba* after the action. However that be, he was no ſooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out, that he was going to meet *Ceſar*, and treat with him about an accommodation,

Which is deſtroyed by Didius, Cæſar's *admiral.*

Pompey *flies to a caſtle.*

Where he is beſieged and killed.

The fate of the younger Pompey.

commodation, he left the city, fled in diſguiſe to *Celtiberia*, and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himſelf ſo well, that *Cæſar* could never diſcover him [e].

Cæſar marches to Corduba.

But to return to *Cæſar*: the battle being over, and the lines about *Munda* completed, he marched to *Corduba*, which was defended by a body of troops that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, under the command of one *Scapula*, a zealous republican. Upon *Cæſar*'s approach, *Scapula* armed all the ſlaves and vagabonds, which were very numerous in that great city, and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undiſciplined multitude, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a bridge. As *Cæſar*'s army drew near, the rabble inſulted them, aſking them, whether they deſigned to fly, as if they had been the army defeated. But *Cæſar*, not thinking it adviſeable to force the poſt, deſpiſed their bravadoes, and, taking a long compaſs, paſſed the river without oppoſition, and appeared before *Corduba*. Hereupon *Scapula*, giving all up for loſt, retired into the city, and, calling together his friends, gave them a ſumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his beſt apparel, diſtributed what money he had among his attendants, and then, aſcending a funeral pile which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to diſpatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which ſoon reduced the body to aſhes. Upon *Scapula*'s death, the city was divided into two factions; ſome were for ſurrendering, others for ſtanding a ſiege; but the former prevailing, deputies were ſent to *Cæſar*, who got poſſeſſion of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always greatly attached to *Pompey*, began to ſet fire to the houſes, chuſing rather to periſh with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occaſioned a bloody battle between them and the *Cæſareans*, in which moſt of the legionaries, with about twelve thouſand of the inhabitants, were killed upon the ſpot. *Cæſar*, having thus made himſelf maſter of *Corduba*, at that time the capital of *Bætica*, marched from thence to *Hiſpalis*, now *Seville*. On his march he was met by *Ceſennius*, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder *Pompey*, and at the ſame time preſented to him the young *Roman*'s head, which, ſome writers ſay [f], he expoſed to public view, while o-

Makes great ſlaughter of the enemy, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the place.

[e] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Suet. in Julio. Dio. l. xliv. [f] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. c. 6.

thers

thers tell us, that he cauſed it to be honourably interred [g]. As he drew near *Hiſpalis*, he was met by depu ies from the city, who acquainted him with the diviſions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to ſend with them a det achment and an experienced commander, to keep the adverſe party in awe. *Cæſar* readily complied with their requeſt, and granted them *Caninius Rebilius* with ſome manipuli, who entered the town without oppoſition. But, in the mean time, *Pompey*'s friends privately diſpatched one *Philo*, a zealous aſſerter of their party, into *Luſitania*, where he was well known, to beg aſſiſtance of *Cæcilius Niger*, who ſtill ſupported *Pompey*'s intereſt there at the head of a conſiderable number of the natives. *Philo* ſoon returned with a numerous body of *Luſitanians*, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the *Cæſareans*, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon *Cæſar* immediately inveſted the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left ſeveral open places for the *Luſitanians* to make their eſcape, leſt deſpair ſhould prompt them to ſet fire to the houſes, and demoliſh the walls. At the ſame time he placed ſquadrons of horſe on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themſelves till the *Luſitanians* appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obſtinacy and reſolution; but at length made a ſally, and got ſafe beyond *Cæſar*'s lines through the paſſages that had been left open for that purpoſe. But while they thought themſelves out of danger, they were all on a ſudden attacked by the *Cæſarean* cavalry, and put to the ſword, not one of them eſcaping the general ſlaughter. *Cæſar*, having thus recovered *Hiſpalis*, marched towards *Aſta* (U), the inhabitants of which city ſent embaſſadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. There he received the melancholy news of the death of *Didius* his admiral, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in a very eminent manner. After he had deſtroyed *Pompey*'s fleet,

Hiſpalis *receives a* Cæſarean *gariſon.*

Cæſar *recovers* Hiſpalis.

[g] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii.

(U) *Aſta*, which *Pliny* honours with the title of *Regia*, was about ſixteen miles diſtance from *Gades*, according to *Antoninus*'s itinerary, and ſituated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by *Pomponius Mela*, and alſo by *Ptolemy*. *Martin de Roa* is of opinion, that it ſtood where the preſent city of *Xeres della Frontera* ſtands; but others pretend to diſcover its ruins between *Xeres* and *Tribuxena*.

as

as we have related above, he cauſed his veſſels to be hauled on ſhore to be refitted, and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring caſtle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of *Luſitanians*, who had eſcaped from the battle of *Munda*. The *Roman* admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the *Luſitanians* having ſet fire to his ſhips, he made a ſally, and marched in good order to the ſea-ſide, hoping to repulſe the enemy, and preſerve his navy. While his men were buſy in extinguiſhing the flames, a body of *Luſitanians*, who had concealed themſelves among the buſhes, ſtarting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the caſtle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. *Didius*, thus inveſted on all ſides, behaved with ſignal bravery; but was, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, overpowered, and, with moſt of his men, cut in pieces. *Cæſar*'s concern for the loſs of ſo brave an officer was, in great meaſure, allayed by the agreeable news he received at the ſame time of the ſurrender of *Munda*, after a long and cloſe ſiege. When the beſieged ſaw themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, they deſerted in great numbers to *Cæſar*, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But, before they came over, it was agreed between them and their friends in the city, that, upon a certain ſignal, the latter ſhould make a vigorous ſally, while the deſerters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very ſeaſonably diſcovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were, by *Fabius*'s orders, decimated, and all the officers executed without diſtinction. Soon after the beſieged made a ſally, with a deſign to force their way through the enemy's works; but moſt of them having loſt their lives in the attempt, *Fabius* at length carried the place by aſſault. From *Munda* he marched ſtraight to *Urſaon*, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid ſiege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for ſome time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now *Cæſar*, having reduced all the places which had declared for *Pompey*, and exacted immenſe contributions from the *Spaniards* under pretence of puniſhing their rebellion, retired to *Hiſpalis*; whence, to give new marks of his eſteem for *Cicero*, he wrote a conſolatory letter to him on occaſion of the death of his beloved daughter *Tullia*, who died at *Rome* in childbed, while her huſband *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was attending *Cæſar* in *Spain*. This letter, as appears from *Cicero*'s works, was wrote the day before the kalends of *May*; and a few days after *Cæſar* left *Hiſpalis*, and marched

The fleet of Didius *burnt, and he killed.*

Munda *taken.*

And Urſaon.

marched with the beſt part of his army to *New Carthage*; where he was met by deputies from moſt cities of *Spain*, with whom he ſettled the affairs of the two *Spaniſh* provinces, and then imbarqued for *Rome*, having finiſhed in ſeven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years [h].

Cæſar reached *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, and entered the city in triumph, which diſpleaſed the *Romans* beyond any thing he had yet done. They could not brook his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his rejoicing for an advantage, which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which no better apology could be made, than that he was abſolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look ſtill more diſtaſteful was, that he had never before acquainted the ſenate by any letter or expreſs of the victories he had obtained in the courſe of the civil wars; but ſeemed rather to be aſhamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might ariſe to him from it. *Cæſar*, not contented with having triumphed himſelf, beſtowed the ſame honour on two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, but with this difference, that the repreſentations of the cities, rivers, *&c.* carried before *Cæſar*, were of ivory; whereas thoſe that were made uſe of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of the common wood; which made a humorous *Greek*, by name *Chryſippus*, ſay, by way of raillery, that the ſtatues carried before *Fabius* and *Pedius* were only the caſes of thoſe which *Cæſar* had diſplayed in his triumph [i]. However, the *Romans*, taking the ſame ſide with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and thoſe greater than any they had yet beſtowed. *Cicero* indeed propoſed in the ſenate the conferring of ſuch honours on him, as were in ſome meaſure within the bounds of modeſty; but others, ſtriving who ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them ſo high, that they made *Cæſar* odious even to the moſt indifferent and moderate ſort of men. They made him dictator for life, ſubjected all magiſtrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power, decreed, that he alone ſhould levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magiſtrates ſhould oblige themſelves by oath to obſerve whatever decrees he ſhould think fit to enact. Among other titles, that of *imperator* was given him, not in that ſenſe in which it had been formerly beſtowed on gene-

Cæſar returns to Rome.

His triumph offends the Romans.

Created dictator for life.

And imperator

[h] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. DIO. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xiii. epiſt. 20. [i] DIO. l. xliii. APPIAN. ibid. QUINTILIAN. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in Cæſ.

rals after ſome ſignal victory, but as it imported the greateſt power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *imperator* or *emperor*, and likewiſe that of *Cæſar* to his ſucceſſors; and this was the beginning of the imperial ſtate of *Rome*, though it was not ſettled till ſome years after. His enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in the extraordinary honours conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, ſince they took from thence an opportunity of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of ſuch as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, *Cæſar* made it his whole ſtudy to gain the affections even of his moſt inveterate enemies. He not only pardoned all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, but on ſeveral of them beſtowed honours and offices; inſomuch, that both the ſenate and people, to teſtify their gratitude to him for the mild uſe he made of his power, decreed a temple to *clemency*. As the people ſtill retained an affection for *Pompey*, he ordered all the ſtatues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be ſet up again; upon which *Cicero* ſaid, that by raiſing *Pompey*'s ſtatues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the ſenate and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, he diſmiſſed his guards, ſaying, it was better to ſuffer death once, than to live always in fear of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his beſt and ſureſt guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige them, entertaining them frequently with public feaſts and ſhows, and diſtributing corn among the poorer ſort of people. To gratify his army, he ſent out colonies to ſeveral places, of which the moſt remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* (W). As for the nobility, he attached moſt of them to his intereſt by raiſing them to the chief offices in the ſtate, and truſting them with the government of the many provinces that were then ſubject to *Rome*. In ſhort, he ingratiated himſelf with all orders of men, by his gentle deportment and winning behaviour, ſo as to work in them a chearful and willing ſubmiſſion. Though he had been inveſted with the conſular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent poſt in the republic, appointing *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *C. Trebonius* conſuls for the remaining part of that year. Nay, he carried his pretended obſervance of the ancient cuſtoms and laws ſo far, that the conſul *Fabius Maximus* happening to die ſuddenly on the very day before

His clemency and obliging behaviour.

(W) It may be ſaid, there was ſomething ſingular in the fate of theſe two cities; for as they had been both deſtroyed at the ſame time, ſo were they now at the ſame time rebuilt and repeopled.

the

the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilius* to be conſul for the remaining hours only, that is, till ſix in the evening, when the kalends of *January* began. As the *Romans* were all hatening to pay their compliments, as was uſual, to the new conſul, *Let us make haſte*, ſaid, *Cicero*, by way of raillery, *leſt he be gone out of his office before we get to his houſe* (X). As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increaſed the prætors to ſixteen, and the quæſtors to forty; he created ſix new ædiles, and increaſed the number of the other curule magiſtrates in proportion. But as there ſtill remained many unrewarded, who had ſerved him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the ſenate, by which means the number of the ſenators roſe from three hundred to nine hundred. This gave great offence to the conſcript fathers; the more, becauſe among thoſe, whom the dictator raiſed to that high ſtation, were many common ſoldiers, ſons of freed-men, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenſhip, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, &c. *Cæſar* having thus debaſed the ſenate, began to look upon them with contempt, and conſider them no otherwiſe than his vaſſals and creatures. Of this he gave not long after a ſignal inſtance. The ſenate, having paſſed a decree, conferring on him ſome extravagant honours, went in a body to preſent him with it, as he was ſitting on the roſtra adminiſtering juſtice. Though the conſuls, prætors, and all the curule magiſtrates then in *Rome* attended the ſenate, yet the dictator received them with all the pride and haughtineſs of a ſovereign, without ſo much as condeſcending to riſe to them. We are told by *Plutarch*, that he offered to ſtand up to the ſenate; but that *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: *Remember*, ſaid he, you are Cæſar, *and ſuffer them to pay you that reſpect which is due to your dignity.* However that be, his carriage offended, not only the conſcript fathers, but the people too, the latter thinking the affront on the ſenate equally reflected on the whole republic. *Cæſar*, ſenſible of the falſe ſtep he had taken, immediately retired home, and cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad by his emiſſaries, that his ſitting had been cauſed by the diſtemper to which he was ſubject, *viz.* the falling-ſickneſs, which, he ſaid, diſcompoſed the ſenſes of thoſe who were affected with it, if

Increaſes the number of the magiſtrates and ſenators.

He offends the ſenate.

(X) There was no end of *Cicero*'s witticiſms on that occaſion; *We have had a very vigilant conſul*, ſaid he; *for he has not ſhut his eyes during the whole time of his conſulate.* Caninius *was a conſul of ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, that not one among us dined, ſupped, or ſlept during his conſulate.* Caninius *has indeed been conſul, but we may well aſk under what conſul he has been conſul*, &c.

they talked much ſtanding. Not long after he gave a freſh occaſion of reſentment by affronting the tribunes. While *Cæſar* was one day ſitting in a golden chair upon the roſtra, to view the ceremony of the *lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was then *Cæſar*'s collegue in the conſulſhip, after having run up and down the city naked, as was uſual during that ſolemnity (Y), came into the forum, and falling down before *Cæſar*, preſented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a ſmall ſhout was raiſed by ſome who had been placed near the dictator for that purpoſe; but when *Cæſar* refuſed it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. *Antony* offered the crown again, and, upon the dictator's ſecond refuſal, all, who were preſent, teſtified their ſatisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then *Cæſar*, finding it would not take, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, ſaying, that *Jupiter* alone was king of the *Romans*. The next morning *Cæſar*'s ſtatues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people went preſently, and not only pulled them off, but cauſed thoſe to be apprehended and committed to priſon, who the day before had applauded *Antony*, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on *Cæſar*'s head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous *Brutus* the founder of the republic. This *Cæſar* highly reſented, diſplaced the two tribunes, and while he inveighed againſt them in a public ſpeech, he abuſed and ridiculed on that occaſion the people, calling them *bruti* and *Cumæi*, that is, *beaſts* and *fools* (Z.) A few days after

And the people.

(Y) The *lupercalia* were, as we have obſerved elſewhere, at their firſt inſtitution, peculiar to the ſhepherds, and of the ſame nature with the *Arcadian Lycæa*. The young patricians, and ſome of the magiſtrates, uſed to run that day up and down the city naked, ſtriking all they met with leathern thongs by way of ſport. Women of the firſt rank placed themſelves in the way, and held out their hands to the laſh, out of an opinion, that it procured an eaſy labour to thoſe who were with child, and made thoſe conceive who were barren.

(Z) The *Cumæi*, as madam *Dacier* obſerves, were noted for their ſtupidity; σκόπλητας δ' εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἡ Κυμή, Cumæ *is ſtupid to a proverb*, ſays *Strabo* (44); and he gives us theſe reaſons for it. The firſt, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours and be-

(44) *Strabo, l.* xiii.

fore

after, as he was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, ſome of his friends ſaluted him, as he entered the city, by the title of king; but he, finding the people diſreliſhed it, ſeemed to reſent it himſelf, and anſwered aloud, *My title is* Cæſar, *not king*. This affectation of being king gave the common people the firſt occaſion to quarrel with him, and proved a ſpecious pretence, for thoſe who had been his ſecret enemies all along, to conſpire againſt him. The zealous republicans, deteſting his ambition, began to form private cabals, and conſult among themſelves about the proper meaſures for delivering *Rome* from the yoke ſhe groaned under. The chief of the conſpirators was *C. Caſſius*, a ſincere friend to his country, and at the ſame time an enemy to *Cæſar* on a private account, the dictator having a few months before beſtowed the firſt and moſt honourable prætorſhip on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Caſſius* had the beſt claim to it. *Caſſius* therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a ſpirit of revenge, formed firſt with himſelf the plan of the conſpiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be ſecret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny. As *Brutus* was highly eſteemed both by the people and ſenate, *Caſſius* looked upon him as the moſt proper perſon for carrying on the conſpiracy. He was thought to be deſcended by his father's ſide from the famous *Junius Brutus*, who drove out the *Tarquins* (A), and by his mother's ſide from the *Servilii*,

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

fore they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The ſecond, that having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain ſum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them. But when the rains began to fall, thoſe creditors, being touched with compaſſion, cauſed it to be publiſhed, that the *Cumæans* might, if they pleaſed, take ſhelter under their own porticoes; which gave occaſion to this raillery, *The* Cumæans *had not the ſenſe to know that they had a right to ſtand under their own porticoes, when it rained till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier.*

(A) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Dion Caſſius* aſſure us, that *Marcus Brutus* was not deſcended from the famous *Junius Brutus*. The *Junian* family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in *Brutus* himſelf, after he had ſacrificed his two ſons to the ſafety of his country. The other flouriſhed many ages after, and furniſhed *Rome* with many heroes, among the reſt with *Marcus Brutus*, of whom we are ſpeaking in this place. As he bore the ſame name with the firſt conſul, and was of the ſame family, the common people believed him to be deſcended from the firſt *Brutus*. *Plutarch.*

in

vilii, one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*; but what, in *Plutarch*'s opinion, was more than all the reſt, he was both nephew and ſon in-law to *Cato* of *Utica*. He was a moſt zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at *Cæſar*'s hands reſtrained him from uſing violent meaſures. He had not only been pardoned himſelf, and obtained the ſame grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharſalia*; but was one in whom *Cæſar* had a particular confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable prætorſhip, was named for the conſulſhip four years after, and deſigned in all appearance by *Cæſar* for his ſucceſſor. For being once accuſed as engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, *Cæſar* would not hearken to the accuſation, ſaying, that *Brutus* was not ſo ambitious, but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death. *Caſſius* therefore, who had already formed the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Cæſar*, being on one hand deſirous of drawing into the plot a man of ſo great credit as *Brutus*; but on the other not daring to diſcourſe the matter with him openly, laid in the night time papers about his chair, where he uſed to ſit as prætor and determine cauſes, with ſentences to this import; *You are aſleep*, Brutus; *you are no longer* Brutus; and under the ſtatue of the famous *Junius Brutus* he wrote the following words; *Would to heaven thou wert alive, or ſome of thy deſcendents reſembled thee.* *Caſſius*, perceiving that theſe ſentences made a deep impreſſion on his mind, firſt employed his wife *Junia*, who was ſiſter to *Brutus*, to revive in the breaſt of her brother thoſe generous ſentiments, which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards reſolved at all adventures to diſcover to him his deſign, not doubting but he ſhould be able to draw one into the plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny. Accordingly, as the ſenate was to meet a few days after in order to deliberate, as was ſaid, about giving *Cæſar* the title of king, *Caſſius*, took this occaſion to pay a

Caſſius *endeavours to draw* Brutus *into the conſpiracy.*

tarch himſelf, upon the authority of *Poſidonius* the philoſopher, was of the ſame opinion, and will have *Brutus* to be ſprung from a third ſon of *Junius Brutus*, who was but a child, when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debaſe *Brutus* who acted a chief part in the conſpiracy, pretend, that he was come of a mean family, which had been raiſed to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

viſit

viſit to *Brutus*, and aſk him whether he deſigned to be preſent in the ſenate on the kalends of *March*, when *Cæſar*'s friends were to propoſe the giving him the title of king. *Brutus* anſwered, that he deſigned to abſent himſelf that day. *But ſuppoſe you are called thither*, replied *Caſſius*. *Then*, ſaid Brutus, *I ſhould think it my duty to ſpeak and uſe my utmoſt endeavours againſt ſuch unwarrantable proceedings, nay, and to dye rather than outlive the liberty of my country.* *Ah!* replyed *Caſſius, what generous* Roman *would ſuffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourſelf*, Brutus, *if you imagine, that thoſe papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the moſt illuſtrious and braveſt men of* Rome. *From other prætors they demand games, ſhows, gladiators*, &c. *but from you, whoſe very name is dreadful to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfal of arbitrary power, being ready to expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt dangers in expectation of your auſpicious aid.* These words made ſuch a deep impreſſion on *Brutus*, that, notwithſtanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Caſſius*'s meaſures, and from that time took upon himſelf the whole management of the conſpiracy. The name of *Brutus* ſoon engaged a great many illuſtrious citizens in the conſpiracy, among whom were *C. Trebonius*, *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, the two *Servilius Caſcas*, *Publius Cimbius*, *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, *Tullius Cimber*, and *Lucius Minucius Bacilius*. These had all ſerved under *Cæſar* from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his moſt truſty friends. It was more eaſy to draw into the conſpiracy thoſe who had always ſhewn an utter averſion to *Cæſar*'s uſurpation. Among theſe were *M. Junius Brutus*, *L. Caſſius*, brother to *C. Caſſius*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *P. Turullius*, *C. Attilius*, *L. Petronius*, *C. Cornelius Cinna*, *Caſſius Parmenſis*, *L.* and *C. Cæcilius*, *Rubrius Ruga*, *M. Spurius*, *P. Sextius Naſo*, *Pontius Aquila*, *Antiſtius Labeo*, and many others, to the number of ſixty, whoſe names have not been tranſmitted to us. As for *Cicero*, though he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet as he was naturally timorous, and greatly addicted to *Cæſar*, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, *Brutus*, did not think it adviſeable to truſt him with the ſecret. The conſpirators would fain have engaged the famous *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, and would have laid violent hands on himſelf after the defeat of *Pompey*'s party in *Africa*, had he not been prevented by *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, as we have related above. *Brutus* in order to diſcover his

Caſſius's *ſpeech to* Brutus.

Brutus *takes upon him the chief management of the conſpiracy.*

his true ſentiments, aſked him in a private converſation, which of the two evils was the greateſt? *To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the riſque of a civil war by ſhaking it off?* To this queſtion *Statilius* anſwered without heſitation, that he had rather patiently ſuffer the oppreſſions of an arbitrary maſter, than the cruelties and diſorders which generally attend civil diſſenſions. *Brutus* likewiſe endeavoured to engage in the conſpiracy *Favonius*, a philoſopher of great reputation, and, in order to ſound him, propoſed the ſame queſtion to him, when *Favonius* declared, that, in his opinion, a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Upon this, *Brutus* gave over all thoughts of gaining *Statilius* and *Favonius*. In the mean time, *Cæſar*'s enemies made it their whole buſineſs to ſtir up the common people againſt him, by ſpreading among the multitude a thouſand falſe reports, *viz.* that he deſigned to fix the ſeat of his empire into *Egypt* or *Phrygia*, and to tranſport thither all the riches of *Italy*, abandoning *Rome* to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. *Cæſar*, in hearing theſe groundleſs reports, began to ſuſpect, that ſome plot was privately carrying on againſt him; his friends believing that *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, adviſed him not to truſt them, but to be upon his guard and watch them narrowly. *Cæſar* anſwered, that he was not afraid of thoſe plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, ſuch as *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. However, as he too eaſily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were ſome of the conſpirators, telling him, that, after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himſelf in his preſervation, he neglected the neceſſary precautions for his ſafety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vaſt deſigns he had formed, than in guarding himſelf againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. For he had reſolved to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, after having revenged the death of *Craſſus* and the *Romans* ſlain with him at the battle of *Carrhæ*, to paſs through *Hyrcania*, thence to march by the *Caſpian* ſea to mount *Caucaſus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to overrun all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itſelf; whence he deſigned to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, deſcribing the ſpacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every ſide by the ſea. He had already ordered ſixteen legions and ten thouſand horſe to march towards *Brunduſium*, and was himſelf to follow them in a few days. But his friends, who were deſirous to ſee him honoured with the title of king before he left *Rome*, gave out, that the books

Brutus endeavours in vain to engage Statilius and Favonius.

Cæſar's vaſt deſigns.

books of the *Sibyls* declared, that the *Parthians* could never be overcome by the *Romans*, unleſs they fought under the conduct of a king. *Aurelius Cotta*, one of *Cæſar*'s creatures, who had the ſacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report out of them to the ſenate, and to propoſe that *Cæſar* ſhould only be ſtyled dictator in *Italy*; but that he ſhould be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with reſpect to all foreign nations ſubject to the *Roman* republic. The ſenate was appointed to meet for this purpoſe on the ides of *March*, and that day the conſpirators fixed upon as the moſt proper for putting their deſign in execution, ſince *Cæſar* would not fail coming to the ſenate on ſuch an occaſion, and it was ſafer to fall upon him there, moſt of the ſenators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the antient hiſtorians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifeſt preſages of *Cæſar*'s tragical death. They tell us, that men were ſeen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious flame ſeemed to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, inſomuch, that thoſe who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but nevertheleſs he received no hurt; that as *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of *March*, for that he was then threatened with ſome great danger. They add, that when the day was come, *Cæſar*, as he went to the ſenate, meeting the augur, ſaid to him by way of raillery, *The ides of* March *are come*. *They are come*, anſwered calmly the augur, *but they are not paſt*. The night before the plot was put in execution, he ſupped with *M. Lepidus*; and the diſcourſe turning upon the kind of death which ſeemed beſt, *Cæſar*, buſy as he was in ſigning ſome letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, *Of all deaths a ſudden one is the beſt*. After ſupper he retired to his own houſe, where both he and his wife *Calpurnia* paſſed the night in great care and uneaſineſs. He was ſcarce fallen aſleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being ſtartled at the noiſe and the light, which broke all on a ſudden into his room, he ſat up in his bed, when by the moonſhine he perceived *Calpurnia* faſt aſleep, but heard her utter in her dream ſome inarticulate words mixed with groans. She dreamt at that time, that the pinnacle (B), which the ſenate

The conſpirators fix on the ides of March *for putting their deſign in execution*

Several prodigies preceding Cæſar's *death.*

(B) The pinnacle, as madam *Dacier* obſerves, was a ſort of ornament uſually placed on the top of temples. The *Greeks* call it

nate had allowed to be raiſed on *Cæſar*'s houſe, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and alſo fancied, that ſhe was weeping over *Cæſar*, and holding him all covered over with wounds and blood in her arms. When it was day, ſhe begged of *Cæſar* that he would not ſtir out, but adjourn the ſenate to another time; and that, if he ſlighted her dreams, he would be pleaſed to conſult the gods by ſacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her requeſt; ſacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the prieſts, all the victims proved inauſpicious. *Cæſar* was not a man to be eaſily intimidated; he had braved death on a thouſand occaſions, and gained many victories, among the reſt that of *Munda*, when the auſpices threatened him with utter deſtruction. But, however, as he had never before diſcovered in *Calpurnia* any kind of ſuperſtition he now began to look upon her fears and apprehenſions as inſpirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected. As *Marc Antony* was then with him, being come, according to his cuſtom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had ſome thoughts of ſending him with orders to the ſenate not to aſſemble that day. But as moſt of his troops were already embarqued, and he himſelf was to leave *Rome* in four days, he could not come to any fixed reſolution, but remained in ſuſpence, till the ſenate began to aſſemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by *Pompey* near his theatre [k].

Cæſar is alarmed.

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Brutus.

While *Cæſar* was thus deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſuffer the ſenate to aſſemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, *Brutus* was buſy in adminiſtering juſtice in the forum, he being *prætor urbanus* for the preſent year. We are told, that he heard thoſe who pleaded before him, pronounced ſentence, and diſpatched the cauſes, that were brought to his tribunal, with as much

[k] Plut. in Cæſ. & Bruto. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Dio, xliv. Suet. in Julio, &c.

αἰτὸς ἀέτωμα, and the *Latins faſtigium*. Private perſons were not allowed to raiſe ſuch ornaments on the tops of their houſes without the conſent of the ſenate, who had the ſuperintendency of every thing relating to the public. Thus, as a token of honour, the ſenate accorded to *Poplicola* to have the doors of his houſe open towards the ſtreet inſtead of opening inwards. The pinnacles were commonly adorned with ſtatues of the gods, figures of victory, and ſuch other decorations as were ſuitable to the rank and quality of thoſe to whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

care-

care, equity, and application, as if he had no other buſineſs in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his houſe, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his robe, with a firm reſolution of plunging it into *Cæſar*'s breaſt before he returned home; yet he did not betray on his tribunal the leaſt concern, but acquitted himſelf of his office with his uſual calmneſs and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned in a certain ſum, refuſed to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to *Cæſar*; when *Brutus* caſting his eyes on the conſpirators, *Cæſar*, ſaid he, *how powerful ſoever, ſhall not prevent me from ſeeing ſuch ſentences put in execution, as are agreeable to the laws of* Rome. However, ſeveral accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify *Brutus* and the other conſpirators, and had almoſt defeated their beſt concerted meaſures. While *Brutus* was hearing cauſes in the forum with his uſual attention and patience, news was brought him, that his wife *Porcia* lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of *Cato*, and the only perſon, not concerned in the conſpiracy, to whom *Brutus* had revealed it. He ſtrove as much as poſſible, when abroad, to keep his uneaſineſs of mind to himſelf; but at home, and eſpecially in the nighttime, he was not the ſame man, but ſometimes all on a ſudden ſtarted out of his bed, and at other times was ſo taken up with unquiet thoughts, and ſo perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia* concluded, he had ſome dangerous and difficult enterpriſe in agitation. As ſhe was addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, fond of her huſband to a great degree, and full of courage and prudence, ſhe reſolved not to enquire into *Brutus*'s ſecrets, till ſhe had tried whether ſhe had courage and reſolution enough to conceal them even in the midſt of torments. With this view ſhe diſmiſſed all her attendants, and taking a knife, gave herſelf a deep gaſh in the thigh, which threw her into a violent fever. *Brutus*, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment, when ſhe in the height of her pain addreſſed him thus: "I am, O *Brutus*, the daugh-
" ter of *Cato*, and was given to you in marriage, not to par-
" take only in the common civilities of bed and board, but
" to bear a ſhare in your good, as well as your evil, fortunes.
" When I look upon you, I find no reaſon to repent the
" match; but from me, what evidence of my love, what
" ſatisfaction can you receive, if I am not allowed to ſhare
" with you in bearing your hidden griefs, nor admitted to
" any of your counſels, that require ſecrecy and truſt? I
" am well appriſed, that women are commonly thought to
" be of too weak a nature to be truſted with ſecrets; but cer-

The courage of Porcia, wife to Brutus.

" tainly, *Brutus*, a virtuous birth and education, and fre-
" quent converſing with men of honour, are of ſome force
" to the forming of our manners, and the ſtrengthening of our
" natural weakneſs. I am the daughter of *Cato* and the wife
" of *Brutus*, in which two great titles I did not place much
" confidence, till I tried myſelf, and found, that even againſt
" grief itſelf and pain I am invincible." Having thus ſpoke, ſhe ſhewed him her wound, and related to him the trial ſhe had made of her own conſtancy. *Brutus*, touched with this affecting ſpeech, could not help diſcovering the whole plot to her without reſerve; which when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and begged the aſſiſtance of the gods in his enterpriſe, that he might live to be a huſband worthy of ſuch a wife as *Porcia* (C). But with all her reſolution, when the day came, on which the deſign was to be put in execution, ſhe was extremely diſturbed with the expectation of the event, and, not being able to bear the greatneſs of her cares, ſhe could ſcarce keep within doors. At every little noiſe ſhe heard, ſhe ſtarted up, and, running into the ſtreet, aſked thoſe who came from the forum, what *Brutus* was doing? At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome by her fears and doubts, ſhe fell into a ſwoon. Whereupon her women making a great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to *Brutus*'s houſe to know what was the matter, and the report was ſoon ſpread abroad, that *Porcia* was dying, though ſhe recovered in a little time, and came to herſelf again. This news pierced *Brutus*'s heart; yet he was not ſo carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal, but, inſtead of going home, went to *Pompey*'s porch, adjoining to the hall, where the ſenators were to aſſemble, and there waited with the other conſpirators the coming of *Cæſar* to the ſenate. But, as he did not appear, though the day was far ſpent, being detained at home by his wife and the augurs, they were all under the greateſt uneaſi-

Brutus *diſcovers to her the conſpiracy.*

Conſtancy and reſolution of Brutus.

(C) *Valerius Maximus* is the only author, who ſuppoſes, that *Porcia* was acquainted with her huſband's deſign before ſhe wounded herſelf. According to him, *Brutus* diſcovered to her the whole plot the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon *Porcia* the next morning gave herſelf a dangerous wound with a razor; at which *Brutus* being greatly alarmed, *Porcia* told him, while he was expreſſing his concern in the moſt tender terms, that ſhe had wounded herſelf to make a trial of her conſtancy and courage, being determined to lay violent hands on herſelf, in caſe the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe did not anſwer his expectation.

neſs,

neſs, and aſcribed his delay to the diſcovery of the plot. They were confirmed in their ſuſpicion by ſeveral accidents, which were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were thus waiting for *Cæſar*, a citizen coming up to *Caſca*, one of the conſpirators, and taking him by the hand, *You conceal'd*, ſaid he, *the ſecret from me, but* Brutus *has told me the whole.* At which words *Caſca* being greatly alarmed, the other ſaid, ſmiling, *How came you*, Caſca, *to be ſo rich as a ſudden as to ſtand for the ædileſhip?* Theſe words reſtored, we may ſay, *Caſca* to life again; for he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of diſcovering the ſecret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The ſenator *Popilius Lænas* gave room for new ſuſpicions; for, after having ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* very obligingly, he accoſted them, and whiſpered them ſoftly in the ear; *My wiſhes are with you; may you accompliſh what you deſign; but I adviſe you to make no delay, for the thing is now no ſecret.* Having thus ſpoke, he left them in the utmoſt conſternation. *Decimus Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, one in whom *Cæſar* had ſuch confidence, that he had made him his ſecond heir, being no leſs alarmed at theſe words than the reſt of the conſpirators, reſolved to go in perſon to *Cæſar*'s houſe, to inform himſelf there of what kept him ſo long from coming to the ſenate. Accordingly, with the approbation of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he flew thither, and being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, he aſked him with his uſual familiarity, what kept him ſo long from appearing in the ſenate. *Cæſar*, who looked upon him as one of his beſt friends, imparted to him in confidence what his wife had dreamed the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon *Decimus*, fearing leſt he ſhould put off the ſenate to another day, and the buſineſs might in the mean time get wind, turned into ridicule both *Calpurnia*'s dreams and the divinations of the ſoothſayers, telling *Cæſar*, that he would be much to blame, if he gave the ſenate ſuch juſt grounds to complain; *For they are*, ſaid he, *met upon your own ſummons, and are ready to vote unanimouſly, that you ſhould be declared king of all the provinces out of* Italy, *and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place. Now, if any one ſhould be ſent to tell them, that they muſt break up for the preſent, and meet again when* Calpurnia *ſhall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies ſay? or who will with any patience hear your friends pretending to juſtify you, and maintaining, that this is not an inſtance of downright ſervitude on one ſide, and barefaced tyranny on the other? But*

Several accidents diſturb the conſpirators.

Decimus Brutus *prevails upon* Cæſar *to go to the ſenate.*

if you are ſo far prepoſſeſſed with groundleſs fears as really to think this an unlucky day it will be more decent for you to go to the ſenate yourſelf, and adjourn it in perſon. Having thus ſpoke, he took *Cæſar* by the hand, and dragged him, in a manner, out of his houſe. He was not gone far from his door, when an unknown ſlave made towards him; but not being able to get near him by reaſon of the croud, he went into his houſe, and put himſelf into the hands of *Calpurnia*, begging her to ſecure him till *Cæſar* returned, becauſe he had matters of the utmoſt importance to communicate to him. Soon after one *Artemidorus*, a native of the iſland of *Cnidus*, by profeſſion a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with moſt of the conſpirators, put into *Cæſar*'s hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to diſcover to him. *Artemidorus* had obſerved, that *Cæſar*, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to ſome of his officers, who attended him; and therefore coming as near to him as he could, he cried out, *Read this*, Cæſar, *quickly*; *for it contains affairs of the greateſt importance, and ſuch as concern you nearly.* Some writers tells us, that *Artemidorus*, not being able to come near *Cæſar* by reaſon of the throng, gave this note to another, who preſented it to him. However that be, *Cæſar* attempted ſeveral times to read it; but being diverted by the croud of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him, he kept it in his hand by itſelf, till he came into the ſenate.

Artemidorus delivers a paper to Cæſar, containing the diſcovery of the plot.

When he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conſcript fathers were aſſembled, *Popilius Lænas*, who, but a little before, had wiſhed *Brutus* and *Caſſius* good ſucceſs in their undertaking, coming up to him, diſcourſed a great while with him in private, *Cæſar* ſtanding ſtill all the time, and ſeeming to be very attentive. The conſpirators not being able to hear what he ſaid, but gueſſing from what they were conſcious of, that this conference was a diſcovery of their treaſon, were ſtrangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them with a deſign to ſtab themſelves, if the plot was diſcovered; but judging from *Lænas*'s looks and geſtures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmneſs and unconcern that appeared in *Cæſar*'s countenance, that the conſpiracy was not the ſubject of their conference, they took courage, and were ſoon after delivered from all their fears. For *Lænas* in retiring was obſerved to kiſs *Cæſar*'s hand, which was a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accuſing. *Cæſar* having diſmiſſed *Lænas*, entered the hall, where the ſenators were aſſembled,

The conſpirators alarmed.

aſſembled. This was one of the many edifices which *Pompey* had raiſed for the uſe of the public; whence *Plutarch* concludes, that ſome deity guided the action, and brought *Cæſar* thither to revenge upon him the death of *Pompey*. Upon *Cæſar*'s entering the hall, the ſenate ſtood up in reſpect to him. Of the conſpirators, ſome ſtood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers with thoſe of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother who was baniſhed. In the mean time, *Trebonius* (D) drew *Marc Antony*, who was faithful to *Cæſar* and a man of great ſtrength and reſolution, towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long diſcourſe contrived for that purpoſe. When the dictator was ſeated, the conſpirators, crouding round him, renewed their ſupplications in favour of *Cimber*'s brother, and taking him by the hand, kiſſed it, in appearance, with great reſpect. But the dictator rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther and growing very importunate, he firſt reprimanded them ſeverely, and afterwards, ſtarting up, puſhed them from him. Hereupon *Cimber*, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his ſhoulders, which was the ſignal agreed on to fall upon him. In that inſtant *Servilius Caſca* who ſtood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the firſt wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who at the beginning of ſuch a bold action was probably very much diſturbed; ſo that his ſtrength as well as his courage might fail him. *Cæſar* immediately, turning about, ſeized *Caſca* by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the ſame time, *Cæſar* in *Latin*, *wicked* Caſca, *what doſt thou mean?* and *Caſca* calling to his brother in *Greek* to come and help

The conſpirators croud round Cæſar in the ſenate-houſe.

And fall upon him.

(D) *Plutarch* in the life of *Cæſar* tells us, that *Antony* was detained without by *Brutus Albinus*, and in the life of *Brutus*, that he was kept in talk by *C. Trebonius*. How could he be guilty of ſo manifeſt a contradiction in the relation of an action ſo conſiderable and notorious? He was certainly miſtaken in the life of *Cæſar*, and in that of *Brutus* hits upon the truth; ſince all the hiſtorians, who mention this action, agree, that *Trebonius* entertained *Antony* at the door. *Cicero*, who is more to be relied on than all the hiſtorians put together, ſays in expreſs terms in his ſecond *Philippic*, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Antony* himſelf; *Cum interficeretur* Cæſar, *tum te a Trebonio vidimus ſevocari*; and in the third *Acceleratum Trebonium Quo ſcelere? niſi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peſte ſeduxit*; intimating, that *Antony* deſerved the ſame doom with *Cæſar*.

help him. Thoſe who were not privy to the deſign were ſtruck with ſuch horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor aſſiſt *Cæſar*, nay, not utter a ſingle word. But the conſpirators, who came prepared, incloſed him on all ſides with their naked daggers in their hands, ſo that which way ſoever he turned, he met with blows, and ſaw their daggers levelled at his face and eyes. *Caſſius*, having firſt turned his face to a ſtatue, which the republic had erected to *Pompey* in the hall, and ſilently implored the aſſiſtance of that hero, flew at *Cæſar* with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound on the head, encouraging the others to follow his example, and rid *Rome* of her tyrant. Hereupon they all preſſed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of diſpatching him, they wounded one another. *Brutus* in particular received a wound on the hand from *Caſſius*, and moſt of them were ſtained either with *Cæſar*'s blood or their own. The hero, though thus baited on all ſides, to uſe *Plutarch*'s expreſſion, like a wild beaſt taken in a toil, fought and defended himſelf in the beſt manner he could, till, looking round about him to ſee if he could make his eſcape, he perceived *Brutus* with his dagger in his hand. This ſight ſtung him to the heart, ſo that he ſtruggled no more; but crying out, *What! my ſon*, Brutus, *and you too?* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly ſurrendered himſelf. Then the conſpirators, puſhing him either by chance, or, as ſome ſay, by deſign, to the pedeſtal, on which *Pompey*'s ſtatue ſtood, which by that means was ſprinkled with his blood, diſpatched him there with twenty five wounds, the ſenate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. We are told, that as he found himſelf fainting away and ready to drop down, he wrapt the ſkirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency [1].

The circumſtances of his death.

He is killed.

Year after the Flood, 2960. Before Chriſt, 39. *Of* Rome, 709.

Thus died in the fifty-ſixth year of his age the greateſt warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world, ever ſaw, after he had fought with ſucceſs fifty pitched battles, taken by aſſault above a thouſand towns, and ſlain, if *Pliny* is to be credited [m], eleven hundred ninety two thouſand men. He was, without doubt, a perſon of extraordinary parts and wonderful

[1] Plut. in Cæſ. & Bruto. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Suet. in Julio. c. 81. 88. 91. Appian. l. ii. p. 522. Cic. l. ii. de divin.
[m] Plin. l. vii. c. 25.

abilities,

abilities, in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the uſe of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and eſteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to enthral his country, and uſurp a deſpotic and arbitrary power over thoſe who were as free as himſelf, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and uſurpers deſerve. If the ſtate had been deemed irrecoverable and an uſurper a neceſſary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæſar*. But as *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the beſt and ableſt *Romans* judged otherwiſe, the dictator's power and dominion was downright uſurpation, and conſequently every *Roman* was warranted by all the laws of *Rome* to put him to death.

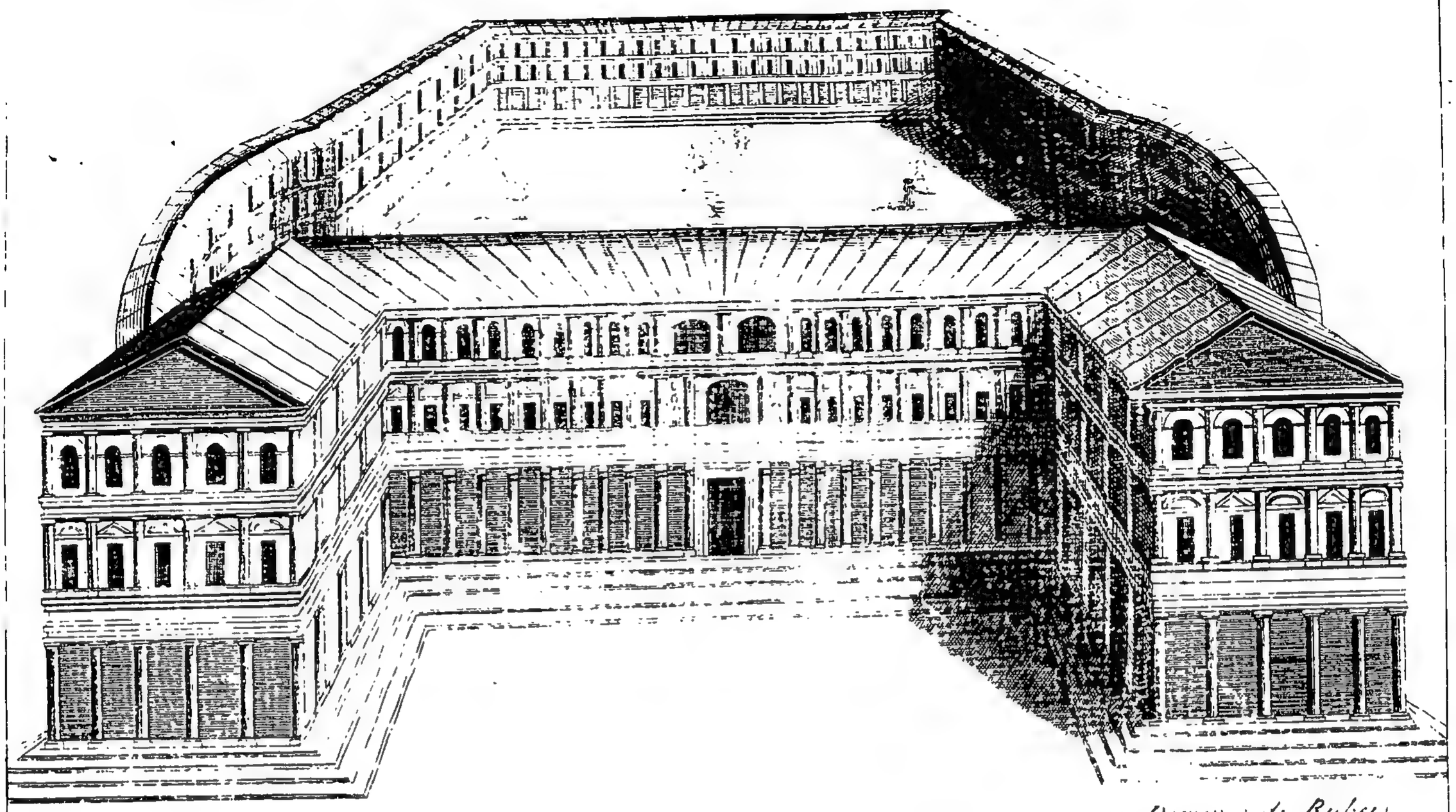
CHAP. XIV.

The history of Rome, *from the death of* Cæsar *to the first consulate of* Octavianus.

Rome *in great consternation upon* Cæsar's *death.*

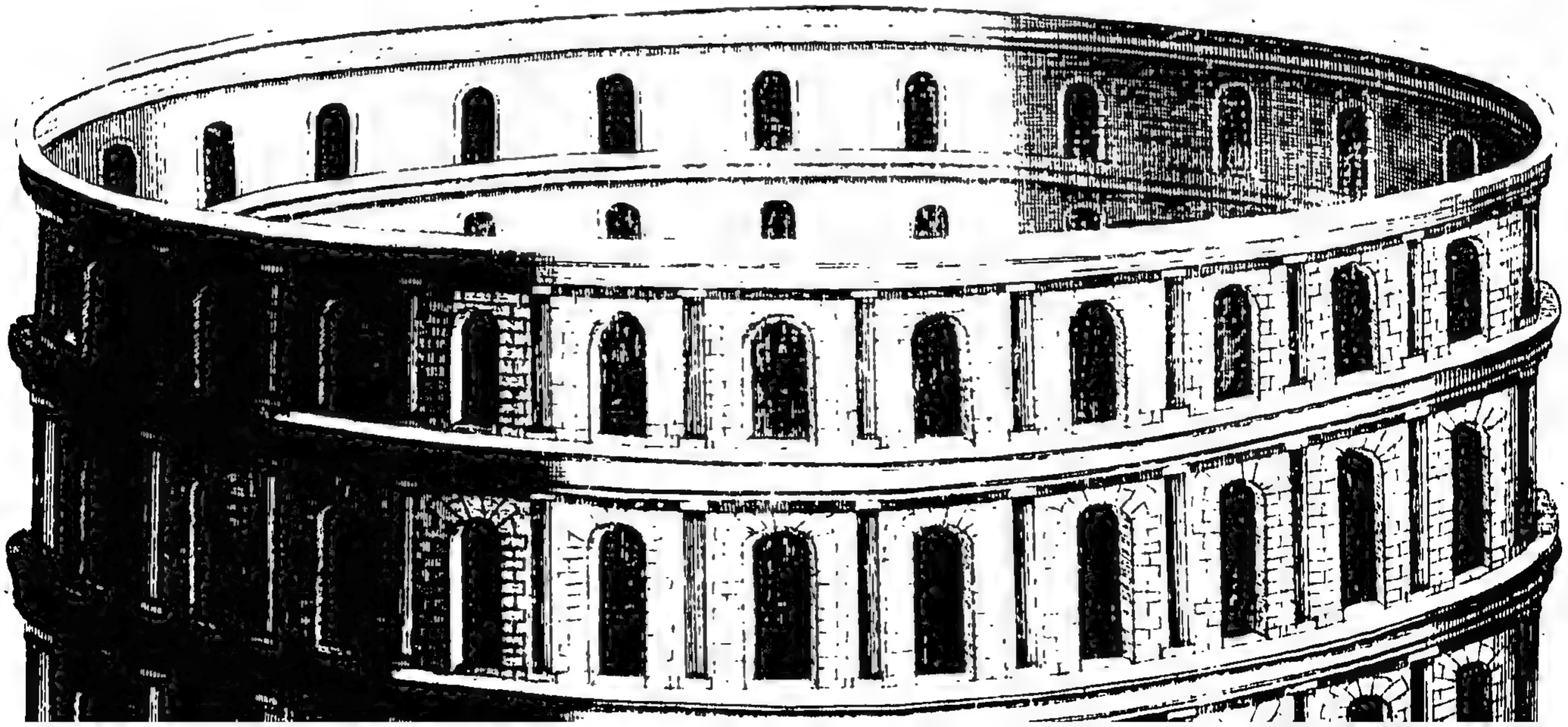
WHEN *Cæsar* was dispatched, *Brutus*, stepping forth into the middle of the senate-house, offered to give an account to the conscript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had restored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmost consternation, and carried terror and confusion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall and in the porch, that some of the senators were stifled in the croud, and others dangerously wounded, by running blindly in that general distraction against the naked daggers of the conspirators. The news of *Cæsar*'s death being in a trice spread all over the city, the friends of the deceased retired in all haste to their houses, and there shut themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from so tragical an event. The artificers, shutting their shops, ran in that sudden surprize, some to see the body of the deceased, others up and down the streets to inform themselves of the circumstances of so bold an attempt. In the mean time, *Brutus* and the other conspirators marched in a body from the senate-house all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like persons who thought of escaping, but with an air of confidence and assurance. Some persons of distinction, who had not been privy to the conspiracy, joined them with their drawn swords, being desirous to share in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part in it. Of this number were *C. Octavius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Patiscus*, *L. Statius*,

The Palace of Julius Cæsar



ex Domenic. de Rubeis

The Amphitheatre of Claudius Cæsar in the Campus Martis



ex Domen. de Rubeis

The AMPHITHEATRE of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MARTIS

Pomarede Sc

ex Domen. de Rubeis

Statius Murcus, who had ſerved under *Cæſar* in quality of lieutenant againſt the ſons of *Pompey* in *Spain*, *A. Aquinius*, and ſeveral others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by *Antony* and young *Octavianus*. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the ſtreets, that they had killed the king of *Rome* and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by a herald, who car ied on the point of a lance a cap, the ſymbol of liberty among the *Romans*. As they marched along, they called to the people to reſume their antient liberty, and complimented ſuch perſons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, *Brutus*, holding up his bloody dagger, cryed out, Cicero, *we have revenged the republic*. This he did, as ſome writers conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cauſe, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country againſt the wicked attempts of *Catiline*, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of *Cæſar*. However that be, the people did not join them; but, alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city, ſome bewailing the loſs of one who had ſupported them with his largeſſes, and others laying hold of the preſent general diſtraction to plunder the houſes of their fellow-citizens. They were no more thoſe antient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more dear than life itſelf. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accuſtomed to live by the price of their votes, which they ſold to the beſt bidder. *Brutus* therefore, with his followers, thought it adviſeable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. The next day, as nobody was injured by the conſpirators either in his goods or perſon, the ſenators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conſpirators in the capitol. *Brutus* made an harangue to them, very popular and adapted to the preſent ſtate of affairs. When he had done ſpeaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come down into the city. Hereupon the conſpirators deſcended with confidence into the forum, *Brutus* being attended and guarded by many perſons of the moſt eminent quality in *Rome*, while the other conſpirators went promiſcuouſly mingled with the crowd. He no ſooner appeared on the roſtra, than the rabble, though conſiſting of a confuſed mixture, and all diſpoſed to raiſe a tumult, were ſtruck with reverence, and hearkened to him with ſilence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put *Cæſar* to death, and ſolemnly proteſted, that

The conſpirators invite the people to reſume their antient liberty.

His death attended with great diſturbances in the city.

Brutus *harangues the people.*

neither he nor his companions had any thing elſe in view, but the delivering of *Rome* from a tyrannical yoke, and the reſtoring of their country to her former condition; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than ſubjection, expreſſed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly diſpleaſed at the action; and that they reverenced *Brutus*, but at the ſame time pitied *Cæſar*. Hereupon the conſpirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where *Brutus* who expected to be beſieged, diſmiſſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it juſt, that thoſe who had no hand in the action ſhould ſhare in the danger [m].

But returns with his followers to the capitol.

As *Cæſar* had deſigned to ſet out in a few days on his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*, he had reſigned his conſulſhip to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. The new conſul, out of reſpect to *Cæſar*, waited for his departure to enter upon his office; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and faſces, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people. As this was an open acknowledgment of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends againſt *Brutus* and the other conſpirators; but he, to the great ſurprize of all, after ſo unwarrantable a ſtep, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a conſul; and there, congratulating *Brutus* and his followers on the ſucceſs of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would ſupport them to the utmoſt of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made an harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having caſt out many bitter reflections on *Cæſar*, and beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on *Brutus*, he went ſo far as to propoſe a law, enacting, that for the future the *ides* of March ſhould be celebrated with the ſame ſolemnity, as the day on which *Rome* was built. *The day*, ſaid he, *in which* Rome *recovered her liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by all true* Romans *as happy a day, as that in which the city was firſt built. To the latter ſhe owes her being, to the former her liberty; and what is being itſelf without liberty?* But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had ſupported with his liberal preſents, were ſo far from being moved by his ſpeech to approve of his death, that on the contrary they would have torn the conſul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, ſaved himſelf in the capitol. However, the menaces,

Dolabella *takes upon him the conſular dignity, and declares for* Brutus.

[m] Plut. Dio Cass. Appian. ibid.

which

which the multitude threw out on this occaſion againſt the dictator's enemies, did not deter *L. Cornelius Cinna* from renouncing his party in a moſt ſolemn manner. *Cæſar* had married to his firſt wife *Cornelia* the ſiſter of *Cinna*, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raiſed him this year to the prætorſhip, and promiſed him the conſulate. But *Cinna* was in his heart a well-wiſher to his country and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon *Cæſar*'s death, he not only ſided openly with the conſpirators, but going into the forum, with all the enſigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective againſt his brother-in-law, ſtyling him tyrant, uſurper, oppreſſor of his country, &c. When he had done ſpeaking, he ſtripped himſelf, in the preſence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, *Theſe I received of* Cæſar, *againſt the known laws of* Rome; *and now I reſign them to the* Roman *people, who alone have a right to diſpoſe of them.* But even this generous and diſintereſted proceeding was highly reſented by the vile populace, and *Cinna* obliged to abſcond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury [n].

The generous and diſintereſted behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

IN the mean time, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were intirely addicted to *Cæſar*, and had concealed themſelves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people ſtood affected, appeared again in public. When the conſpirators firſt conſulted about the execution of their deſign, they were all, except *Brutus*, of opinion, that *Antony* ſhould be cut off with *Cæſar*; for they looked upon him as a dangerous perſon, on account of his unbounded ambition and the powerful intereſt he had among the ſoldiery; but *Brutus*, whoſe intentions were upright and ſincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, ſaying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of juſtice ought to be free even from all appearance of injuſtice. Beſides he gave them hopes, that a great change might be worked in *Antony*. I do not deſpair, ſaid he, but ſuch a lover of glory as *Antony*, ſtirred up with emulation of our great attempt, will lay hold of this occaſion to be joint reſtorer with us of the liberty of his country. Thus the generous *Brutus* ſaved *Antony*'s life; but he inſtead of anſwering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the firſt news of *Cæſar*'s death, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, and concealed himſelf, till he was informed, that the populace were diſpoſed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majeſty and ſplendor of a conſul,

Antony *ſaved by* Brutus.

[n] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 58.

being

being this year *Cæſar*'s collegue in that dignity, and managed matters with ſuch addreſs, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finiſhing blow to the republic, and reduced *Rome* to a laſting monarchy. The firſt ſtep he took was, to order *Lepidus* to march into the city a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood, and to incamp in the field of *Mars*. This alarmed the conſpirators in the capitol, who thereupon ſent deputies to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, deſiring them to conſider the ſad conſequences of a diviſion in ſo critical a conjuncture, and remonſtrating, that no hatred to *Cæſar*'s perſon had armed them againſt him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the ſtate was already ſo drained by civil wars, that any new diſturbances muſt prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views tranſport them to the prejudice of the public, *&c.* Both *Antony* and *Lepidus*, under pretence of revenging *Cæſar*'s death, aimed at the ſovereign power themſelves, and fought it in the ruin of thoſe brave men, who ſtood up in defence of their oppreſſed country; but, as *Decimus Brutus* was already ſet out from *Rome* to put himſelf at the head of an army of veterans in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which province had been allotted him by *Cæſar*, they both diſſembled even their deſign of revenging *Cæſar*'s death, and, to gain time, returned the following anſwer, That they were ready to ſacrifice their private regards to the public good, and ſuffer the ſenate to be aſſembled, that they might govern themſelves by the advice of ſo many illuſtrious and diſcerning perſons as compoſed that venerable body. Accordingly *Antony*, as conſul, appointed the ſenate to meet early the next morning in the temple of *Tellus*, near his own houſe, and, in the mean time, placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raiſing diſturbances, and likewiſe ordered all *Cæſar*'s money and papers to be conveyed to his houſe. Next morning by break of day, the conſcript fathers aſſembled purſuant to their ſummons; and never did that auguſt body meet on ſo important and nice an occaſion. They came to decide, whether *Cæſar* had been an uſurper, or a lawful magiſtrate; and whether thoſe who had killed him deſerved puniſhments, or rewards. As none of the conſpirators appeared in the ſenate, not daring to expoſe themſelves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmneſs and temper than could have been expected in a matter of ſuch conſequence. Moſt of the conſcript fathers were inclined to favour the conſpirators; but nevertheleſs were divided among themſelves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them *the deli-*

Lepidus is ordered by Antony to march a legion into the city.

Antony aſſembles the ſenate.

verers,

terers, the ſaviours of their country, and allotting them, as ſuch, ample rewards. Others were for approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, ſince nobody demanded them. Some thought it was ſufficient to bury in oblivion what was paſt, without beſtowing either praiſes or rewards on the authors of *Cæſar*'s death. Some of *Cæſar*'s friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and deteſtable; but that they were nevertheleſs ready to concur in ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged neceſſary for the ſafety of thoſe who had committed it, out of a due regard to ſo many illuſtrious families. After ſeveral different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that, before the conſpirators were declared guilty or innocent, this queſtion ſhould be put, *Whether* Cæſar *was a tyrant, or a lawful magiſtrate?* ſince on the deciſion of this depended that of all other queſtions relating to the conſpirators. *Antony*, foreſeeing that this queſtion would be decided to the diſadvantage of his party, warded off the blow with an addreſs and dexterity, which will ſeem incredible to thoſe who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in *Cicero*'s letters and ſpeeches. *Have you well weighed with yourſelves, conſcript fathers,* ſaid he, *the conſequences that muſt attend the deciſion of this queſtion? If you declare the late dictator a tyrant, all his acts will be of courſe void and null; and who can conceive what confuſion and diſorders will hence enſue, not in this metropolis only, but in all the ſtates and kingdoms ſubject to* Rome? *The republic will be without lawful magiſtrates, the provinces without governors, the armies without commanders, &c. ſince we have been all inveſted in our offices, commands, and governments by* Cæſar. *If we pronounce* Cæſar *a tyrant and uſurper, we muſt lay down thoſe honours, ſince we can no longer think them lawfully conferred upon us. If* Cæſar *is an uſurper, his body muſt, purſuant to the ordinances of our anceſtors be ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets and thrown into the* Tiber. *If but diſturbances and tumults will not this produce among the populace, who adore him as a god? You are going, conſcript fathers, to plunge the republic, nay, the whole world, which is fill'd with* Cæſar's *glory, into a bloody war and eternal diſorders.* *Antony*'s words made a deep impreſſion on the aſſembly, which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not been nominated by *Cæſar* to any civil or military employments, ſtill inſiſted on his being declared an uſurper and tyrant; but all the preſent magiſtrates, and thoſe whom

Different opinions of the conſcript fathers.

Antony's addreſs.

whom *Cæſar* had appointed to ſucceed them (E), were for dropping the queſtion relating to him, and only decreeing, that nobody ſhould be proſecuted on account of his death. Among the latter was the conſul *Dolabella*, who, as he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the conſular dignity, was well apprized, that, if he once parted with it, the people would not be eaſily induced to reſtore him, in defiance of the laws, to that poſt. However, ſeveral prætors were prevailed upon by the friends of the conſpirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to ſtrip themſelves of their robes and publicly reſign the offices, to which *Cæſar*, by his authority alone, had raiſed them. The diviſion, which reigned in the ſenate, was likely to have involved the republic anew in a civil war, when *Cicero*, by an excellent ſpeech, which has been tranſmitted to us, not in the language in which he ſpoke it, but in *Greek* [o], prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to drop the queſtion relating to *Cæſar*, viz. *Whether he was a tyrant, or no*; and to paſs an act of oblivion for what was paſt. Accordingly a general amneſty was proclaimed, and at the ſame time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and the moſt zealous patriots, That not the leaſt thing ſhould be altered, which *Cæſar* had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the ſame time both innocent and guilty, ſince it was inconſiſtent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorſhip, and at the ſame time decree, that thoſe who had put him to death ſhould not be proſecuted. *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject thus; *The tyrant is no more; but the tyranny ſtill ſubſiſts. We expreſs great joy at his death, and at the ſame time confirm all his ordinances* [p].

An act of oblivion paſſed, and Cæſar's *acts confirmed.*

[o] Dio. l. xliv [p] Cic. Philip. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 58. Plut. in Cic. Brut. & Cæſ. Appian. l. ii. Dio. l. xliv.

(E) *Cæſar*, foreſeeing that his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to *Rome* for ſome time, had appointed conſuls, as *Cicero* informs us, for the two following years, *viz. Aulus Hirtius* and *Caius Vibius Panſa*, for the firſt year after his departure, and *Decimus Brutus* with *Lucius Munatius Plancus* for the ſecond. According to *Dion Caſſius*, he had named conſuls for the three following years; according to *Appian* for five, and according to *Suetonius* for many years. But the authority of *Cicero* ought to be of more weight than that of any hiſtorian, ſince he writes of ſuch tranſactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally ſpeaking, no ſmall ſhare.

This

THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable poſture. *Antony* and *Lepidus* were ſtill reſolved to purſue their revenge on the conſpirators, hoping to raiſe themſelves by their deſtruction to the ſame poſt which *Cæſar* had held; but, as they were afraid of each other, and both of *Decimus Brutus*, governor of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, they artfully concealed their ambitious deſigns, and cauſed the act of oblivion to be publiſhed in all the quarters of the city. As the conſpirators ſtill kept in their aſylum, for fear of ſome ſudden tumult, *Antony* and *Lepidus* ſent their children to the capitol as hoſtages for their ſecurity; and then *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and their followers came down into the city. The ſame night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, *Antony* invited *Caſſius* to ſupper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus*. As *Antony* liked joking, he aſked *Caſſius*, *Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robe? Yes*, anſwered *Caſſius*, who was naturally choleric and ſullen, *and a ſharp one too, for any who ſhall dare to aſpire at the ſovereign power.* This anſwer put a ſtop to any further jeſts. And now nobody doubted, but the republic would ſoon be reſtored to her former tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the conſpirators as the deliverers of their country, and honoured them with the title of *tyrannicides*. This tranquillity did no-ways ſuit *Antony*'s ambitious views. He therefore ſoon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incenſe the multitude anew againſt thoſe, whom they had deſervedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greateſt honours and rewards. *Cæſar*, on the ides of *September* of the preceding year, had made his will in his houſe at *Laricum*, and appointed his father-in-law *Calpurnius Piſo* to ſee it executed. To him *Marc Antony* applied, and preſſed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well appriſed, that this would produce new diſturbances, and have a great effect on the inconſtant multitude. On the other hand, the dictator's enemies endeavoured to perſuade *Piſo* to ſuppreſs it; but he, being ſupported by *Antony*, openly declared, that nothing ſhould divert him from diſcharging the truſt *Cæſar* had repoſed in him. The affair was at length brought before the ſenate, where it occaſioned freſh diſputes. *Antony* and *Piſo* warmly inſiſted on having the will read, and the body of the deceaſed dictator honourably interred. Thoſe, ſaid *Piſo*, who boaſt of having killed a tyrant, treat us themſelves in a moſt tyrannical manner. They are willing, that whatever *Cæſar* has done in their behalf ſhould be ratified, and at the ſame time demand, that his laſt diſpoſitions be ſuppreſſed. As to *Cæſar*'s funeral, you may order what you

Brutus and his followers come down into the city.

Piſo and Antony are for having Cæſar's will read.

think fit; but as to his will, which he has depoſited in my hands, I am reſolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties and with great warmth, *Caſſius* violently oppoſing the propoſal of *Antony* and *Piſo*, which, if complied with, he foreſaw, would revive the affections of the people, and cauſe freſh troubles; but *Brutus* at length yielded, and it was decreed, That *Cæſar*'s will ſhould be opened, his funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he worſhipped as a god. This was an unpardonable overſight in *Brutus*, and *Caſſius* loudly complained of his too eaſy condeſcenſion and unſeaſonable humanity; and indeed with a great deal of reaſon; for the reading of the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceaſed, proved fatal, both to the avengers of the republic, and the republic itſelf.

Brutus yields them their requeſt.

Cæſar's will.

The will being produced was read in the preſence of the people; and there it was found, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, *C. Octavius*, *Lucius Pinarius*, and *Quintus Pedius*. To *Octavius*, the grandſon of his ſiſter *Julia*, he left three fourths of his eſtate, and the remaining part to the other two. He alſo ordained, that young *Octavius*, his principal heir, ſhould take his name, and be adopted into the *Julian* family; and that if any of his great nephews ſhould die or renounce his inheritance, *Marcus Brutus* and *M. Antony* ſhould be ſubſtituted in their room. Several of the conſpirators were appointed guardians to his children, in caſe he ſhould have any; and *Decimus Brutus*, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to ſucceed *Octavius*, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue male, and to be adopted into the *Julian* family. By the ſame will he bequeathed to the *Roman* people his fine gardens beyond the *Tiber*, and to each individual citizen the ſum of ſeventy five *Attic* drachmas, or three hundred ſeſterces. Theſe laſt tokens of *Cæſar*'s good will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew againſt *Brutus* and his followers, on whom they no longer beſtowed the glorious name of *tyrannicides*, but that of *aſſaſſins*, threatening to treat them in the ſame manner as they had treated the dictator their common benefactor. *Brutus*, perceiving this change, mounted the roſtra in quality of prætor, and with the following ſpeech, endeavoured to appeaſe the inraged populace. "Great pains have been "taken, *ſaid he*, to prejudice you againſt us as diſturbers of "the public tranquillity. We are accuſed at the ſame time "of cruelty, ingratitude, and perfidiouſneſs. It is pretended "that we have violated the oaths, which tied us to *Cæſar*. "What oaths, immortal gods! Had *Cæſar* any lawful "power

Diſturbances occaſioned by the reading of it.

Brutus's *ſpeech to the people.*

" power to require them? Did he not extort them with his
" ſword at our throats? Do you look upon forced engage-
" ments as really binding? Can forced oaths oblige us to
" ſubmit to a tyrant? Has not *Cæſar* acted as ſuch ever
" ſince *Pompey*'s death? He has diſpoſed of the great
" charges and principal employments, without your advice,
" or that of the ſenate. The public money, the revenues
" of the provinces, were conveyed into his coffers. All the
" orders in the republic were forced to ſubmit to his lawleſs
" and arbitrary will. There is not one *Roman* throughout
" the empire, whom he did not injure in the higheſt degree;
" for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greateſt bleſ-
" ſing of mankind. When he ſeemed to be rendering his
" country the moſt important ſervices by his ſucceſsful under-
" takings, at that very time was he laying his ſchemes how
" to bring her into ſubjection. He made war on foreign
" enemies, only that he might know how to ſubdue and en-
" ſlave his fellow-ſubjects. It is ſaid, that he was meditat-
" ing great things for the republic when he was cut off. He
" might indeed have gathered empty laurels for himſelf by more
" wars at the expence of the republic; but what advantage
" would have redounded to us from his victories? Every
" acceſſion of power muſt, by raiſing his tyranny higher,
" have ſunk us lower and ſtrengthened our chains. Had he
" left us any hopes of his laying down one day the power he
" had uſurped, we ſhould have bore the yoke with patience;
" but the name of *perpetual dictator* threatened us with eter-
" nal ſlavery. He treated the very name of liberty and the
" republic with contempt. He ridiculed *Sylla* for reſigning
" his uſurped authority, and manifeſtly ſhewed, that he
" had nothing in his head or heart, but abſolute rule, a dia-
" dem, the title of king, and controlling the world accord-
" ing to his luſt. It is ſaid, that his perſon was ſacred and
" inviolable; but did not he the firſt violate that reſpect
" which is due to ſacred perſons? Did he not depoſe two of
" our tribunes, and even condemn them to baniſhment, for
" no other reaſon, but becauſe they took from his ſtatues the
" royal diadem?" Then turning to the old legionaries, who had for the moſt part, received lands of *Cæſar* by way of reward for their long ſervices. " As for you, brave ve-
" terans, ſaid he, when you firſt entered into the ſervice,
" was it to *Cæſar*, or to the republic, you engaged your fide-
" lity by the military oath? You have fought under *Cæſar*;
" but was it for him you fought? You have conquered; and
" your victories ought to be amply rewarded. We are re-
" ſolved to allow you the rewards which *Cæſar* had promiſed

" you. The commonwealth will not ſuffer you to be loſers " by his death. Thoſe who have already received inheri- " tances, ſhall be confirmed in the poſſeſſion of them; and " ſuch as have not yet been rewarded, ſhall be ſatisfied for " their ſervices out of the firſt money that comes into the " publ · treaſury. This I promiſe in the name of the ré- " public; and my word ſhall be ſacred and inviolable in " every thing but the ſupporting of tyranny [q]." This ſpeech, which was no *frivolous apology*, as ſome aſſertors of abſolute power are pleaſed to call it [r], appeaſed both the people and ſoldiery; but *Antony* and *Piſo* ſoon found means to inflame them anew with fury and ſorrow, two groſs paſſions which do not reaſon, but feel. They cauſed the body of *Cæſar* (F) to be brought forth with a great deal of pomp, being carried on the ſhoulders of men, who were all in office, and of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. They had raiſed a kind of ſtage in the forum over-againſt the roſtra, and on the ſtage a ſmall temple of gilt wood, after the model of that of *Venus*, *Cæſar*'s pretended mother. In this temple was a bed of ivory, richly adorned with curtains of cloth of gold and of purple. On the bed was laid the body of the deceaſed, the robe in which he was killed being hung up by it. All *Rome* crouded to ſee the mangled body of their deceaſed hero, whoſe loſs they bewailed anew with many ſighs and tears. Thoſe chiefly, who had ſerved under him in moſt of his wars, were inconſolable, and with loud cries demanded vengeance. Then *Antony*, to fire them ſtill more, aſcended the roſtra (G), and took

The body of Cæſar brought forth with great pomp.

Antony inflames the populace by his funeral oration.

[q] Appian. l. ii. Dio. l. xliv. [r] Catrou and Rouille, Vol. XVII. p. 404.

(F) We are told by ſome hiſtorians, that the conſpirators deſigned at firſt to throw the dead body of the dictator into the *Tiber*, in order to remove that object of compaſſion out of the ſight of the populace; but being prevented from putting their deſign in execution by the tumult which happened in the ſenate, they left it in the ſenate-houſe, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his houſe by three of his ſlaves, who took care to have it embalmed, not doubting, but the ſenate or people would, in due time, order it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence

(G) *Suetonius* is the only writer among the antients, who tells us, that *Antony* pronounced no funeral oration. *The conſul*, ſays that hiſtorian, *made no oration, as was uſual, in commendation of the deceaſed. He only ordered a herald to read aloud the decree of the ſenate, placing* Cæſar *among the gods, and ordering divine honours*

took upon him to pronounce his funeral oration, inlarging on every topic which could move compaſſion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conqueſts he had made, the various nations he had ſubdued, &c. Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorſhip, his being ſeveral times honoured with the conſulate, the cenſorſhip, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and, above all, with the glorious name of *the father of his country*. From thence he paſſed to his virtues, crying up his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generoſity, clemency even to his enemies, &c. After this he repeated the Oath, which the people of *Rome* had taken to him, and by which they had ſworn, that his perſon ſhould be ſacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. *Antony*, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he ſaid in commendation of *Cæſar*, to ſtir them up yet further to compaſſion, or rather to madneſs, unfolded the bloody garment of *Cæſar*, ſhewed them in how many places it was pierced, and expoſed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon *Antony*, ſeeing rage mixed with grief painted in every one's face, reſumed his diſcourſe, and turning to the capitol, *Great* Jupiter, ſaid he; *and ye gods, protectors of the* Roman *empire, I call you to witneſs, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but the decree of the conſcript fathers has tied my hands. Am I guilty of ſacrilege and perjury?* At theſe words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but, *Vengeance, vengeance.* The ſenators were highly provoked againſt *Antony*, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he obſerving from their countenances, and fearing to diſoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that auguſt body, and, in ſome degree, qualify what he had ſaid, concluded thus: *Yes, the Gods themſelves abſolve me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; ſince it is the crime of ſome evil demons, enemies to* Rome, *rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illuſtrious deceaſed, and placing him among the immortal gods* [r].

[r] DIO. APPIAN. SUET. ibid.

nours to be paid him. Antony *ſpoke only a few words in praiſe of the illuſtrious deceaſed.* It is ſurpriſing that *Suetonius* ſhould be ignorant of ſo remarkable an incident, related at length by all other hiſtorians, and, what is more, by *Cicero*, who, in his ſecond *Philippic*, reproaches *Antony* with it in moſt bitter terms.

Antony,

Antony had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when one of the ſpectators, flying, as ſeized with ſome fury, from the midſt of the croud, and, mounting the ſtage, laid hold of *Cæſar*'s robe, and, diſplaying it again to the multitude, *There is the ſpoil of a hero*, he cried, *beloved of the gods, and reverenced by the world, even to adoration.* Theſe words interrupted with frequent ſighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries, and ſtrange poſtures of ſorrow, occaſioned a general commotion. At the ſame time appeared all on a ſudden an image of *Cæſar* in wax, which moved by ſprings, and ſhewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face, and other parts of his body. This ſight tranſported the populace even to madneſs: the forum reſounded with ſighs mixt with menaces and curſes againſt the authors of his death, whom they ſtyled *aſſaſſins, parricides*, &c. *worthy of the moſt cruel puniſhments.* Their fury was ſo great, that they would defer no longer the ſolemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magiſtrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining ſhops, raiſed with them a funeral pile, and placing *Cæſar*'s body upon it, ſet it on fire; ſo that the body, the bed, and the temple were conſumed in a moment. When the fire firſt began to flame out, the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under the deceaſed, threw into the flames all the military rewards which he had given them. Many women of diſtinction, to teſtify their grief, and honour the memory of the deceaſed, threw into the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incenſed multitude, whoſe blind fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in ſpite of the guards placed round the pile, ſnatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houſes of the conſpirators; but they, having before-hand got together a great number of their friends and domeſtics, eaſily repulſed a diſorderly mob, that had no other arms but their grief and fury. As they were returning from the conſpirators houſes they met one *Cinna* (H), who had been always greatly

Various artifices uſed to ſtir up the multitude.

Cæſar's body burnt.

The fate of one Cinna.

(H) We are told, that *Cinna*, of whom mention is made here, had the night before an odd dream. He fancied, that *Cæſar* invited him to ſupper, and that, upon his refuſing to comply with the invitation, the dictator preſſed him very earneſtly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this viſion he was ſeized with a fever; but nevertheleſs in the morning, hearing that *Cæſar*'s body was to be interred, and being aſhamed

greatly attached to *Cæſar's* party; but, miſtaking him for another of the ſame name, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the ſpot. *Brutus* and his party were ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings, that they thought it adviſeable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to *Antium*, with a deſign to return again as ſoon as the fury of the people was abated, which, they hoped, would be ſoon, ſince the ſenate had eſpouſed their cauſe. All the ſtrangers in *Rome* mourned after the cuſtom of their reſpective countries, eſpecially the *Jews*, who watched ſeveral nights at the place where his body had been burnt (I). At laſt divine honours were given him, and an altar erected by the populace in the ſame place, which was ever after looked upon as ſacred, his great nephew *Octavius*, having cauſed a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jaſper twenty foot high, with this inſcription, *To the father of his country* [t].

Brutus and his followers retire from Rome.

THE conſpirators and the conſcript fathers were equally offended at the artful ſpeech of *Antony*. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the ſenate and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had paſſed in oblivion, he had ſo pathetically inlarged on the praiſes of *Cæſar*,

[t] PLUT. APPIAN. DIO. SUET. ibid.

ſhamed not to be preſent at the ſolemnity, he went into the forum, out of reſpect to the memory of his friend, though his dream gave him no ſmall apprehenſion. One of the rabble, whom *Antony*'s ſpeech had ſtirred up and inraged, ſeeing him there, aſked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was preſently reported, that he was one of the conſpirators, or, what is moſt probable, that he was that *Cinna*, who had, a little before, in a ſpeech to the people, inveighed againſt *Cæſar*, and this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

(I) No people received more ſignal favours at *Cæſar*'s hands than the *Jewiſh* nation. He reſtored *Hyrcanus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, to the ſovereignty of *Judæa*, and ſecured the crown to him and his family by a decree, which he cauſed to be engraved on tables of braſs in *Greek* and *Latin*, and to be hung up in the capitol at *Rome*, and in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Aſcalon* in *Phœnice*. He remitted great part of the tributes, which the *Jews* paid annually to the republic, in acknowledgment of the aſſiſtance he had from the *Jewiſh* nation in the war of *Alexandria*; before he left that city he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed there, and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon, by his command, all theſe privileges were engraved, and alſo his decree confirming them (45).

(45) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 17.

with

with no other view but to ſtir up the rage of the people. *Antony*, therefore, finding he had diſcovered himſelf too ſoon, and being well appriſed, that it was in the power of the ſenate to croſs his deſigns, reſolved to regain their favour, or at leaſt to blind them for a while, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments on the authors of the diſturbances, which were daily raiſed in all the quarters of the city. One *Amatius*, paſſing himſelf upon the multitude for the grandſon of *Marius*, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of *Cæſar* his kinſman, committed every-where great diſorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But *Antony*, to make his court to the ſenate, cauſed him to be ſeized, and put to death, without any further trial. As the people flocked daily in crouds to the altar, which they had erected to *Cæſar*, *Antony* cauſed it to be demoliſhed. This provoked the mutineers, who thereupon aſſembled the next day in great numbers, in order to rebuild the altar; but *Dolabella*, with the conſent of his collegue, fell upon them at the head of ſome legionaries, and cut ſeveral of them in pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the legionaries, were proſecuted by the two conſuls, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. The ſlaves were all crucified, and ſuch as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. Such vigorous proceedings ſtruck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while reſtored the city to its former tranquillity. After this *Antony*, having aſſembled the ſenate, aſſured the conſcript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention ſhould be how to re-unite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occaſion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the ſame time, to gain the fathers intirely, he propoſed the recalling of *Sextus Pompeius*, ſon to *Pompey the Great*, who ever ſince the battle of *Munda*, had concealed himſelf in *Celtiberia*. He was even of opinion, that the loſs of his paternal eſtate, which had been confiſcated by *Cæſar* and divided among his creatures, ſhould be made good to him at the expence of the public, and that the ſupreme command of all the naval forces of the republic ſhould be conferred upon him, in the ſame unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This propoſal was heard with ſurpriſe, and received with general applauſe. Some aſcribed this change in *Antony* to his fear of the conſpirators; others ſuſpected, that he was deſirous of engaging the ſenate in his favour againſt young *Octavius*, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from *Greece* to *Rome*. All the ſenators, however, beſtowed on him the greateſt commendations,

Antony endeavours to gain the ſenate.

Puniſhes Amatius and other rioters.

Propoſes the recalling of Sextus Pompeius.

mendations, which were ſo much the ſincerer, as the reſtoration of young *Pompey* ſeemed to be an implicit condemnation of *Cæſar*'s memory. *Cicero* himſelf, deceived by this falſe appearance of zeal, highly commended *Antony*'s conduct, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the conſul kept, and in due time made public by way of anſwer to the orator's bitter invectives.

THE conſcript fathers were highly pleaſed with ſuch a conduct in a conſul and a friend of *Cæſar*; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing ſides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. *Antony* failed not to make himſelf a merit with the ſenate of this averſion. He even pretended to be afraid, leſt the inraged multitude ſhould make ſome attempt upon his life, and, as if he were not ſafe, demanded a guard of the ſenate to ſecure himſelf againſt the rabble, who, he ſaid, threatened him with deſtruction. The conſcript fathers could not well reject his requeſt, ſince he had incurred the hatred of the people for the intereſt of the ſenate. They allowed him therefore a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; but *Antony*, under this pretence, choſe ſix thouſand old legionaries, who had ſerved with him under *Cæſar*, and paſſionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The ſenate was alarmed to ſee the conſul walk the ſtreets of *Rome* always attended with ſuch a number of armed men. Even his friends remonſtrated to him, that ſuch an extraordinary attendance made him ſuſpected and odious in a free ſtate. *Antony* promiſed to diſband them, as ſoon as he thought himſelf out of danger; and, in the mean time, to remove the ſuſpicion they might entertain of his aſpiring to ſucceed *Cæſar* in the dictatorſhip, he propoſed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it paſſed in the aſſembly of the people. This calmed for a while the fears of the conſcript fathers: but *Antony* ſoon gave them freſh motives of jealouſy; for having gained over to his intereſt *Cæſar*'s ſecretary, whom ſome call *Faberius*, others *Tabirius*, and by his means made himſelf maſter of all his papers, heappointed what officers he pleaſed, brought whom he thought fit into the ſenate, recalled ſome from exile, freed others out of priſon, *&c.* and all this as ordered ſo by *Cæſar*, whoſe acts had been declared void by the ſenate. The *Romans*, by way of raillery, called thoſe new magiſtrates and ſenators *Charonites*, becauſe, if obliged to prove their patents, they muſt have had recourſe to the regiſters of the dead, that is, of thoſe who had paſſed the river *Styx* in *Charon*'s bark. They were alſo ſtyled *Orcini*, an epithet given to ſuch ſlaves as were enfranchiſed

Is allowed a guard.

He is ſuſpected by the ſenate.

His falſehood and double-dealing in concert with Cæſar's *ſecretary.*

franchiſed by their maſters will made on their death-bed. *Antony*, having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the ſenate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conſcript fathers or the populace, ſince he had now a ſtrong party in the ſenate, and was guarded by a numerous body of choſen troops againſt the inſults and attempts of the multitude. Beſides, the whole authority of the government was, we may ſay, in his hands. He was himſelf conſul, one of his brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was tribune of the people, and the other, *C. Antonius*, prætor; ſo that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, it may be ſaid, that he governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway[t]. As for *Lepidus*, *Antony* attached that powerful *Roman* to his intereſt, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of *Cæſar*, and betrothing his daughter *Antonia* to young *Lepidus* his ſon.

In the mean time, ſome of the conſpirators returned to *Rome*, while others continued at *Actium*. Among the latter was *M. Brutus*, who, upon intelligence that many of the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by ſmall parties had ſtolen into the city, would not expoſe himſelf to unneceſſary dangers. However, in his abſence, moſt magnificent ſhows were exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having bought up a great number of wild beaſts of all ſorts, he gave poſitive orders, that not one of them ſhould be diſpoſed of or ſaved; but that they ſhould be all uſed in thoſe ſhows. He even went in perſon as far as *Naples* to engage a conſiderable number of comedians, and wrote to *Cicero* and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his ſhows with their preſence[u]. *Cæſar* had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conſpirators, *viz.* *Macedon* to *M. Brutus*, *Syria* to *Caſſius*, *Aſia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*. Some authors write, that theſe provinces were given them by the ſenate. However that be, they ſtill continued in or near the capital, to watch *Antony*'s ſteps, who now manifeſtly aſpired, notwithſtanding all his former proteſtations, at the ſovereign power.

Magnificent ſports exhibited by Brutus.

Octavius's *origin.*

Such was the poſture of affairs, when news was brought, that young *Octavius*, *Cæſar*'s great-nephew and adopted ſon, was coming to take poſſeſſion of his inheritance. He was the

[t] Appian. l. iii & viii. Dio. l. xliv. Plut. in Bruto. Cic. in epiſt. paſſim, & in Philippicis. [u] Plut. in Bruto.

ſon

ſon of *Caius Octavius* of the ſenatorial order, who had been prætor of *Macedon*, and of *Accia*, daughter to *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s ſiſter. The *Octavian* family was divided into two branches, viz. the *Ceii* and the *Caii*. The former were early diſtinguiſhed at *Rome* with the firſt honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom *Cæſar*'s adopted ſon was deſcended, were but ſimple knights at the time of the ſecond *Punic* war. *Octavius*'s great-grandfather ſerved in *Sicily*, in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the firſt employments in *Velitræ*, his native city. His mother *Accia*, or *Atia*, was the daughter of *Julia* and *M. Accius Balbus*, whoſe family, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, had been, long before the birth of *Octavius*, one of the moſt conſpicuous of *Aricia*, an ancient city of *Latium* (K). *Octavius* was born

(K) *Marc Antony* reproached *Octavius* with the meanneſs and obſcurity of his anceſtors. According to him, *Octavius*'s great grandfather, on the father's ſide, was a freed-man, and by profeſſion a rope-maker in the territory of *Thurium*, and his grand-father a banker. On the mother's ſide, *Antony* derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of *Aricia*. *Caſſius Parmenſis*, in a letter he wrote to *Octavius* before the battle of *Actium*, told him, that he owed his birth to a money-changer and a woman brought up in the mills of *Aricia*. But theſe calumnies are learnedly rejected by *Joſeph Rocco Volpi*, an *Italian* jeſuit, in his account of the antiquities of ancient *Latium*, where he proves from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, that the *Octavian* family, before their migration to *Rome*, which happened, according to him, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, had borne the firſt employments in the republic of *Velitræ*, now *Velletri*. As to the *Atian* family, he ſhews, that, for ſeveral ages before the birth of *Octavius*, it had been one of the moſt conſpicuous of *Aricia*. *Virgil* indeed derives the *Atian* family from *Atys*, the companion of *Iulus*, ſon to *Æneas*.

Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo (46).

Many writers, and among the reſt *F. Volpi*, are of opinion, that *Octavius* was brought up in the town of *Ulubræ*, ſituate in the diſtrict of *Velitræ*; for *Suetonius* tells us, that he was educated in *avito ſuburbano prope Velitras*; and that, as ſoon as he ſpoke, he commanded the frogs that were croaking to be ſilent, and from that time, adds he, *negantur ibi coaxare*. From this paſſage they infer, that *Octavius* was brought up in a place near *Velitræ*, which abounded with frogs, and conſequently at *Ulubræ*, which was in the territory of *Velitræ*;

(46) *Æneid. l. v. ver.* 569, 570.

born in the conſulate of *Cicero* and *Caius Antonius*, that is, in the year of *Rome* 690. His father *Caius Octavius* dying when he was but four years old, his mother *Accia* married again, and took to her ſecond huſband *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, deſcended from thoſe *Philippi*, who ſignalized themſelves in the *Macedonian* wars. From his infancy he bore the ſurname of *Thurinus*, borrowed, as *Suetonius* conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of *Catiline*'s army from the neighbourhood of *Thurium*, a city of *Great Greece*, and was from thence ſtyled *Thurinus*. *Accia* his mother and *Philippus* his father-in-law took care to have him educated and inſtructed by the beſt maſters then in *Rome*; and he is ſaid to have ſo profited by their inſtructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother *Julia* when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glaring proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the moſt difficult enterpriſes. His extraordinary parts, ſay they, joined to the majeſty of his mien and comelineſs of his perſon, influenced in his favour all who knew, or only beheld, him. Above the reſt, *Julius Cæſar*, his great-uncle, was ſo taken with his prudent conduct and a certain maturity of judgment, which young *Octavius* diſcovered from his tender years, that he cheriſhed him, with all the tenderneſs of a father, and very early formed the deſign of adopting him, in caſe he had no children of his own. He deſigned to take him with him into *Spain*, when he went thither to make war on the ſons of *Pompey*, that he might have an opportunity of inſtructing him in the military art; but his mother *Accia*, alarmed at a ſlight indiſpoſition, with which he was ſeized when upon the point of departing, kept him in *Rome* till that war was near ended, the battle of *Munda* being fought before he reached *Spain*. He intended to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, and with this view ſent him before to *Apollonia*, on the other ſide of the *Adriatic*, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*. He had been ſix months in *Apollonia*, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death,

His education.

The regard Cæſar *had for him.*

Is informed at Apollonia of his uncle's death.

and, as it was ſituate in the midſt of the *Pomptine* marſhes, muſt of courſe have been well ſtocked with frogs (47). Hence it is, that *Tully* calls the inhabitants of this town *frogs*, becauſe, like frogs, they lived in the midſt of marſhes (48.)

(47) *Suet. in Octav.* (48) *Cic. epiſt. fam. l. vii. ep.* 18.

death, which moſt ſenſibly afflicted him. At firſt he knew not whether the whole ſenate was privy to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conſpiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed that ſixty ſenators of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome* had been in the plot; that even thoſe who had no ſhare in it, did, however, ſecretly favour the conſpirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing elſe but to eſtabliſh their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions occaſioned by the animoſity of different parties, *&c.* At the ſame time he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, adviſing him to forbear for the preſent declaring either his pretenſions or reſentment, ſince there could be no ſafety for him but in an obſcure and private life. Some of his friends went even ſo far as to adviſe him to renounce *Cæſar*'s adoption, leſt he ſhould be involved in the ſame fate with his uncle. Others would fain have perſuaded him to ſeek for ſhelter among the troops in *Macedon*, which had, for the moſt part, ſerved under *Cæſar*, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. But *Octavius*, rejecting the timorous counſels of his friends, reſolved to paſs over into *Italy* without delay, to inform himſelf on the ſpot of the ſituation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and, paſſing the *Adriatic* ſea, landed at *Lupia*, now known by the name of *La Rocca*, between *Brunduſium* and *Hydruntum*. The former of theſe two cities was the uſual place of landing for thoſe who came from the eaſt; but *Octavius* thought it adviſeable not to ſhew himſelf there, the place being full of ſoldiers, till he had, by means of ſome dexterous perſons, ſounded the diſpoſitions of both the inhabitants and gariſon. The latter no ſooner heard of the arrival of their late general's ſon, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of triumph into the city. *Octavius* thanked them for their attachment and reſpect to the memory of his uncle, and, after having offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, declared himſelf *Cæſar*'s heir and ſon by adoption, calling himſelf no longer *Caius Octavius*, but *Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus* (L); and by the latter name

Rejects the advice of his friends and relations, and ſets out for Italy.

Declares himſelf Cæſar's *heir.*

(L) Adopted perſons aſſumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper deſcent, added at the end either their former *nomen* or *cognomen*; the firſt exactly the ſame

name we ſhall diſtinguiſh him, following therein moſt of the antients, till he acquires that of *Auguſtus*, which was given him by the ſenate after the victory he gained over *Antony* at *Actium*. His thus taking the name of *Cæſar*, and declaring himſelf his heir in ſo critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold ſtep in a youth ſcarce eighteen years old; the more, becauſe it was againſt the advice of all his friends and relations: but, from his firſt ſetting out, fortune ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; and indeed his riſe ſeems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to ſeaſonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whoſe memory was adored by the ſoldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether hiſtorians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, repreſent him as the greateſt commander, the ableſt ſtateſman, and the moſt accompliſhed prince, the world ever ſaw; but whether he deſerved the praiſes, which they ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon him, and for which they were amply rewarded, is a queſtion which muſt be decided by facts. But to proceed: the gariſon of *Brunduſium*, which was very numerous, and conſiſted for the moſt part of brave veterans, whom *Cæſar* intended to lead againſt the *Parthians*, not only offered their ſervice to *Octavianus*, but put him in poſſeſſion of all the military ſtores and proviſions, which *Cæſar* had prepared for his *Parthian* expedition, and conveyed to *Brunduſium*, in order to be tranſported from thence into the eaſt. At the ſame time *Octavianus* had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were ſent annually to *Rome* from the provinces on the other ſide of the ſea, and likewiſe the proviſions and money deſigned for the ſupport and payment of the troops of the republic in *Macedon*. Theſe *Octavianus* ſeized for his own uſe, which was, according to the laws of *Rome*, a capital crime, and would have been puniſhed with death in leſs turbulent times; but *Octavianus*, young as he was, had already reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the republic, under the ſpecious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus ſupplied at once with men, money, arms, and proviſions, he ſet out from *Brunduſium*, and took his rout through *Campania* to *Rome*. On the fourteenth of the kalends of *May* he arrived

How ſupplied with arms, money, &c.

ſame as before, for inſtance, *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*, the name of *M. Junius Brutus* when adopted by *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo*. The other was added with ſome ſlight alteration, as in the caſe before us, *Octavius* calling himſelf, after his adoptive father, *C. Julius Cæſar*, and changing the *cognomen Octavius* into *Octavianus*, declaring himſelf thereby to be of the *Octavian* family.

at

at *Naples*, and the next day went to visit *Cicero* at his country-house in the neighbourhood of *Cumæ*, whither the orator had retired for fear of *Antony*, who now governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. Of this visit *Cicero* himself makes mention in one of his epistles to *Atticus* [w]. *Octavianus* wanted a man of *Cicero*'s eloquence and authority to support his interest in the senate, and *Cicero* one of *Octavianus*'s credit among the troops to screen him against the attempts of *Antony*, with whom he had quarrelled. It was therefore agreed between them, that *Cicero* should assist *Octavianus* with his eloquence, both in the senate and with the people, and that *Octavianus*, on the other hand, should defend *Cicero* against all his enemies, especially *M. Antony* (M). From *Cumæ Octavianus* pursued his journey to *Rome*, being joined, as he passed through *Campania*, by the most considerable of his uncle's friends, his relations, freed-men, and even his slaves. The veterans likewise, to whom *Cæsar*, after the civil wars, had given lands in *Italy*, hastened from all parts to offer their service to his adopted son. As he drew near *Rome*, most of the magistrates,

Visits Cicero.

Agreement between Cicero *and* Octavianus.

[w] Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.

(M) We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cicero* had long had a tender regard for young *Octavius*, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occasioned by the following dream: While *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, says *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, in a dream, seemed to summon the sons of the senators into the capitol, as if *Jupiter* designed to declare one of them the sovereign of *Rome*. The citizens, hastening thither out of curiosity, surrounded the temple; and the youths, sitting in their purple robes, kept a profound silence. On a sudden the doors opened, and the youths arising passed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all one after another, and dismissed them; at which they seemed much displeased: but when it came to *Octavius*'s turn to be reviewed, *Jupiter*, stretching forth his hand, said aloud, *This*, O Romans! *this young man, when he shall become master of* Rome, *shall put an end to all your cruel wars*. The same author adds, that *Cicero*, by this vision had framed a perfect idea of the youth, and preserved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day, as he was going down into the *campus Martius*, he met the boys returning from their exercises, and the first he saw was young *Octavius*, just as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly surprised at this, he asked him who he was, and hearing he was the grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s sister, from that time he saluted him wherever he met him, and shewed on all occasions a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all *Cicero*'s works; and yet it is not to be presumed, that he would have concealed so significant a dream from his friend *Atticus*.

magiſtrates, the officers of the army, and the people, came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay him the leaſt reſpect; nay, he did not ſo much as deign to ſend any of his ſervants or attendants to compliment him in his name; but of this young *Octavianus* took no notice, being unwilling, on ſo trifling an account, to diſoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to tranſact. His friends indeed could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of *Antony*; but *Octavianus*, with a ſeeming good temper, excuſed him on account of his greater age and the prerogatives of the conſular dignity. *It behaves me, who am but a young man, and in a private ſtation*, ſaid he, *to wait the firſt on one who is my ſenior, and in the higheſt poſt of the republic.* Accordingly he reſolved to make him a viſit the next morning; but as he deſigned to have his adoption firſt ratified by the prætor, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, he deſired his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to aſſiſt at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crouds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, purſuant to his requeſt, into the forum, where he proved before *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, at that time *prætor urbanus* or city prætor, his adoption, declared with the uſual ceremonies his acceptance of the ſame, and cauſed this his acceptance to be regiſtered by the public ſcribes or notaries. From the forum *Octavianus* went ſtrait to *Pompey*'s gardens, where *Antony* then reſided, he having appropriated them to himſelf upon that great man's death. The conſul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected diſregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he deſigned to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeneſs and civility. *Octavianus* ſpoke firſt. He began with returning thanks to *Antony* for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modeſtly complained of his having ſuffered a pardon to paſs in favour of the conſpirators, whom he might have puniſhed with as much ſeverity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impoſtor *Amatius*. He reminded him in a very handſome manner of *Cæſar*'s friendſhip to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to aſſiſt him in revenging his death, at leaſt not to oppoſe him in ſo laudable an undertaking. In the cloſe of his ſpeech he gave *Antony* to underſtand, that he was reſolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father

Octavianus proves his adoption.

His ſpeech to Antony and their ſubſequent interview.

father had left to the people and ſoldiery; and therefore deſired him to deliver up to him, as *Cæſar*'s chief heir, the money which he had cauſed to be conveyed from *Cæſar*'s houſe to his own; *But as that*, ſaid he, *will hardly be ſufficient to diſcharge all my obligations, I ſhall be highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me ſome of your own, or procure me ſome at intereſt from the quæſtors, that I may pay off what ſhall remain due to thoſe whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you ſhould keep them, as marks of his affection; but for the ready money I have preſent occaſion, and therefore hope you will order it, without delay, to be delivered to me.* *Antony*, amazed at the young man's boldneſs, and piqued at what he ſaid in the cloſe of his ſpeech relating to his father's money, which, according to *Plutarch*, amounted to no leſs than four thouſand talents, told him with an air of authority, That he was very much miſtaken, if he fancied, that *Cæſar* had left him heir of the *Roman* empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought to have taught his adopted ſon, that the conſtitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective ſovereigns; and that therefore he ought not to demand reaſons of a *Roman* conſul for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, ſince what he had done was without any regard to him, and only deſigned for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his eſtate; for had *Cæſar* been treated like an uſurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I ſecured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and eſtate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. 'Tis true, I have ſuffered ſome decrees to paſs in the ſenate favourable to the conſpirators; but I have been prompted thereunto by reaſons, which one of your age is not capable of diſcerning. As to *Cæſar*'s money, which you demand, it does not amount to ſo great a ſum as you imagine; beſides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, ſhared among the magiſtrates ſince his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the ſtate. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to adviſe you, young man, not to lay it out in largeſſes and gratifications: employ it rather in ſending back to their reſpective colonies that ſhoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monſter that

Antony's *reply.*

will never be ſatisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the baſeſt ingratitude. As you are converſant in the *Grecian* hiſtory, you muſt know, that the favourites of the people are, generally ſpeaking, ſhort-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconſtant than the waves of the ocean [x].

Octavianus, highly offended at this ſpeech, took his leave of *Antony*, repeating ſeveral times, as he went out of the door, the name of *Cæſar*. He was well appriſed, that the conſul kept his father's money and eſtate from him, with no other view but to diſable him from purchaſing the favour of the people. He therefore reſolved to expoſe to public ſale all the houſes and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent *Antony* from depriving ſo many families of the effects of *Cæſar*'s bounty towards them; but the conſul, to put a ſtop to the ſale, prevailed upon ſome private citizens to claim the lands, as the eſtates of their anceſtors, which the dictator had appropriated to himſelf during the civil war. At the ſame time the quæſtors and other officers of the revenue, at the inſtigation of the conſul, claimed part of thoſe lands, as having been confiſcated for the uſe of the public. Hereupon *Octavianus*, foreſeeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, inſtantly put up to ſale his own patrimony, with the eſtates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his deſigns, and aſſiſt him in purchaſing the favour of the people. With the money accruing from theſe ſales he paid part of his father's legacies; which affected generoſity ſo charmed the populace, who expected more favours from him, that they all declared in his favour, and broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Antony*, for with-holding from him his fathers's eſtate. A few days after, a new diſpute aroſe between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, on occaſion of the public ſhows, which *Crotonius* exhibited during his ædileſhip. The ſenate had decreed, as we have related above, in *Cæſar*'s life-time, that at all public ſhows a gilt chair and a crown of gold ſhould be placed for him even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Purſuant to this decree, *Octavianus* failed not to ſend the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by *Antony*, refuſed to admit them. Hereupon the affair being carried before the conſul, *Antony* anſwered coldly, That he would refer it to the

Antony's artifice.

Octavianus gains the favour of the people.

[x] Liv. l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii. p. 531, 533. Dion, l. xlv. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 60. Suet. in Octavio. Cic. epiſt. ad Attic. 10 & 13, l. xiv. Oros. l. vi. c. 10.

ſenate

ſenate; *And I*, anſwered *Octavianus* haughtily, *will go and place my father's chair where it ought to ſtand, while you are conſulting the conſcript fathers.* *Antony*, provoked at the young man's boldneſs, threatened to ſend him to priſon, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of *Crotonius*, or at thoſe which he himſelf was to exhibit in honour of the dictator before the temple of *Venus*. *Octavianus*, perceiving that this prohibition was ill received by the people, reſolved to turn it to his advantage; and accordingly going into the forum complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addreſſing himſelf to *Antony*, as if he had been preſent: *Why ſhould your hatred to me*, ſaid he, *extend to* Cæſar, *who deſerved ſo well of you? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying thoſe honours to the memory of my father, which you yourſelf procured, and the ſenate decreed, for him? Sacrifice me, if you pleaſe, to your revenge; but do not thus revile the manes of a great man, to whom you owe your preſent dignity. Suffer me at leaſt,* O Antony, *to diſcharge thoſe legacies, which he has left to his fellow-citizens; I freely abandon to your inſatiable avarice all the reſt. I ſhall think myſelf rich enough, If I can but do juſtice to his memory, by diſtributing among the people what he has left them by his will.* This diſcourſe incenſed the populace againſt *Antony*; every one deteſted his ingratitude; even his own guards, who had all ſerved under *Cæſar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to perſecute the ſon of their general. Hereupon *Antony*, finding it behoved him to diſſemble, notwithſtanding his paſſion againſt young *Octavianus*, anſwered, That he preſerved a tender regard for the memory of *Cæſar*, and had alſo a great value for his ſon; but that as the young man, proud of the name of *Cæſar*, pretended to put himſelf upon the level with a conſul, he thought himſelf obliged to make him ſenſible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magiſtrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was paſt, provided *Octavianus* would, for the future, pay him that reſpect and deference, to which his office and age intitled him. This explanation was, at the requeſt of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, they promiſed to aſſiſt each other in revenging *Cæſar*'s death and perſecuting the authors of it[x]. *They are reconciled.*

IN this pretended reconciliation with *Octavianus*, *Antony* had his private views. As the conſular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the intereſt of *Octavianus*, to procure for

[x] PLUT. DIO. APPIAN. ibid.

himſelf the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which had been given to *Decimus Brutus* by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death by a decree of the ſenate. As he knew the importance of that government with reſpect to all *Italy*, he remonſtrated to *Octavianus*, that ſince he was generouſly diſpoſed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to ſuffer one of his aſſaſſins to enjoy a command at the very gates of *Rome*. *Octavianus* fell into the ſnare, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt. Hereupon the affair was brought before the ſenate, where it met with great oppoſition, the conſcript fathers looking upon the cauſe of the conſpirators as the ſame with that of liberty. Beſides, they could not turn *Brutus* out of the province which *Cæſar* had allotted him, without reverſing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The propoſal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting ſome, who, well appriſed of *Antony*'s ambitious views, propoſed declaring that province a free ſtate, rather than truſting the government of it to one, who would make uſe of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but as that province ſeemed very convenient for his deſigns, *Antony* had recourſe to the people, whoſe tribunes he had bribed; and the undiſcerning multitude, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the ſenate, granted him the government he deſired. On this occaſion *Octavianus* employed all his intereſt in favour of *Antony*, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the conſul carried his point. The conſcript fathers immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Brutus*, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and adviſing him not to deliver up the province to *Antony*; but to fortify himſelf there, and keep out the conſul, if neceſſary, by force of arms †.

Antony obtains of the people the province of Ciſalpine Gaul.

The friends of *Cæſar* triumphed on account of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but, as the intereſts of the two rivals were ſo widely oppoſite, each of them aſpiring at the ſame power which *Cæſar* had enjoyed, it was impoſſible they ſhould continue long united. *Antony*, thinking himſelf now maſter of *Italy*, began to thwart *Octavianus*'s meaſures and regard him leſs; nay, he commanded him, under ſevere penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largeſſes: and becauſe *Octavianus*, by the great intereſt he had among the people, was likely to get *Flaminius*, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, *Antony* employed all his credit and authority with the multitude to poſtpone the election. Thus the hatred and averſion of the two rivals were

A new breach between Antony *and* Octavianus.

† Plut. Dio. Appian. ibid.

kindled

kindled anew. *Antony* never mentioned *Octavianus*, but with the epithets of *a raſh, turbulent*, and *ſeditious, young man*; while *Octavianus*, on the other hand, left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the reſentment of the people againſt *Antony*. The ſenate was overjoyed at this diviſion; but *Antony*'s guards and the late dictator's friends did not fail to remonſtrate to him anew the dangerou conſequences of their diſagreement and to exhort *Antony* to be reconciled again to the ſon of their general: *Both your ſafety and ours*, ſaid they, *depend upon the undoing of the conſpirators. If their party prevails, we muſt expect to be proſcribed, as the miniſters and accomplices of an uſurper. Nothing can ſupport our party but your union with young* Octavianus. *Aſſiſt him therefore in his generous deſign of revenging* Cæſar's *death. Let it not be ſaid, that the dictator's beſt friend croſſes his ſon, in the proſecution of thoſe who have baſely and treacherouſly murdered his father.* *Antony* was no leſs deſirous of deſtroying the conſpirators than his ſoldiers and officers: but he could not brook it ſhould be owing to *Octavianus*. He was afraid, that, under pretence of revenging *Cæſar*'s death, he might ſeize on the ſovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the ſecret motive that prompted him to oppoſe *Octavianus*, whom he ſaw greatly beloved both by the ſoldiery and people. However, as it much concerned him not to diſoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him ſince the dictator's death, he undertook to juſtify his conduct to them in the following harangue, which is related at length by *Appian*[y], and unravels all the myſteries of his wicked policy. After having given them an account of the diſturbances that happened in the city upon the firſt news of *Cæſar*'s death, he goes on thus: "The general cry was, that the republic "was reſtored, and the ſenate ſeemed diſpoſed to decree a "reward for the aſſaſſins, as the authors of liberty. If this "had been effected, *Cæſar* had been declared a tyrant, and "we all involved in the ſame ſentence as his accomplices; "but I alone ſtood up againſt all the conſpirators, their "relations, their friends, and, I may ſay, againſt the ſenate "itſelf. Their adherents foreſeeing, that, if *Cæſar* was not "declared a tyrant, the conſpirators might be puniſhed, were "very ſanguine for having his memory branded with infamy. "As both parties defended their opinions with obſtinacy, I "thought it adviſeable to propoſe a general pardon for the "conſpirators, rather than a reward. The conſcript fathers "approved of my propoſal, and, thinking the conſpirators "ſecure, were eaſily prevailed upon to drop the queſtion re-"lating to *Cæſar*. Thus I preſerved the glory of his name

Antony endeavours to juſtify his conduct.

[y] APPIAN. l. iii. c. 9.

intire

" intire, ſaved his eſtate and goods from being forfeited,
" and prevented that adoption from being cancelled, which
" now makes *Octavianus* ſo daring. He enjoys the fruit of
" my cares. To get his father's will confirmed, I conſent-
" ed to a pardon in favour of the conſpirators; but you
" muſt not infer from thence, that my deſign was to ſecure
" their lives: I only reprieved them. It was not my fault
" if they were not all tore to pieces on the day of *Cæſar's*
" obſequies. Under pretence of deploring *Cæſar's* death I
" incenſed the people againſt them, and obliged them to quit
" *Rome*. I have oppoſed all the meaſures of the ſenate tend-
" ing to their ſafety. I have obtained of the people, not-
" withſtanding the oppoſition of the conſcript fathers, the
" province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, whence, with your aſſiſtance,
" I deſign to drive *Decimus Brutus*. In ſhort, I am deter-
" mined at all adventures to revenge your general's death,
" and uſe my utmoſt endeavours to compaſs the total ruin
" of all who have had any hand in his murder. Such has
" hitherto been my conduct, ſuch are at preſent my deſigns,
" which I was unwilling to conceal from you, who are to
" aſſiſt me in the execution of them." This ſpeech ſatiſ-

It reconciled anew to Octavianus.

fied his officers; yet they inſiſted on his being reconciled anew to *Octavianus*, with whom, at their requeſt, he had a ſecond interview in the capitol, which ended in mutual engagements and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, as the former had done; but notwithſtanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted juſt as ſincere friends as they were before. *Octavianus* was willing, that *Antony*, as his father's creature, ſhould aſſiſt him in revenging *Cæſar's* death; but would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the defeat of the conſpirators, would be maſter of the republic. On the other hand, *Antony*, quite indifferent about the revenging of *Cæſar's* death, only pretended to be in earneſt, to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiery and populace. The ſovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traverſed him in the purſuit of it, whether *Octavianus*, *Brutus*, or *Caſſius*, was equally odious to him.

And now *Antony*, the more to attach his collegue *Cornelius Dolabella* to his intereſt, and at the ſame time to weaken the party of the conſpirators, perſuaded him to demand the government of *Syria*, which had been allotted by *Cæſar* to *Caſſius*, and the command of the army which the dictator had deſigned to lead againſt the *Parthians*. The ſenate, highly offended at ſuch an unſeaſonable demand, remonſtrated to him, that it was an inſult both upon the memory of *Cæſar*, who had given that government to *Caſſius*, and upon them,

who

who had, by a ſpecial decree, confirmed all his ordinances; but *Dolabella*, who was now wholly addicted to *Antony*, anſwered, That *Caſſius* had firſt tranſgreſſed the ordinances of *Cæſar*; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought not to have any ſhare in his favours. As the ſenate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of *Syria* to *Dolabella*, in hopes of ſeeing a ſpeedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies, without conſidering, that their death would be immediately followed with the loſs of their own liberty. *Antony*, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the people, prevailed upon them at the ſame time to confer on his brother *Caius Antonius* the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, which had been given to *M. Brutus*. By theſe new promotions *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were deprived of their governments; but the ſenate, who placed all their hopes in theſe brave patriots, and were equally jealous of *Octavianus* and *Antony*, procured other provinces for them, *viz. Cyrene* and *Crete* for *Caſſius*, and *Bithynia* for *Brutus* [a].

The government of Syria *conferred on* Dolabella, *and that of* Macedon *and* Illyricum *on* C. Antonius.

As the reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octavianus* was forced and no-ways ſincere, their pretended friendſhip was but ſhort-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged in the capitol to aſſiſt each other, *Antony* cauſed ſome of his guards to be put under arreſt, giving out, that they had been corrupted by *Octavianus* to murder him. This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was only a fetch of *Antony*'s to eſtrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others ſeem inclined to believe, that *Octavianus* had really formed ſuch a deſign, and that he was put upon it by the conſcript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon very good terms. *Cicero*, tho' a friend to *Octavianus*, does not queſtion the fact; but endeavours to turn it to the glory of *Octavianus*, as if he ought to be highly commended for attempting to deliver the republic from ſo cruel an enemy. There were not wanting ſome among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was agreed on before-hand between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a plauſible pretence to raiſe troops for the accompliſhment of their private deſigns; but their enſuing conduct ſufficiently ſhewed, that each of them ſought the others deſtruction, and aſpired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was oppoſite to that of the conſpirators. With this

A new breach between Antony *and* Octavianus.

[a] Dio, l. xlv. Liv. l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii. p. 543——546.

view

They both arm.

view they began now both to raiſe forces. *Antony* ſent orders to his brother *Caius*, for whom he had procured the government of *Macedon*, to bring over into *Italy* four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himſelf, that *Lepidus*, who was now in *Spain* at the head of four legions, and *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, would declare for him. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, fearing to be ſurpriſed and cruſhed by his enemy, haſtened into *Campania*, where he drew together ten thouſand brave veterans, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*, and had been rewarded by him for their ſervice with lands in that part of *Italy*. To theſe the name of *Evocati* was firſt given, becauſe after they had ſerved their legal time, and received the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army. He likewiſe found means to corrupt with large preſents, and gain over two of *Antony*'s legions, the *Martian* and the fourth. Having thus raiſed an army of his own authority, without being inveſted either with a military title or any magiſtracy, which gave him right to head the forces of the republic, eſpecially againſt a conſul, he marched ſtraight to *Rome*; but thought it adviſeable to halt at the temple of *Mars*, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the conſent of the people for his entry. *Canutius*, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, aſſured them, that young *Octavianus* had no other view, in entering *Rome* with ſo numerous a guard, but to protect them and himſelf from the inſults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious conſul. The populace, always ſhort in their foreſight, believed their tribune, and ſuffered *Octavianus* to enter the city with all his forces. *Antony* was then at *Brundiſium*, whither he had gone to appeaſe a tumult, which ſome mutineers had raiſed among the *Macedonian* legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions which had remained faithful to him, nobody doubted, but a civil war would ſoon be kindled within the very walls of *Rome*. In this perſuaſion ſome ſided with *Antony*, others with *Octavianus*; but the moſt diſcerning among the ſenators declared for neither, affecting to ſtand neuter, and, in the mean time, ſtirring up under-hand the heads of the two parties againſt each other, not without hopes of ſeeing them both undone by their mutual hatred [b]. *Cicero*, out of the averſion he bore to *Antony*, ſided with *Octavianus*, whom he had aſſiſted with his advice ever ſince his firſt

Octavianus enters Rone with a numerous body of men.

Cicero favours Octavianus.

[b] Appian. Dio. Vell. Paterc. ibid. Cic. in epiſt. ad Attic. & famil. paſſ.

arrival

arrival in *Italy*, omitting no occaſion to diſcredit his rival *Antony* both with the ſenate and people, as plainly appears from thoſe inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of *Philippics*, a name borrowed from the orations which *Demoſthenes* wrote againſt *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. *M. Brutus*, who was ſtill in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, wrote ſeveral letters to *Cicero*, wherein he complained of his conduct in very ſharp terms, telling him, That, no withſtanding his boaſted love of liberty, he was very ſenſible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifeſt, from his courting *Octavianus*, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful maſter for himſelf; but our forefathers, ſaid *Brutus*, could not brook even an eaſy and gentle ſlavery. As for my own part, ſays he in one of his letters, I am not reſolved whether I ſhall make war or peace; but as to one point I am fixed and ſettled, which is never to be a ſlave. I wonder, that you, ſays he in writing to *Cicero*, ſhould fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a diſhonourable and infamous peace. All you can promiſe yourſelf from deſtroying the tyranny of *Antony* is, to make *Octavianus* the tyrant. Such were the ſentiments of that noble and truly generous ſpirit [c]!

Brutus *complains of his conduct.*

BUT to return to *Antony*, after he had appeaſed the tumult, which had been raiſed among his troops at *Brunduſium* by the emiſſaries of *Octavianus*, and diſcharged ſuch of the officers as he diſtruſted, he ordered his legions to march to *Ariminum*; but took himſelf his rout towards *Rome*, which he entered at the head of a thouſand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to *Alba*, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they ſhutting the gates againſt him, he haſtened from thence to *Tibur*, where he had lodged great ſtore of ammunition and proviſions, with a deſign to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. At *Tibur* he was joined by the tenth legion, lately arrived from *Macedon*, by ſeveral ſenators, and a great number of *Roman* knights, who came to offer him their ſervice. Many veterans likewiſe, who had formerly ſerved under him, flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*; ſo that he began his march towards *Ariminum* at the head of five legions, and a conſiderable body of *Roman* knights. *Octavianus* was in the mean time at *Alba*, with the two legions that had abandoned *Antony*, one of new-raiſed ſoldiers, and two

Antony *marches his troops towards* Ariminum.

[c] PLUT. in Bruto & Cic.

two of ſuch veterans as had ſerved under his father. From this place he wrote to the ſenate, complaining of the inconſtancy of ſome members of that auguſt body, who, after the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of friendſhip to him, had baſely abandoned his party and joined that of his rival. At the ſame time, he offered to march with all his forces againſt *Antony*, as a common enemy. The ſenate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on ſo weighty an affair, till the election of new conſuls. But the ſoldiers preſſed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the ſenate or conſuls conferred it upon him, and in that quality to head them againſt *Antony*. *Octavianus* well knew that this would give great umbrage to the ſenate, whoſe favour he deſigned to court till he had got rid of *Antony*; and therefore he refuſed the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his moſt intimate friends, whom he uſed to conſult in all affairs of moment, remonſtrated to him, that his troops would ſcruple to obey a citizen without any title or magiſtracy, he acquainted them with the reaſons which induced him to refuſe the title offered him by the army. The ſenate, ſaid he, has declared for me, not out of friendſhip to me, but becauſe they are afraid of *Antony*: their deſign is to make uſe of me to deſtroy him, and afterwards to deſtroy me by the hands of thoſe who have aſſaſſinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them underſtand, that I have penetrated ſo far into the myſteries of their policy, which I ſhould certainly do, if I accepted of thoſe honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do *Antony*. Let us therefore diſſemble for a while; my pretended reſpect and ſubmiſſion to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity which, they know, my ſoldiers are diſpoſed to give me in ſpite of them. And indeed the conſcript fathers, deceived by his ſeeming modeſty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refuſed; nay at the motion of *Cicero*, deſirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector againſt *Antony*, they ordered a ſtatue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the ſenate, and enabled him to hold the conſulate ten years ſooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator ſecuring a protector to himſelf at the expence of the public ſafety [d].

Octavianus's aſſected modeſty and private views.

[d] Appian. Dio. Plut. ibid. & Cic. paſſim. in epiſt. & Philippic. 1, & 2.

In

IN the mean time, *Antony* from his camp at *Ariminum* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Decimus Brutus*, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and conferred it on himſelf. To the decree of the people *Brutus* oppoſed that of the ſenate, confirming all the acts of *Cæſar*. After ſeveral meſſages and deputations, *Antony* at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if within a limited time he did not reſign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the *Roman* people. *Brutus*, without being the leaſt frightened by his threats, returned anſwer, that he had been appointed governor of *Ciſalpine Gaul* by a decree of the ſenate, and would not quit his province, till thoſe who had placed him in it thought fit to recal him. Hereupon the conſul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities, and even laid ſiege to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, whither *Brutus* had retired with a troop of gladiators and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under *Cæſar*. The ſiege of *Mutina* was looked upon by the ſenate as a declaration of war; but they poſtponed all deliberations on ſo important a ſubject, till the new conſuls entered upon their office. Theſe were *Caius Vibius Panſa* and *Aulus Hirtius*, who had both ſerved under *Cæſar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæſar*'s commentaries. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than they aſſembled the ſenate, and after having ſet forth in a very pathetic ſpeech the evils with which the republic was threatened, they propoſed the two following queſtions to the conſideration of the conſcript fathers, *viz.* what rewards the two legions deſerved, that had abandoned *Antony* to ſide with *Octavianus*, and what expedients they judged proper to be taken in order to bring *Antony* to renounce his pretenſions to the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul?* It was unanimouſly reſolved, that the two legions ſhould be rewarded, and the conſuls were impowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for *Antony*, ſome were of opinion, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to him, intreating him in the name of the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of *Mutina*, and abandon that province. But *Cicero* in a ſpeech, which has reached us, viz. his fifth *Philippic*, ſhewed, it was beneath the dignity of the *Roman* people to treat with a revolted citizen, and that negotiations would only give him time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the province he had uſurped; he was therefore of opinion, and promoted his opinion with great warmth and eloquence,

Antony *invades the province of* Ciſalpine Gaul *and lays ſiege to* Mutina.

that war ſhould be forthwith proclaimed againſt him, as a common enemy. His ſpeech was filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Antony* and the higheſt commendations of *Octavianus*; which ſeems to confirm the truth of what *M. Brutus* wrote to his friend *Atticus*, viz. that *Cicero* did not, in ſiding with young *Cæſar*, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful maſter to himſelf. Others are of opinion, that *Cicero*, deceived by the affected modeſty and feigned proteſtations of the young politician, really believed, that he had nothing elſe in view but to guard himſelf and the republic againſt the ambitious attempts of *Antony*. However that be, after warm debates, which laſted three days, *Cicero*, who bore great ſway in the ſenate, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree, commanding *Antony* to raiſe the ſiege of *Mutina* without delay, to quit the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and marching his troops over the *Rubicon*, which parted *Gaul* from *Italy*, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the ſenate. All this he was ordered under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But *Antony*, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not perſuade himſelf, that *Octavianus* would employ his forces againſt him in favour of one of the conſpirators, paid no manner of reſpect either to the deputies of the ſenate, who were ſent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itſelf. Hereupon at the motion of *Cicero*, *Antony* was declared an enemy to his country, and the two conſuls were ordered to raiſe troops and haſten to the relief of *Brutus*, who was cloſely beſieged, and already reduced to great ſtraights in *Mutina*. At the ſame time, *Octavianus* was commanded by the ſenate to join his forces to thoſe of the conſuls, and to act in concert with them againſt the common enemy. He was inveſted with a power equal to that of the conſuls, and it was decreed, that the veterans, who ſerved under him, ſhould be rewarded with lands as ſoon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the ſervice [e].

Antony ordered by the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina.

He is at the motion of Cicero declared an enemy to his country.

While the two conſuls were buſy in raiſing troops, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Caius Trebonius*, who by a decree of the ſenate had been ſent into *Aſia* in quality of proconſul. The manner of his death is thus related by *Cicero*. *Dolabella* having obtained, as we have related above, by means of *Antony*, the government of *Syria*, haſtened thither; but on his arrival found *Trebonius* in poſſeſſion of ſeve-

[e] Cic. Philippic. 5. & epiſt. ad Brutum 15. Liv. l. cxviii. Vell Patercul. l. ii. c. 81. Suet. in Octavio Plut. in Antonio. Appian. l. iii. p. 359, 360. Dio. l. xlvi. p. 310.

ral

ral cities, which he had ſeized as lieutenant to *Brutus*, who had been firſt appointed governor of that province. As *Dolabella* was not in a condition to diſpoſſeſs him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that they ſhould abſtain from all manner of hoſtilities, and live in perfect amity and friendſhip; for *Dolabella* pretended now, as he had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wiſher to *Brutus* and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promiſes of *Dolabella*, continued quietly at *Smyrna* as in the moſt peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his ſecurity and indolence, ſurpriſed the city in the dead of the night, and having taken *Trebonius* himſelf priſoner, delivered him up to a *Roman* exile, by name *Samiarius*; who, after having made him ſuffer, by *Dolabella*'s orders, for two days together, the moſt exquiſite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, cauſed his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through all the ſtreets of *Smyrna*, and then thrown into the ſea. His head was carried on the point of a ſpear all over the city, and afterwards ſet up over-againſt the tribunal, where he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. From thence it was taken down by the ſoldiers, who being incenſed againſt *Trebonius*, as privy to the death of their general, abuſed the poor remains of his body in the groſſeſt manner [f] (N). Thus was *Trebonius*, the firſt

C. Trebonius *treacherouſly murdered by* Dolabella *in* Syria.

[f] Cic. Philippic. ii.

(N) *Appian*, *Dion Caſſius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that *Trebonius*, who had been ſent into *Syria* by *Brutus* as his lieutenant, refuſed to admit *Dolabella*, though conſul, into the cities of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*; but nevertheleſs, out of reſpect to the conſular dignity, ſupplied his army with proviſions, and ſent word to the *Epheſians*, that they might open their gates to him. While the conſul was marching towards *Epheſus* at the head of his army, *Trebonius* detached a ſmall body of troops after him to obſerve his motions. As he quietly purſued his rout to *Epheſus* without committing any hoſtilities, the greateſt part of *Trebonius*'s troops returned to *Smyrna*. Then *Dolabella*, turning back unexpectedly upon thoſe who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing by the favour of the night to *Smyrna* without being perceived, ſurpriſed the city, and put all thoſe to the ſword who offered to oppoſe him. A party of his ſoldiers, breaking into the houſe where *Trebonius* lodged, ſeized him in bed. The proconſul earneſtly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to *Dolabella*. *We will carry you to the conſul*, anſwered the centurion, who was one of

firſt of all the conſpirators, inhumanly ſacrificed to the manes of *Cæſar*. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raiſed by him to the conſulate for the three laſt months of the year 709, and had been two years before truſted with the government of *Hither Spain*, whither he was ſent to ſtop the progreſs of the ſons of *Pompey*. He ſerved the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aſpire at the ſovereign power; and then, the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined *Brutus*, and ſhared with him the glory of delivering, at leaſt for ſome time, his fellow-ſubjects from ſlavery. When the news of his death, and ſoon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to *Rome*, the ſenate, highly provoked at the cruelty and treachery of *Dolabella*, declared him, at the motion of *Cicero*, a rebel and enemy to his country. At the ſame time, they paſſed a decree enacting, that *Brutus* ſhould have the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, and the command of the forces in thoſe provinces, till ſuch time as the republic recovered her antient majeſty; that he might make uſe of the fleet which *Apuleius* had, by *Cæſar*'s orders, got ready, together with all the proviſions, military ſtores, and money, to the amount of ſeven thouſand talents, which *Cæſar* had lodged in the city of *Demetrias*, and deſigned for his *Parthian* expedition; that *Caſſius* ſhould take upon him the government of *Syria*, and the charge of making war upon *Dolabella* and revenging the death of *Trebonius*; and, laſtly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic ſhould receive orders from theſe two generals[g].

Dolabella declared a rebel and enemy to his country.

Antony, being informed by his emiſſaries of ſuch an extraordinary ſtep taken by the ſenate, laid hold of this opportunity to raiſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies in the minds of the conſul *Hirtius* and young *Octavianus* againſt the conſcript fathers. He writ a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude for baſely be-

Antony endeavours to gain over Hirtius *and* Octavianus.

[g] Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epiſt. 7. & Philippic. ii. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 646. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. l. iii. p. 542. & l iv. p. 624. Dio. l. xlvii p. 344.

of *Cæſar*'s old ſoldiers: *But your head muſt remain here* Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incenſed ſoldiery in a moſt contemptuous manner (49).

(49) *Vell. Patercul. l.* ii. *c.* 69 *Appian. l* iii. *p.* 542, 543. *Dio, l.* xlvii. *p.* 344.

traying

traying the cauſe of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the ſecret deſigns of the ſenate, which were to make them the inſtruments of each others ruin. Theſe remonſtrances made a deep impreſſion on *Octavianus*, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But, as his own intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined *Antony*, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he ſtill purſued his former meaſures, which were to court the favour of the ſenate, till ſuch time as he had got rid of ſo powerful and formidable a rival. Purſuant to this ſcheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conſcript fathers, but, to give proof of his deference to the conſuls, readily ſurrendered to *Hirtius* the legion of *Mars* and the fourth, which had quitted *Antony*'s party, and which the conſul, by a ſecret order from the ſenate, required him to deliver up to himſelf. After this he joined the remainder of his forces to thoſe of *Hirtius*, and marched with him into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to the relief of *Decimus Brutus*, while *Panſa*, the other conſul, continued in *Italy* to raiſe more troops there. *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* took *Bononia* and ſeveral other cities which *Antony* had ſeized, and then, advancing to the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, incamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Antony*'s lines, with a deſign to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of proviſions, to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, *P. Ventidius*, a ſoldier of fortune, who had ſerved under *Cæſar* and was a particular friend to *Antony*, quitting *Rome*, where *Cicero* governed with an abſolute ſway, viſited all the colonies which *Cæſar* had lately eſtabliſhed in *Italy*; and, as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, he raiſed in a ſhort time two legions, conſiſting wholly of veterans, with a deſign to march them to the relief of *Antony*. But firſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to enter *Rome* privately with orders to ſeize upon *Cicero*, who was daily inveighing againſt *Antony*, and wholly taken up in raiſing money, at the expence of *Antony*'s friends, to pay the troops of *Octavianus* and the conſuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his deſign, abandoned the city, with ſeveral other ſenators, and concealed himſelf in the country. Hereupon *Ventidius*, finding his deſign had got vent, marched in all haſte towards *Mutina*; but all the paſſes being ſeized by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, he was obliged to retire into *Picenum*, where he raiſed another legion, keeping his troops in a readineſs to march on

Hirtius and Octavianus march to the relief of Decimus Brutus.

Ventidius raiſes forces to aſſiſt Antony.

the

the first opportunity that offered of serving his friend and party [h].

The consul Panſa *ſets out for* Ciſalpine Gaul.

In the mean time, *Panſa*, having raiſed four legions in *Rome*, left the city, and, taking his rout towards *Ciſalpine Gaul*, arrived at *Bononia*. As the country between that city and *Mutina* was full of woods and marſhes, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* upon the news of his approach detached the legion of *Mars*, which conſiſted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of *Carfuleius*, to cover his march. On the other hand, *Antony* ſent out in the night-time his two beſt legions, the ſecond and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themſelves among the ruſhes of a large moraſs, which lay on each ſide of the *Æmilian* way, through which the conſul *Panſa* was to march. *Carfuleius* joined the conſular army with his detachment before they reached the moraſs, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of *Mars* and the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, when upon entering the cauſway, which led acroſs the marſh, he obſerved ſome armed men lying among the ruſhes. However, he advanced boldly on the cauſway with the legion of *Mars*; but was not gone far before he ſaw himſelf inveſted by *Antony*'s two legions, who, ſtarting up from among the reeds and ruſhes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the ſame time, *Antony* appeared in perſon at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain. The conſul *Panſa*, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the aſſiſtance of the legion of *Mars*, which was engaged with two of *Antony*'s legions; but thoſe brave veterans, refuſing to admit the conſul's raw and undiſciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they ſhould rather incumber than relieve them, the conſul paſſing the moraſs, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent *Antony* from lending any aſſiſtance to his legions and guards on the cauſway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Antony*'s two legions were bent on revenging themſelves on the *Martial* legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other ſide the *Martial* legion was reſolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under *Cæſar*. Thus the engagement became a particular quarrel between the ſoldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, *Antony*'s two legions being ſupported by his guards, and the *Martial* legion by the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, the battle laſted

Antony *attacks the conſul* Panſa.

A ſharp engagement.

[h] Appian. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. Philippic, ii.

from

from morning to night without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. *Octavianus*'s guards were almoſt to a man cut in pieces, but thoſe of *Hirtius*, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, obliged *Antony*'s ſecond legion to give ground, which they did in good order. The *Martial* legion and *Antony*'s thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the cauſway into the moraſs, till *Carfuleius* drew off his men to relieve the conſul *Panſa*, who was engaged with *Antony* in the plain and hemmed in by his cavalry. But, as *Carfuleius*'s legionaries were greatly fatigued after ſo long and obſtinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the conſul was mortally wounded and his troops put to flight. *Torquatus*, quæſtor of the conſular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to ſerve as an aſylum for his party, in caſe of any misfortune. Thither the conſul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was run through the body with a javelin. *Antony* purſued them, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed. But the conſular legions, though wholly conſiſting of raw ſoldiers, who had been juſt defeated in the plain, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that *Antony*, fearing *Hirtius* might come upon him in the mean time, thought it adviſeable to content himſelf with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before *Mutina*. But while his troops were marching back in diſorder, as often happens after a victory, *Hirtius* unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty choſen cohorts, and, falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many of them in pieces. However, thoſe brave veterans, tired as they were, made a vigorous reſiſtance, and, being encouraged by the example of their general, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner, ſtood their ground a great while; but were at length intirely defeated, and forced to ſave themſelves by flight croſs the marſhes on each ſide of the *Æmilian* way. *Hirtius*, who in this action diſcharged the duty both of an experienced general and a valiant ſoldier, would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives for fear of ſome ambuſcade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marſhes. As for *Antony*, he paſſed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a ſmall village called *Forum Gallorum*, at preſent *Caſtel Franco*, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his camp before *Mutina*. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and, taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite ſpent with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of ſixty furlongs through woods and marſhes. As for

Antony prevails over the conſul Panſa.

But is defeated by his collegue Hirtius.

for *Octavianus*, ſome writers tell us, that he was at the firſt battle; nay, *Antony* afterwards upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having quitted his horſe and thrown away his arms, that he might with more eaſe ſave himſelf, croſs the woods and marſhes, where, according to him, he lay concealed two days, being both aſhamed and afraid to ſhew himſelf. Others ſay, that he remained in his camp in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, and there repulſed with great bravery a ſtrong detachment from *Antony*'s camp, which attempted to force his intrenchments. They add, that for ſo gallant an action, which was, we may ſay, his firſt eſſay in the art of war, he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Imperator*, as were likewiſe the two conſuls for their courageous behaviour in the two battles. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal; in the firſt battle *Octavianus*'s guards, with a great number of *Panſa*'s legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the ſecond *Hirtius* loſt only a ſmall number of men, whereas the ſlaughter of the enemy was very great [1].

The battle of Mutina.

After the battle both armies returned to their reſpective camps in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*. *Antony* reſolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour. On the other hand, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, fearing the place, if not relieved, might ſoon be obliged to capitulate, were for venturing another engagement. But as *Antony* kept cloſe within his lines, the two generals reſolved to make a bold puſh, in order to throw ſome ſuccours into the inveſted city. Accordingly, leaving a ſufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the reſt cloſe up to *Antony*'s lines, with a deſign to force them where they appeared weakeſt. *Antony* immediately ſent out all his cavalry againſt them; but his horſe being put to the rout, after a ſharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had poſſeſſed themſelvs of an eminence, he cauſed two legions to advance, which were ſo vigorouſly attacked by *Hirtius*, that they ſoon began to give ground and retire in diſorder to their intrenchments. The conſul purſued his advantage, and, ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by his courage and ardour, entered the lines pell-mell with the fugitives, and penetrated, in ſpite of all oppoſition, as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid him dead on the ground. And now, by the death of one of the conſuls and the abſence of the other, who had been

The conſul Hirtius is killed.

[1] Cic. Philippic 4. Suet. in Octavio. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 61. Dio. Appian. ibid.

conveyed

conveyed to *Bononia* after the firſt battle, in which he was mortally wounded, *Octavianus* was left commander in chief of the whole army. He is ſaid by ſome writers to have given on this occaſion ſignal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander. For at the head of ſome brave legionaries he reſcued the body of the dead conſul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his ſtandard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himſelf, fighting like a private man in the firſt line. But, as he obſerved the conſular troops ſomewhat diſcouraged by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to ſeek for ſhelter behind their intrenchments. Some aſcribe the whole glory of this action to *Decimus Brutus*, who, ſallying out of the city, and falling upon the enemy's rear while they were engaged with *Octavianus*, forced them to give ground and retreat in the utmoſt confuſion to their camp (O). However that be, *Antony*, weakened by theſe loſſes, and fearing the event of a third battle, raiſed the ſiege the next day; and not being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, retired towards the *Alps*, and took the road to *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with a deſign to join *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, who were in thoſe large provinces at the head of conſiderable armies [k].

Antony obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina.

Decimus Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troubleſome ſiege, was for ſome time at a loſs how to behave with *Octavianus*, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcileable hatred, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance he had lent him againſt *Antony*. At length, by the advice of his friends, he diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the *Scultennis*, now the *Panaro*. *Octavianus* received the meſſenger with great coldneſs, but agreed to his

[k] APPIAN. DIO. ibid. PLUT. in Antonio.

(O) The battle of *Mutina* was fought on the ſeventeenth of the kalends of *May*, as is plain from a letter, which *Galba*, who was in the battle, wrote to *Cicero* (50). From the third day after this victory, thoſe ſeem to reckon the beginning of *Auguſtus*'s reign, who will have him to have governed the *Roman* empire forty ſix years four months and and one day (51).

(50) *Cic. l. x. ad familiar epiſt.* 30. (51) *Vide Uſher. ad Ann. Mundi* 4071. *Theophyl. Antiochen. in Autolycho. & Clement. Alexandrin. l. x. ſtromat.*

propoſal; which *Brutus* no ſooner underſtood, than he cauſed the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broke down, and by a ſecond meſſage required, that the conference might be held in the preſence of their troops, and with the river between them. Theſe were not unſeaſonable precautions, it being well known that *Octavianus* had vowed the deſtruction of all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made uſe of, on all occaſions, to deſtroy ſuch as were true friends to their country and enemies to tyranny. *Octavianus* having agreed to theſe conditions, both he and *Brutus* appeared on the oppoſite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the aſſiſtance he had lent him, and acknowledged himſelf indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite diſcourſe *Octavianus* anſwered with great ſurlineſs, that *Brutus* owed him no obligations, ſince he had relieved *Mutina*, not for his ſake, but to chaſtiſe the inſolence of *Antony*, who nevertheleſs might one day become his friend, whereas he ſhould ever maintain a mortal enmity to *Brutus*, and all thoſe who had embrued their hands in the blood of his father. *Brutus*, piqued at this haughty and threatening anſwer, replied ſmartly, that ſince *Antony* was already ſufficiently humbled, he had no further buſineſs in the province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the ſenate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. *Octavianus* was highly offended at the boldneſs of *Brutus*; but, being well appriſed that he was ſupported by the ſenate, he thought it adviſeable to ſtifle his reſentment for the preſent, and quitting the neighbourhood of *Mutina* to return to *Bononia*, where he found the conſul *Vibius Panſa* lying at the point of death. He no ſooner heard of the arrival of *Octavianus*, than he ſent for him, and, tenderly embracing him, ſpoke to him in the following manner: *I always loved your father more than myſelf, and when he was ſlain, would have ventured my own life to ſave his, had I been armed. I never laid aſide the deſire, nor the hopes of revenging one day his death, though ſome prudential reaſons, to which even you have ſubmitted, have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the ſenate. But now my death, juſt at hand, deprives me of that comfort. However, before I expire, I will at leaſt acquit myſelf towards the ſon of what I was indebted to the father. Know then that the ſenate both hates and ſuſpects you. Nothing has pleaſed them more than to ſee you fall out with* Antony, *and they flatter themſelves with the hopes of finding you become the inſtruments of each other's ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only becauſe they thought*

An interview between Decimus Brutus *and* Octavianus.

Panſa's *laſt advice to* Octavianus.

thought you the weakeſt, and the man they could the more eaſily overcome. This they have declared more than once to Hirtius *and to me. The friendſhip therefore, with which* Cæſar *once honoured me, obliges me to give you ſuch advice, as I myſelf would follow on the like occaſion. Agree with* Antony; *for you have no other means of ſaving your life and advancing your fortune. My deſign was not, as the ſenate believed, to deſtroy* Antony, *but to compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction purſue the murderers of our common benefactor. I return to you your two legions, and would willingly ſurrender up to you the reſt of the army, but they do not intirely depend upon me. The commanders are moſt of them the ſpies of the ſenate, who have private orders to obſerve your conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands of* Torquatus. The words of the dying conſul made a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Octavianus*, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. *Panſa* died preſently after, having firſt delivered up his army to *Torquatus* one of his lieutenants [1] (P). Panſa *dies of his wounds.*

IN the mean time, the ſenate, upon the news of the advantages gained over *Antony* by the generals of the republic, decreed, at the motion of *Cicero*, fifty days ſupplications to return thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of the campaign. By the ſame decree large ſums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public treaſury, to ſuch of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of

[1] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. iii.

(P *Octavianus* was ſuſpected of having murdered both the conſuls; *Hirtius* with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and *Panſa* after it, by cauſing poiſon to be poured into his wound by *Glyco* his phyſician. It is certain *Glyco* was ſeized, and even condemned to the torture, but ſaved by the credit of his maſter *Octavianus*. *Decimus Brutus*, indeed, wrote to *Cicero* in behalf of the phyſician, whom he ſeems to have thought incapable of ſo black a crime. But notwithſtanding *Brutus*'s declaration, who was known to be a humane and good-natured man, the report was credited by many in *Rome*. As for the conſul *Hirtius*, *Aquilius Niger* wrote, that *Octavianus* killed him undeſignedly in the hurry of the battle. We will not warrant the truth of theſe reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundleſs, as ſome modern writers call them, broached by enthuſiaſtic republicans to blacken the reputation of ſo great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this *great man*, we ſhall have many, too many, inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

theſe

thoſe who had died in the battle, or ſince of their wounds; which had never been done before on account of any victory. The bodies of the two conſuls were, by an order from the ſenat, conveyed to *Rome*, and with the utmoſt magnificence interred in the *Campus Martius* at the expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the moſt eminent perſonages of the republic. The bodies of three other officers of diſtinction, *viz.* of *Caius Peduceus*, *Decimus Carſulcius*, and *Pontius Aquila*, were conveyed to *Rome* with thoſe of the conſuls, and interred with great pomp in the burying-places of their reſpective families, moſt of the ſenators attending their obſequies [m].

The bodies of the two conſuls carried to Rome, *and interred with great pomp.*

And now the conſcript fathers, conceiving *Antony* to be utterly undone, began to ſlight *Octavianus*, for whom they believed they ſhould have no further occaſion. He demanded a triumph, which was refuſed to him, and granted to *Decimus Brutus*, though *Octavianus*, it muſt be owned, had at leaſt as juſt a claim to that honour as *Brutus*. *Cicero* indeed was for granting him an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the ſenate to allow him even that mark of diſtinction. On the other hand, they heaped all ſorts of honours on *Decimus*. They ordered *Torquatus* to deliver up to him the troops which the conſul *Panſa* had commanded: they appointed him commander in chief of all the forces in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, charging him, without ſo much as mentioning *Octavianus*, to purſue *Antony*, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of *Rome* were opened, and public prayers appointed for the ſucceſs of his arms: as the ſiege of *Mutina* had been raiſed on his birth-day, the ſenate decreed, that it ſhould be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as ſuch marked in the *faſti*. At the ſame time, the conſcript fathers, as if they had taken pleaſure in mortifying *Octavianus*, paſſed a decree, enacting, that a ſtatue ſhould be raiſed at the public expence to the memory of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the conſpirators who had keen killed in the battle of *Mutina*, and that all the charges he had been at, and the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war, ſhould be made good to his heirs out of the public treaſure. So many marks of diſtinction heaped upon the conſpirators, left *Octavianus* no room to doubt of the diſpoſition of the ſenate toward him. From that moment he reſolved to follow the laſt advice of *Panſa*, and to be reconciled to *Antony*. With this view he ſent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken priſoners in the laſt battle, and among the

The ſenate by honouring Brutus *diſguſt* Octavianus.

Who reſolves to be reconciled with Antony.

[m] Brutus ad Cic. epiſt. 6. Dio. l. xlvi. Suet. in Octavio.

reſt

reſt *Decius*, one of *Antony*'s moſt intimate friends, after having ſignified to him in ambiguous words his intention. *Ventidius*, as we have obſerved above, had raiſed three legions for *Antony*, and was attempting to join him after the battle of *Mutina*. *Octavianus* overtook and ſurpriſed him with a ſuperior force, and might eaſily have defeated him; but he ſuffered him to eſcape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell *Antony* in his name, that he was ignorant of his true intereſt, and acted directly contrary to it. At the ſame time he opened himſelf without reſerve to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a ſecret correſpondence. He wrote to them, that the ſenate, intirely addicted to the aſſaſſins of his father, were reſolved to deſtroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies ſtudied only how to divide them, in order to cruſh them the more eaſily one after another; that for their own ſafety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death, of their late general, *&c.* He added ſome complaints of *Antony*; but in ſo artful a manner, that it was eaſily ſeen he was no ways averſe to a reconciliation [n].

Antony *is driven out of* Italy *by* Decimus Brutus.

IN the mean time, *Antony*, preſſed by *Brutus*, endeavoured to gain the *Alps* with a deſign to paſs thoſe mountains, and join *Lepidus*, who commanded ſeven legions in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and who, he imagined, would ſtand his friend in conſideration of the many kind offices he had done him, during his late conſulſhip and in the dictator's life-time. *Brutus*, having thus driven him out of *Italy*, wrote to the ſenate, that he had diſperſed his army, and that *Antony* himſelf was ſculking ſomewhere among the *Alps*, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The ſenate, overjoyed at this news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered its antient liberty, and appointed, as if *Antony* had been actually taken, ten commiſſioners to try him. They talked of nothing leſs than repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during his conſulſhip, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to reſettle the commonwealth on its antient foundation. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree immediately paſſed, confiſcating all *Antony*'s effects, and thoſe of his friends and adherents, with grievous menaces againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to conceal any

[n] CIC. ad Attic. l. i. epiſt. 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epiſt 20. DIO. l. xlvi. APPIAN. l. iii.

part

part of his effects. While *Cicero*, at the head of the ſenate, was thus venting his rage upon *Antony*, that general was ſtruggling among the *Alps* with all the hardſhips and miſeries that can be imagined. *Lucius*, having obliged him to quit *Italy*, he attempted to paſs thoſe mountains, without his baggage, and the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed firſt upon the fleſh of their horſes, and afterwards on ſuch wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous and inhoſpitable country, and which no man had ever taſted before; nay, they were at laſt ſo pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. *Plutarch* tells us, that in this extremity, *Antony*, though accuſtomed to luxury and eaſe, was a moſt illuſtrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from a virtuous man. He ſuffered all hardſhips imaginable with the conſtancy of a hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleaſures. But after all, he muſt have periſhed with his whole army, if *Culeo*, one of *Lepidus*'s lieutenants, who guarded the paſſes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by *Antony*, and for a ſum of money granted him a free paſſage. *Antony* no ſooner entered *Gaul*, than he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, reminding them of their antient friendſhip, and exhorting them to join him againſt the murderers of *Cæſar*, their common enemies. *Lepidus* was greatly ſurpriſed at his arrival, and quite at a loſs how to behave in ſo critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illuſtrious family, but of ſlender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the ſame time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined *Antony*, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get the aſcendant over him, and ſcarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this conſideration alone he rejected *Antony*'s propoſals, and wrote him word, that, ſince the ſenate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himſelf a decree of the ſame nature; but he aſſured him at the ſame time, that whatever orders he received from the ſenate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any ways moleſting him. *Aſinius Pollio* on the contrary no ſooner received *Antony*'s letter, than he aſſured him, that he ſhould find him always ready to concur with him in all his meaſures; for he had been one of *Cæſar*'s particular friends, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to all thoſe who had been concerned in his death. As for *Plancus*, he kept a ſecret intelligence with both parties, and

He and his army reduced to great ſtraits in paſſing the Alps.

Lepidus refuſes to join Him.

and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was most likely to prevail. In the mean time, *Antony* marched straight up to *Lepidus*'s army, and marked out his camp near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same party and interest. He sent out immediately some of his officers to him, putting him in mind of their antient friendship, and conjuring him by *Cæsar*'s memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But *Marcus Juventius Laterensis*, one of *Lepidus*'s most intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from joining *Antony*. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conspirators, he artfully represented to *Lepidus*, that, having seven legions under his command, he was one of the most powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight; what side soever he chose; but that, if he joined *Antony*, he would be obliged to submit to the authority of so haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot strove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well apprised would prove fatal to his country. But *Antony*, who saw his ruin unavoidable, if *Lepidus* should be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with *Decimus Brutus*, resolved to push his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his late defeat. In this condition and with a mourning mantle flung over him, he went boldly into the camp of *Lepidus*, and there began to harangue the soldiers, who had all served with him under *Cæsar*. They were all greatly moved at his habit, and more at his speech; which *Lepidus* observing, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This raised in the soldiery a great sense of compassion; insomuch, that they secretly sent *Clodius* and *Lælius* disguised in women's cloaths advising *Antony* to attack *Lepidus*'s camp, and assuring him, that the greater part were disposed to receive him with open arms, and even to dispatch *Lepidus*, if he would give them orders for so doing. *Antony* would by no means suffer any violence to be offered to *Lepidus*; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, sounded a river (Q), which lay between the two camps, and was the first who flung himself into the water to gain the opposite side. The soldiers of *Lepidus* no sooner saw him

Antony incamps near Lepidus.

Enters Lepidus's camp in a mourning habit, and moves the pity of the soldiers.

(Q) This river, which is called by the antients *Argenteus*, and by the moderns *Argens*, rises near *S. Maximin* in *Provence*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* at a small distance from *Frejus*.

By whom he is received into the camp, and declared general.

than they ran in crouds to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make way for him. *Antony* entered the camp amidſt the loud acclamations of the ſoldiery, and marched ſtraight to the general's quarters, whom he found aſleep in his tent. We may eaſily conceive the ſurpriſe of *Lepidus* at the ſight of *Antony*, no longer in the attire of a ſuppliant, but ſurrounded by his guards, and attended both by his own officers and thoſe of *Lepidus*. He leaped out of his bed in the utmoſt conſternation, and throwing himſelf at *Antony*'s feet; offered him the command of the army. *Antony*, though now abſolute maſter both of his perſon and army, treated him with great civility; tenderly embraced him; giving him the name of father, and even left him the title and all the badges of a general, tho' he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave *Juventius Laterenſis* was ſo touched with the misfortunes which he foreſaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country; that, while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himſelf in the height of his grief with his own ſword [o]. This union happened on the fourth of the kalends of *June*, as is plain from *Cicero*'s epiſtles [p]. *Aſinius Pollio*, who was incamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Lepidus*, followed his example and joined *Antony*. *Munatius Plancus*, who had been hitherto wavering and doubtful which ſide to take, thought it now high time to declare himſelf; and accordingly, leaving his camp at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, where he had been truſted by the ſenate with the charge of founding a colony (R), he led all the troops under his command to *Antony*, who was much about the ſame time joined by *Ventidius* at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before *Brutus*, and abandoned *Italy*,

Antony *is joined by* Pollio *and* Plancus.

[o] Appian. l. iii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 63. [p] Cic. ad famil. epiſt. 29. Plancus. ad Cic. l. x.

(R) The city of *Lyons* is commonly thought to have been founded by him. *Dion Caſſius* tells us in expreſs terms, that the proconſul *L. Munatius Plancus* ſtopt at a place called *Lugudunum*, and founded in that neighbourhood a colony which he called *Lugdunum*. The antient city was founded, according to ſome writers, in the year of *Rome* 364 by two brothers, named *Momorus* and *Atepomarus*, chiefs of the *Gauliſh* nation, and contemporaries with the famous *Brennus*. In proceſs of time *Lugdunum* and *Lugudunum* became one and the ſame city (52).

(52) *Vid. Plut. de fluviis.*

found

found himſelf now in a condition to return thither with twenty three legions and above ten thouſand horſe.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in *Gaul*, *Octavianus* continued ſtill at *Bononia* with the fourth legion, that of *Mars*, and ſome others, which had remained with him after the battle of *Mutina*. As the ſenate had committed the whole management of the war againſt *Antony* to *Decimus Brutus*, he concluded from thence, that the conſcript fathers intended to reduce him to the ſtate of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he reſolved to ſtand for the conſulate, which office was become vacant by the death of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. But as he was well appriſed of the difficulties he ſhould meet with in the purſuit of that dignity from the ſenators, who were for the moſt part intirely addicted to the party of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he artfully applied himſelf to *Cicero*, with whoſe vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, diſcovering his deſign to him as to a boſom friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very deſirous of having him for his collegue in the conſulate, in order to be inſtructed by ſo great a maſter in the rules and maxims that are requiſite for the government of the commonwealth; that for his part, he only deſired the name of conſul, to make him ſome amends for the loſs of a triumph which he thought due to him, but that all the power and authority ſhould be left to him; ſo that he might manage affairs as he pleaſed. *Cicero*, old as he was, ſuffered himſelf to be made the dupe of a child as he uſed to call him; and to the great ſurpriſe of all, propoſed in the ſenate the raiſing of *Octavianus* to the conſular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with *Antony*. He added, that, as *Octavianus* was yet very young, the conſcript fathers ought to appoint him ſuch a collegue, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At theſe words the ſenators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himſelf as the moſt proper perſon to be choſen for *Octavianus*'s collegue, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no ſmall mortification to *Cicero* to ſee his vanity at the ſame time both expoſed and diſappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conſpirators cried out with one voice, that to put *Cæſar*'s ſon at the head of the republic was utterly deſtroying it [q].

Octavianus *makes uſe of* Cicero's *ambition to get the conſulate.*

But is diſappointed.

Octavianus, finding he could obtain nothing of the ſenate even by *Cicero*'s means, reſolved to put off no longer his reconciliation

Octavianus *is reconciled with* Antony.

[q] APPIAN. DIO. ibid.

conciliation with *Antony*, and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into *Italy*, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. *Antony*, overjoyed to find *Octavianus* so earneſt for a reconciliation, readily conſented to it, and, without further delay, began his march towards *Italy* to confer there with *Octavianus*. He led with him ſeventeen legions and a thouſand horſe, having left ſix legions in *Gaul* under the command of *Varius*, one of his bottle-companions, who on that account was nick-named *Cotylon*, which ſignifies *a bottle*.

Lepidus declared an enemy to his country.

In the mean time, the news of the conjunction of *Antony* and *Lepidus* reaching *Rome*, filled the city with conſternation. The ſenate immediately aſſembled, and paſſed a decree, declaring *Lepidus* an enemy to his country, and likewiſe the legionaries of his army, who ſhould not abandon him and return to their duty before the kalends of *September*. This decree was enacted, the day before the kalends of *July*, as appears from one of *Cicero*'s letters to *C. Caſſius* [r]. The ſtatue of *Lepidus* was, by order of the ſenate, thrown down, and that of the brave *Juventius Laterenſis* raiſed in its room. As the ſenate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and *Lepidus*, they had recourse to *Octavianus*, and committed to him, in conjunction with *Decimus Brutus*, the management of the war againſt *Antony* and *Lepidus*. *Octavianus*, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the ſenate thanks in the moſt humble terms, for the honour they had been pleaſed to confer upon him, and began, without delay, to raiſe troops, and make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. When he ſaw himſelf again at the head of an army, he threw off the maſk, and aſſembling his ſoldiers, told them, that the only thing the ſenate had in view was, to deſtroy all his father's friends, by ſowing diviſions among them, and arming them againſt each other; but that he, well apprized of their wicked deſigns, had entered into a confederacy with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were on their march into *Italy* at the head of ſeventeen legions; that this was the only means of procuring ſafety for themſelves, and for ſo many brave men who had eſpouſed their cauſe: *Do you believe*, ſaid he, *that thoſe who have murdered my father, will ſpare my life or yours, if their party ſhould prevail? and prevail they muſt if we are divided among ourſelves. What ſecurity can*

The management of the war againſt him and Antony committed to Octavianus *and D. Brutus.*

His ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

[r] Cic. l. 12. ad familiar. epiſt. 10.

you

you have for thoſe houſes, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if thoſe men get into power, who approve of his death, and are for annulling all his ordinances? You know I am not ambitious; for you have ſeen me refuſe the prætorſhip, which you yourſelves offered me. But now I muſt intreat you, not for my own ſake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and intereſt in raiſing me to the conſulate. I ſhall be in a condition, when veſted with that dignity, to ſecure to you the poſſeſſion of thoſe inheritances, which my father beſtowed upon you, and at the ſame time to revenge his death, with the deſtruction of thoſe who endeavour to deſtroy us. The ſoldiers received this propoſal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to *Rome*, and demand the conſulſhip for their general in the name of the legions. The ſenate received the deputies with great civility, but refuſed to comply with their requeſt, alledging *Octavianus*'s youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a conſul. But the deputies, who had been well inſtructed beforehand, brought ſeveral inſtances of perſons who had been raiſed to the conſular dignity without any regard to their age, *viz.* of *Rullus*, of *Decius*, of *Corvinus*, of the two *Scipios*, of *Pompey*, and of *Dolabella*, who had been but very lately honoured with the conſulate, though much of the ſame age with *Octavianus*. Theſe precedents were of no weight with the conſcript fathers: others, 'tis true, had enjoyed that honour before the lawful age; but moſt of them were perſons of unblemiſhed characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty; whereas they had reaſon to believe, that *Octavianus* would make uſe of his power to oppreſs his country. As for *Dolabella*, he had been raiſed to the faſces by *Cæſar* without the conſent of the ſenate. The fathers therefore, without caſting any reflections on *Octavianus*, or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the requeſt of the legionaries; when one of thoſe armed embaſſadors, by name *Cornelius*, laying his hand on his ſword, *If you will not make him conſul*, ſaid he, *this ſhall.* Having thus ſpoke, he left the ſenate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad ſucceſs of their negotiation. The ſoldiers, provoked at this refuſal, preſſed *Octavianus* to lead them to *Rome*, ſaying, that he, as heir to *Cæſar*, had a right to diſpoſe of the conſulate as he pleaſed. The ambitious youth heard this with pleaſure, and, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, marched immediately towards *Rome* with eight legions. He paſſed the *Rubicon*, as his father had done, when he began the firſt civil war, and, dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced

Octavianus's *ſoldiers demand the conſulate for their general.*

Octavianus *marches towards* Rome.

advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to ſurpriſe his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leiſurely. The unexpected news of *Octavianus*'s approach filled the city with dread and confuſion. Several ſenators, among the reſt the cowardly *Cicero*, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Thoſe who remained, aſſembled in haſte, and came to the following reſolutions; *viz.* that the money, which the ſenate had promiſed to the two legions, the fourth, and that of *Mars*, ſhould be immediately ſent them; that the ſame ſum ſhould be promiſed in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of *Octavianus*, and that he, though abſent, ſhould be allowed to ſtand for the conſulate. Deputies were immediately diſpatched to acquaint him with theſe reſolutions. They were ſcarce gone, when the conſcript fathers, reflecting cooly on their behaviour, began to be aſhamed of their puſillanimity in thus ſubmitting to a boy, and giving way to the inſolence of the ſoldiery. At the ſame time two legions, which had been in *Africa*, arrived at the gates of *Rome*. Theſe the ſenate looked upon as a ſupply ſent them by the gods, and taking courage, reſolved, with them and a legion which *Vibius Panſa* had ſent back to guard the city, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Two prætors, *viz.* *Quintus Gallius Lupercus* and *Marcus Cornutus*, had governed the city, and ſupplied the room of conſuls ever ſince the death of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. The former favoured in his heart the party of *Octavianus*, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican, and an avowed friend to *Brutus* and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the conſcript fathers, and inſpire them with reſolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detatched a good number of cohorts to gariſon the *Janiculum*, whither the public money had been conveyed. In the mean time, *Octavianus* drew near, and poſting himſelf on the *Quirinal*, then without the walls, he ſent from thence emiſſaries into the city, aſſuring the people, that both their lives and eſtates were ſafe. Hereupon they flocked out in crouds to ſee their friends and relations, who ſerved under *Octavianus*, carrying them refreſhments, and freely converſing with them. Many of the ſenators themſelves, and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a choſen body of legionaries.

Reſolutions taken by the ſenate.

Octavianus *is received at* Rome *with loud acclamations.*

legionaries. He was met by his mother and ſiſters, who had concealed themſelves among the veſtals, and accompanied by them and a numberleſs croud to his houſe, whither all the nobility flocked to make their court to him. *Cicero*, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two *African* legions, was one of the laſt who came to pay him his devoirs. *Octavianus* received him coldly, and, when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, *You are the laſt of my enemies*, anſwered *Octavianus* with an ill-natured ſneer, *who have honoured me with a viſit.* He well knew, that *Cicero* was entirely in the intereſt of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and beſides, he had been told by ſome of his emiſſaries, that the orator, in the ſpeech which he made to the conſcript fathers, when he demanded the conſulate for him, had uſed a very odd and equivocal expreſſion; *Egregius iſte juvenis*, ſaid he, *laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus eſt*, that is, *The brave youth ought to be praiſed and honoured*; but as to the laſt word, it ſignifies equally to be *advanced*, and to be *cut off*. The next day the three legions that were in the city went out to join *Octavianus*, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city, and incamp in the field of *Mars*. From thence he ſent a detachment to ſeize on the *Janiculum*, and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier under his command. The prætor *Quintus Gallius* ſummoned the people to meet in the *campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of new conſuls. But his collegue *Marcus Cornutus*, foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the promotion of *Octavianus*, gave up the republic for loſt, and, ſcorning to ſubmit to the yoke of his fellow citizen, laid violent hands on himſelf. A memorable inſtance of the old *Roman* ſpirit, which, in the virtuous ages of *Rome*, would have been celebrated with the higheſt encomiums, but is ſcarce taken notice of by the ſlaviſh writers, who flouriſhed under *Auguſtus*, and his ſucceſſors. On the day appointed for the election, *Octavianus* withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at leaſt, ſome appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimouſly declared *Octavianus* firſt conſul, and appointed *Quintus Pædius*, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator, for his collegue. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was ſacrificing according to cuſtom, ſix, as ſome ſay, twelve, vulturs are ſaid to have been ſeen, the ſame number that appeared to the founder of *Rome*. Hence he concluded, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with the ſame power and authority as *Romulus*. This year is reckoned

Is joined by the legions in the city.

Octavianus *choſen conſul.*

Year after the Flood, 2971. Before Chriſt, 38. *Of* Rome, 710.

ed, by moſt of the antient hiſtorians and modern chronologers, the firſt of the long reign of *Octavianus*, known afterwards by the name of *Auguſtus*. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for ſome time divided with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and warmly diſputed by the republican party both in the eaſt and weſt. *Livy* ſays, that *Octavianus* was but nineteen years old when he was created conſul [r]: but *Suetonius* writes more freely, that he uſurped the conſulſhip in the twentieth year of his age [s]. *Plutarch* tells us, out of *Octavianus*'s own commentaries, that he was ſcarce twenty years old when he was honoured with the conſular dignity [t]. He was declared conſul, ſays *Velleius Paterculus* [w], the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the kalends of *October*. But *Velleius* was certainly miſtaken, for there wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of *Octavianus*'s age; neither did he obtain the conſulate in the month of *September*, in which he was born, but in that of *Sextilis*, which was thence called *Auguſtus*, as is manifeſt both from *Suetonius* [x], and the decree of the ſenate, which is to be ſeen in *Macrobius* [y]. *Dion* obſerves, that, on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, he was made conſul the firſt time, and that he died on the ſame day [z]; and *Tacitus* tells us, that the ſuperſtitious multitude, after *Auguſtus*'s death, admired the ſtrange events of his fortune, *That the laſt day of his life and the firſt of his reign were the ſame*, &c [a]. And thus far of the diſturbances which happened in the weſt from the death of the dictator to the firſt conſulate of *Octavianus*. We ſhall now briefly relate what paſſed in the eaſt during the ſame period of time; for there likewiſe a war was kindled, and thoſe vaſt provinces involved in the ſame fate with *Italy* and *Gaul*.

What happened in the eaſt, from the death of Cæſar *to the conſulate of* Octavianus.

To return therefore to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; theſe two chiefs of the republican party, having left *Rome* to eſcape the fury of the populace, whom *Antony*'s artful ſpeech, and the ſight of *Cæſar*'s dead body, had ſtirred up againſt them, retired firſt to *Antium*, with a deſign to return to the city, and there diſcharge the functions of their office, for they were both prætors, as ſoon as the rage of the unſettled multitude was abated. But *Antony* raiſing daily new diſturbances, they wrote to their friends, that ſince it was not ſafe for them to reſume the functions of their office in the city, they were

[r] Liv. l. cxix. [s] Suet. in Octavio, c. 16. [t] Plut. in Bruto. [w] Vell. Patercul. [x] Suet. ibid. c 31. [y] Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. 12. [z] Dio. l. lvi p. 590. [a] Tacit. l. i. annal. c. 9.

determined

determined to ſpend the reſt of the year in *Italy* as private citizens; which the ſenate, who favoured them under-hand, no ſooner underſtood, than they committed to them the care of ſupplying the city with corn, which *Brutus* was appointed to ſend out of *Aſia*, and *Caſſius* out of *Sicily* [b]. The deſign of the conſcript fathers in charging them with ſuch a commiſſion was, to give them an opportunity of aſſembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of thoſe provinces in their cauſe, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But, in the mean time, *Octavianus* arriving from *Apollonia* at *Rome*, the city began to be divided into two factions, ſome ſiding with him, and others with *Antony*, and the legionaries, without any regard to their country, publicly ſelling themſelves to the higheſt bidder. Hereupon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, deſpairing of being able to do their countrymen any ſervice in *Italy*, reſolved to paſs over into *Greece*, and from thence into the eaſtern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were diſperſed about thoſe countries. Accordingly *Brutus*, croſſing *Lucania*, came to *Elea*, a maritime city, in order to imbarque there, and ſail for *Athens*. From *Elea* he thought it adviſeable to ſend back to *Rome* his beloved *Porcia*, who had accompanied him thither. That illuſtrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief at the thoughts of parting from ſo tender a huſband, yet concealed her affliction with a conſtancy worthy of the greateſt heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in ſpite of her many reſolutions, by a picture which ſhe happened to obſerve in the houſe where they lodged. It repreſented *Hector* parting from *Andromache* to go and engage the *Greeks*, and giving his young ſon *Aſtyanax* into her arms, while ſhe fixed her eyes upon him with an earneſt and affectionate look. The reſemblance this piece bore to her own caſe, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel *Hector*, made her burſt out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it (S), when

Brutus *paſſes over into* Greece.

[b] APPIAN. l. iii p. 530. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xv. epiſt. 9, 11, 12.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that on this occaſion *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, repeated out of *Homer* the following verſes ſpoken by *Andromache*:

Yet, while my *Hector* ſtill ſurvives, I ſee
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. *Pope.*

when ſhe reflected on the dangers to which her huſband, like a ſecond *Hector*, was going to expoſe himſelf. *Brutus* was extremely troubled, and not without reaſon; yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be ſo carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear *Porcia*, and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſet ſail for *Athens*, while ſhe, bathed in tears, took her rout towards *Rome*. At *Athens Brutus* was received with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. The *Athenians* ſtill retained thoſe noble ſentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers had been ſo renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man, who had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his private intereſt to the public welfare. They compared him and his faithful companion *Caſſius*, who joined him a few days after his arrival at *Athens*, to *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, two brave *Athenians*, who, by the death of the tyrant *Hipparchus*, had delivered their country from ſlavery. Their anceſtors, to perpetuate the memory of ſo glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected ſtatues to thoſe two deliverers of their country: and the preſent *Athenians*, thinking the enterpriſe of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* equally glorious, in imitation of their anceſtors, by a public decree ordered ſtatues to be erected to them over-againſt thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. How different were the ſentiments of the *Athenians* from thoſe of the greater part of our modern writers! Notwithſtanding theſe public demonſtrations of honour and eſteem, *Brutus* ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of public buſineſs, that he might be wholly at leiſure for the ſtudy of

How received at Athens.

Statues erected to him and Caſſius *by a public decree.*

To which *Brutus* replied with a ſmile; But I muſt not anſwer *Porcia* as *Hector* did *Andromache*:

——— Haſten to thy taſk at home,
There guide the ſpindle, and direct the loom. *Idem.*

For though the natural weakneſs of her body hinders her from acting what only the ſtrength of man can perform, yet ſhe has a mind as valiant and as active for the good of her country as the beſt of us. This *Plut. r b* borrowed, as he tells us, from the memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus* the ſon of *Porcia* (53). For *Porcia*, when *Brutus* married her, was the widow of *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named alſo *Bibulus*.

(53) *Plut. in Bruto.*

philoſophy.

philoſophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his gueſt, and conſtantly attended the lectures of *Themiſtus* the *Academic* and *Cratippus* the *Peripatetic*, as if he intended to paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while, being unſuſpected, he was ſecretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief buſineſs to gain the affections of the young *Roman* noblemen, who were attending their ſtudies at *Athens*. Among theſe was *Marcus Tullius*, *Cicero*'s ſon, of whom he uſed to ſay, *That whether ſleeping or waking, he could not help admiring a young man of ſo great ſpirit and ſuch an enemy to tyrants*. As *Brutus*, during his ſtay at *Athens* began to want money, young *Marcus* generouſly ſupplied him with as much as he could ſpare; for in one of his letters to *Tiro*, wherein he ſpeaks of thoſe who boarded with him, *I have hired*, ſays he, *a place hard by me for* Brutus, *and, as much as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intended to declaim in* Greek *before* Caſſius, *but before* Brutus *I will perform my exerciſe in* Latin, *&c.* [c] *Caſſius* by this time, it ſeems, had left *Greece* to go into *Syria*, whither we ſhall ſoon follow him. As for *Brutus* he continued ſome time longer in *Athens*, whence he ſent one *Heroſtrates*, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, into *Macedon*, to ſound the *Roman* troops quartered in that province. *Heroſtrates* diſcharged his truſt with no leſs fidelity than addreſs; for he either found the *Macedonian* troops ready to ſide with *Brutus*, or dexterouſly prevailed upon them to do ſo. Hereupon *Brutus*, pulling off the maſk, began to act openly and raiſe troops in all the cities of *Greece*, whither many *Romans* had retired, being diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs at home. He wanted money; but his want was ſoon ſupplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quæſtor *Vetus Antiſtius*, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to *Rome* the tributes of *Aſia*, was in his courſe to touch at *Caryſtus*, a city of *Eubœa*; he went thither to meet him, and eaſily perſuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treaſure (T). *Brutus* on

Gains ſeveral young Roman *noblemen.*

Raiſes troops and prepares for war.

[c] Cic. l. xvi. ad famil. epiſt. 21.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Antiſtius*, out of the money he was carrying to *Italy*, gave *Brutus* πεντηκοντα μυριαδας, five hundred *myriads*, which the *Latin* interpreter rendered twenty thouſand ſeſterces: and this ſum *Brutus* himſelf acknowledges in an epiſtle, wherein he commends him to *Cicero*, as *Antiſtius* was going to *Rome*

on his birth day made a ſplendid entertainment for the quæſtor, at which, while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of *Brutus* and liberty of *Rome*, *Brutus*, calling for a larger bowl and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud the verſe, which was ſpoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of his death:

Fate and Apollo *againſt me conſpire* (U).

It was no ſooner known, that *Brutus* was raiſing forces, than all the remains of *Pompey*'s army, who, ever ſince the defeat of their general, had wandered about *Theſſaly*, readily and joyfully joined him. With theſe he obliged *Cinna*, who was leading five hundred horſe to *Dolabella* in *Aſia*, to deliver up that body to him. Young *Cicero* gained over to him an intire legion, which *Piſo* deſigned to convey over to *Marc Antony* in *Italy*. And now *Brutus*'s army being greatly increaſed, the prudent leader imbarqued with a ſtrong detachment for *Demetrias*, a town of *Theſſaly*, which we have often mentioned in the hiſtory of *Greece*, and there ſeized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly amaſſed in that city by *Cæſar* for his *Parthian* expedition, and were now deſigned for *Antony*. *Macedon* was then governed by *Hortenſius*, the ſon of the famous orator, who was *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence. As he was a ſincere friend to his country, he declared without the leaſt heſitation, for *Brutus*; and before the arrival of *Caius Antonius*, who was appointed to ſucceed him and already on his march, he reſigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his troops;

Seizes on the magazines of arms at Demetrias.

to ſtand for the prætorſhip (54). *Pomponius Atticus* likewiſe ſent him a preſent of CM. ſeſterces, when he left *Italy*, and ordered three hundred more to be remitted to him in *Epirus* (55).

(U) *Plutarch* pretends, that *Brutus* quoted this verſe on a ſudden without any premeditation, or any preceding circumſtance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as madam *Dacier* well obſerves. According to her, *Brutus* ſpoke this verſe in the perſon of *Cæſar*, ſignifying thereby, that in putting *Cæſar* to death, he had only lent a helping hand to fate and *Apollo*, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his deſtiny. Some hiſtorians, quoted by *Plutarch*, tell us, that the word *Brutus* gave his men at the battle of *Philippi* was *Apollo*; whence they conclude, that the line quoted on this occaſion was a preſage of that overthrow (56).

(54) *Cic lib. ad Brutum epiſt.* 11. (55) *Corn. Nep. in vita Pomp. Attic.* (56) *Plut. ibid.*

troops; nay, he raiſed new forces for him in all the countries under his juriſdiction, and appeared as ſanguine in the great cauſe of liberty as *Brutus* himſelf. And now, *Brutus* being at the head of a powerful army and maſter of *Greece* and *Macedon*, all the petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their ſervice. Among the reſt a queen of *Thrace*, by name *Polemocratia*, whoſe huſband had been lately murdered by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and, delivering up to him all her treaſures, put herſelf and her ſon under his protection. *Brutus* received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and ſent her to *Cyzicum* in *Aſia Minor*, to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of reſtoring her to her kingdom [d]. *Is joined by the troops in* Macedon.

IN the mean time, news being brought, that *Caius*, the brother of *Antony* having croſſed the *Adriatic*, was advancing to join *Gabinius*, or, as others call him, *Vatinius*, who commanded three legions in *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haſte with the few troops he had then with him. His march though through rugged places and a deep ſnow, was ſo expeditious, that he left thoſe who were to bring his proviſions a great way behind. When he got near to *Dyrrhachium*, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which the *Greeks* call *Bulimia*, that is, *a violent hunger* (W). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could ſupply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourſe to the enemy, and, advancing to the very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the ſad ſtate of *Brutus*, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compaſſion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of proviſions. *Brutus* on this occaſion won ſo much upon the affections of thoſe legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, *Gabinius* himſelf not excepted, whom *Cicero* commended on that ſcore, laying aſide the hatred he had former- *And by* Gabinius's *three legions.*

[d] CIC. l. v. ix. x. & xii epiſt. famil. & Philippic. 11. PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668, & ſeq. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 339, & ſeq. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 62, & ſeq.

(W) The word *Bulimia* is compounded of the two *Greek* words, Βοῦς, *an ox*, and λιμὸς, *hunger*, and ſignifies *an ox-like hunger*, *an inſatiable appetite*, which proceeds from a too ſharp ferment in the ſtomach.

ly

ly bore him. *Caius Antonius*, receiving intelligence of what had happened at *Dyrrhachium*, advanced with all poſſible expedition to *Apollonia*, and ſummoned all the ſoldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to *Brutus*, and ſuſpecting that the garriſon of *Apollonia* were inclined to the ſame party, he abandoned that city, and haſtened to *Butbrotus*, now *Butronto*, on the *Ionian* ſea. *Brutus* purſued him cloſe, and on his march cut in pieces three of the ſeven cohorts that attended him. Upon this ſucceſs *Brutus* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with what he had done in *Greece* and *Macedon*. His letter was read in the ſenate by the conſul *Panſa*, who was ſtill in *Rome*, and his generous concern for the welfare of his country ſet forth by *Cicero* in his tenth *Philippic*; at whoſe motion a decree paſſed, appointing *Brutus* to govern *Macedon*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, in quality of proconſul [e]. By the ſame decree both he and *Caſſius* were empowered to make uſe of the public money, and to raiſe what ſums they pleaſed in the provinces ſubject to *Rome*. The kings and cities of the eaſt, in alliance with the *Roman* people, were at the ſame time ordered to lend them all the aſſiſtance they could [f].

Brutus *appointed governor of* Greece, Macedon, *and* Illyricum.

In the mean time, young *Cicero*, whom *Brutus* had detached with his light-armed foot in purſuit of *Caius Antonius*, coming up with him near *Byllis*, or *Bullis*, a city of *Illyricum* on the *Adriatic*, attacked him and gave him a total overthrow. *Caius* fled with his troops to a neighbouring marſh, where he was ſurrounded by *Brutus*, without any poſſible means of making his eſcape. *Brutus* might with great eaſe have cut him off with all his troops; but he would not ſuffer his men to fall upon them, ſaying, that in a little time they would be all of his ſide; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to *Brutus*, and even delivered up to him their general; ſo that *Brutus* had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horſe, and a great many archers and ſlingers, with ſeveral companies of *Macedonians*, whom he daily exerciſed after the *Roman* manner [g]. As for *Caius Antonius*, *Brutus* treated him with the utmoſt civility, and even ſuffered him to enjoy the title of proconſul, and all the badges of that dignity, though ſeveral ſenators, and particularly *Cicero*, ſolicited him by letters to rid the re-

Caius Antonius *defeated and taken priſoner.*

Is treated with great civility by Brutus.

[e] Cic. Philippic. 10. Appian. l. iii. p. 567. & l. iv. p. 622, 632, 633. [f] Idem ibid. & Vell. Paterc. l. ii. [g] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 632, 633.

public

public of ſo dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abuſed his good-nature, and made uſe of the liberty, which, through an excels of kindneſs, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers and raiſe ſeditions among the ſoldiers, he confined him on a board a ſhip, and there kept him cloſe priſoner. Several ſoldiers, whom he had privately ſeduced, abandoning *Brutus*, retired to *Apollonia*, whence, repenting of the ſtep they had taken, they ſent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. *Brutus* anſwered, that *this was not cuſtomary among the* Romans, *but that it became thoſe, who had offended, to come to their general and beg forgiveneſs of their crimes*; which they did, and were received with great kindneſs by their humane and good-natured general [h].

ABOUT this time *Brutus* received a letter from the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, in which was incloſed, it ſeems, the copy of one written by *Cicero* to *Octavianus* after the battle of *Mutina*; wherein he firſt congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, that *it was deſired and expected of him, that he would ſuffer thoſe citizens to lead a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men and the people of* Rome *loved and eſteemed*, meaning *Brutus* and his followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in *Octavianus* above the laws, *Brutus* highly reſented it, and expreſſed his reſentment in the letters he wrote to *Atticus* and *Cicero* himſelf. *I had rather not live*, ſays he, writing to *Cicero*, *than owe my life to him. I do not believe, that the* Roman *people have provoked the wrath of all the gods to ſuch a degree, that* Octavianus *muſt be intreated for the ſafety of one private citizen, much leſs for that of the deliverers of the world* [i]. *Cicero* had, it ſeems, on what occaſion we know not, reproached *Caſca* with the murder of *Caſar*, and was employing all his intereſt in favour of *Octavianus*. This drew ſeveral letters in very ſharp terms from *Brutus*, which are ſtill extant among *Cicero*'s epiſtles, and will be laſting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly noble ſpirit of that brave patriot, in ſpite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of *Auguſtus*, and, ſince his time, the abetters of abſolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character. *Brutus*'s letters to Cicero.

Brutus, being now at the head of a powerful army, and maſter of all *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*, reſolved to paſs into *Aſia* and there join *Caſſius*, whoſe progreſs in thoſe eaſtern provinces, from the time he parted with *Brutus* in *Athens* to the conſulate of *Octavianus*, we are now to relate.

[h] PLUT. in Bruto. [i] CIC. ad Brutum, epiſt. 16

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We have obſerved above, that *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, by the intereſt of *Marc Antony*, obtained of the people, in ſpite of the ſenate, the government of *Syria*. This *Caſſius* no ſooner underſtood, than he left *Athens*, and ſailed firſt into *Aſia*, which province was then governed by *Trebonius*, one of the conſpirators, in quality of proconſul. It had been allotted to him a few days after *Cæſar*'s death, and he, upon the arrival of *Octavianus* at *Rome*, had quitted the city and retired to his government, as is manifeſt from ſeveral of *Cicero*'s epiſtles [k]. *Caſſius* was well received by *Trebonius*, and alſo by *P. Lentulus*, who had been ſent with him in quality of proquæſtor extraordinary, his ordinary quæſtor being *L. Patiſcus*. This we gather from *Cicero*'s epiſtles [l], which ſome writers ſeem not to have conſulted, or to have miſunderſtood. Theſe ſupplied *Caſſius* with money; and he was ſoon after joined by a body of horſe, which *Dolabella* had ſent into *Aſia*, with orders to purſue their march into *Syria*, and there wait for him. *Lentulus*, in one of his letters to *Cicero*, aſcribes to himſelf the glory of having brought over theſe troops to *Caſſius*'s party [m]. It was no ſooner known in *Aſia* and *Cilicia*, that *Caſſius* was raiſing forces, than the *Romans*, who were diſperſed about thoſe provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; ſo that ſeeing himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, he left *Aſia*, we mean *Aſia* properly ſo called, and marched into *Syria*, with a deſign to ſeize on that province, before the arrival of *Dolabella*. He was ſcarce gone when *Dolabella* landed on the *Aſiatic* coaſt, laid waſte the country, made himſelf maſter of *Tarſus*, where *Caſſius* had left a gariſon, and murdered in a moſt cruel and treacherous manner the proconſul *Trebonius*, as we have related above. *Caſſius*, on his arrival in *Syria*, found *Statius Murcus*, and *Marcius Criſpus* carrying on the ſiege of *Apamea* againſt *Q. Cæcilius Baſſus*, as we have related above. Theſe two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and *Baſſus*'s ſoldiers forced him to do the ſame; whereupon the city being delivered up to *Caſſius*, an end was put to the ſiege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, increaſed to the number of eight legions. From this time he took upon him the title of proconſul, as appears from his letters to *Cicero* [n]; though *Cicero*, in his letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the ſenate [o]. Both *Murcus* and *Criſpus*

Caſſius *paſſes over into* Aſia.

Is joined by a body of horſe, and by the Romans *diſperſed about* Aſia *and* Cilicia.

And alſo by Statius Murcus, Cæcilius Baſſus *and* Marcius Criſpus.

[k] Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 10, & l. xiii. ad familiar. epiſt 73. collata cum epiſt 43. 45. [l] Vide Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 14, 15. [m] Cic. l. xii ad familiar. epiſt. 14. [n] Cic. l xii. ad familiar epiſt. 11, 12. [o] Idem ibid. epiſt, 7, 8, 9, 10.

heartily

heartily embraced *Caſſius*'s party; the former was by him appointed governor of *Syria*, and alſo admiral of his fleet; but *Baſſus*, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire [p]. *Caſſius* being thus ſtrengthened, ſoon made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, which he did the more eaſily on account of the great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by defending it againſt the *Parthians* after the overthrow of *Craſſus* at *Carrhæ*, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of the *Parthians* [q]. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Phœnice* and *Judæa*, and ſecured to himſelf thoſe countries [r]. While he lay there, he was informed, that *Allienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants, was marching through *Paleſtine* with four legions, which *Cæſar* had left in *Egypt* after the *Alexandrian* war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged both *Allienus* and his legions to ſide with him, which, with thoſe he had before, made up the number of twelve legions. Of theſe forces he gave a particular account to *Cicero*, in a letter dated the nones of *March* from his camp at *Tarichæa* in *Galilee* [s]. For the maintaining of ſo numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay the country under heavy contributions; and *Judæa* being taxed at ſeven hundred talents, *Antipater* took ſpeedy care for the anſwering of this ſum, committing it to the charge of his two ſons, *Phaſael* and *Herod*, and to *Malichus*, and ſome others, ordering them to raiſe the ſum forthwith, and aſſigning to each of them their proper diſtricts for this purpoſe. *Herod*, having brought in his quota the firſt, gained by that means the favour of *Caſſius*. But *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and ſome other cities of *Judæa*, being backward in raiſing their quotas, *Caſſius* cauſed the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder, for the more ſpeedy payment of the ſum required. He was provoked to ſuch a degree againſt *Malichus*, who was very dilatory in this matter, that he would have put him to death, had not *Hyrcanus* appeaſed him with a preſent of a hundred talents, which he ſent him by *Antipater* [t]. In the mean time, *Dolabella*, after a long ſtay in *Aſia*, where he burdened the cities with new taxes, and oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt cruel and tyrannical manner [u], paſſed firſt into *Cilicia*, and thence into *Syria*, with two legions, whither his fleet, compoſed of veſſels hired of

Makes himſelf maſter of all Syria.

Obliges Allienus with his four legions to take party with him.

[p] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 343. & Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epiſt. 11, 12.
[q] Vide Vol. X. p. 528, &c ſeq. [r] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico. l. i. c. 9. [s] Cic. l. xii ad famil. epiſt 11, 12.
[t] Joseph antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9.
[u] Cic. ad Brut. epiſt. 3, 4 & l. xii. ad famil. epiſt. 15.

the *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and *Cilicians*, ſailed ſoon after under the command of *L. Figulus* [w]. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he attempted to enter *Antioch*, as governor of that province; but being repulſed by the inhabitants, and the gariſon, which *Caſſius* had left there, with the loſs of about a hundred of his men, he abandoned the enterpriſe, and retired in the night towards *Laodicea*. During his march, moſt of the troops he had raiſed in *Aſia* abandoned him, ſome of them returning to *Antioch*, where they joined *Caſſius*'s men, and others retiring over mount *Amanus* into *Cilicia* [x]. As the inhabitants of *Laodicea* were intirely devoted to *Cæſar*'s party, they received *Dolabella* with open arms, and put him in poſſeſſion of their city; which *Caſſius* no ſooner heard, than he haſtened thither, leaving *Herod* governor of *Cæle-Syria*, with a ſtrong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe [y]. Upon his arrival, he found *Dolabella* incamped under the walls of the city, nay, as we learn from a letter of *Caſſius Parmenſis*, and not of *Caſſius Longinus*, as we conjecture, to *Cicero*, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined his camp to the town [z]. As *Laodicea* was placed on a peninſula, *Caſſius*, to prevent *Dolabella* from making his eſcape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length croſs the iſthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and ſepulchres. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to the *Phœnicians*, *Lycians*, and *Rhodians* for ſhips, with a deſign to block up the harbour. But the *Sidonians* alone complied with his ſummons, and ſent him what veſſels they had ready equipped in their harbour. They were ſcarce arrived, when *Dolabella*'s fleet under the command of *L. Figulus* appeared off *Laodicea*. *Caſſius*, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length *Caſſius*'s fleet was overpowered, and five of his ſhips taken with all the mariners on board. Hereupon *Caſſius* diſpatched meſſengers anew to thoſe who had ſlighted his firſt ſummons, and beſides to *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, and to *Serapion*. who commanded her forces in *Cyprus*. The *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and alſo *Serapion*, without the knowledge of his miſtreſs, obeyed the ſecond ſummons, and ſent what ſhips they could aſſemble. But *Cleopatra* herſelf, who had been greatly favoured by *Cæſar*, and conſequently bore an irreconcileable hatred to all

Dolabella *retires to* Laodicea.

Where he is beſieged by Caſſius.

Caſſius's *fleet defeated.*

[w] Appian. l. iv. p. 624. [x] P. Lentul. ad Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 15 [y] Joseph. antiq l. xiv. c. 19. [z] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 13.

thoſe

thoſe who were concerned in his death, refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance, under pretence, that *Egypt* was then afflicted with a plague and famine. The *Rhodians* and *Lycians* declared, that they deſigned to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, though it was well known, that *Dolabella*'s fleet conſiſted moſtly of *Lycian* and *Rhodian* veſſels. Of this *Lentulus*, who was pro-quæſtor extraordinary of *Aſia*, complained in his letters both to the ſenate and *Cicero*; for *Dolabella* had been declared an enemy to the people of *Rome*, and the republic had lately renewed her alliance with the *Rhodians* [a]. However *Statius Murcus*, the admiral of *Caſſius*'s fleet, having got together a conſiderable number of ſhips of war in *Phœnice* and on the coaſt of *Aſia*, ventured two other engagements, in the firſt whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the ſecond *Dolabella*'s fleet was entirely defeated. Then *Murcus* blocked up the port with his victorious fleet; ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed into the beſieged city either by ſea or land, the wall, which *Caſſius* had begun croſs the iſthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmoſt extremity, *Dolabella* attempted ſeveral times to ſally out at the head of the gariſon, but was conſtantly driven back into the city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one *Quintius*, a chief officer of his army. *Dolabella*, ſeeing the enemy in poſſeſſion of the city, and fearing *Caſſius* would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate *Trebonius*, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himſelf with the ſame ſword. The example of *Dolabella* was followed by *M. Octavius* his lieutenant, and *Q. Marſus*, another of his chief officers. *Caſſius* ordered their bodies to be decently interred, though they had refuſed that honour to the poor remains of *Trebonius*, which they threw into the ſea, after having inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner. But *Caſſius*, at the ſight of *Dolabella*'s head, ſeemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the ſoldiers, who ſerved under the deceaſed general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic as well as himſelf, *Caſſius* generouſly forgave them, and, having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries [b]. *Appian* tells us, that *Caſſius* plundered both the temples and treaſury of *Laodicea*, that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put

Dolabella's fleet intirely defeated, and Laodicea taken.

The death of Dolabella.

[a] Cic ad familiar. l. xii. epiſt. 14, 15. [b] APPIAN l. iv. p 625 & ſeq. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 345. & ſeq. LIV l. xii. STRABO. l. xvi p. 752. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

all the nobility to the ſword; ſo that the city was reduced to a moſt miſerable condition [c]. What *Appian* ſays has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the *Roman* hiſtory now publiſhing at *Paris*: for they tell us, that *the ſtreets in an inſtant were covered with dead bodies; that the blood ran in ſtreams; that neither temples nor palaces were ſpared; that thoſe, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, were forced to pay ſuch exorbitant ſums that death ſeemed leſs painful to them than life* [d]. Theſe reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon thoſe who ſtood up in defence of their liberties. They conſtantly follow thoſe authors, whoſe accounts are the leaſt favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, leſs partial and biaſſed, have wrote on the ſame ſubject. In the preſent caſe, *Dion Caſſius* diſagreeing, as he often does, with *Appian*, after having told us, that *Caſſius* gave quarter and impunity to *Dolabella*'s troops, adds, *neither puniſhed he the inhabitants of* Laodicea, *otherwiſe than by obliging them to pay a ſum of money* [e]. No mention here of *ſtreams of blood, of ſtreets covered with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes which made death itſelf deſireable.*

The government of Syria, *confirmed to* Caſſius.

And now *Caſſius*, after the reduction of *Laodicea*, become maſter of all *Syria*, acquainted the conſcript fathers with the ſucceſs of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of thoſe vaſt provinces, as they did to *Brutus* that of *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, ordering all the ſtates and cities, in alliance with or ſubject to *Rome*, to obey their orders and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of their power [f]. Thus *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who had fled from *Rome*, as *Plutarch* obſerves [g], like deſpicable exiles, without money or arms, without ſhips, ſoldiers, or one ſingle city to rely on, were now maſters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe and withſtand the united forces of *Octavianus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*. Thus was the *Roman* ſtate, taken in its utmoſt extent, divided between two oppoſite parties, *the Cæſareans*, that is, thoſe who were for introducing abſolute government and arbitrary power; and *the republicans*, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties and the ancient cuſtoms and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the eaſt;

[c] Appian. ibid. p. 625,626. [d] Catrou and Rouille, tom. 17. p. 584. [e] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345. [f] Vell. Patercul. ibid. c. 62. Appian. l. iii. p. 567, 568. [g] Plut. in Bruto.

and the former in the weſt: where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the ſtraights of *Meſſana*, or the moſt ſouthern borders of *Italy*. As for *Sicily*, it was held at this time by *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger ſon of *Pompey the Great*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Such was the ſituation of affairs at the beginning of *Octavianus*'s firſt conſulate. What happened in *Italy* and the ſeveral provinces ſubject to the diſtracted and expiring republic, from his conſulate to the death of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The history of Rome, *from the first consulate of* Octavianus *to the death of* Cassius *and* Brutus.

Octavianus *causes* Brutus *and* Cassius *to be condemned.*

THE first step *Octavianus* took, after he had entered upon his consulate, was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring *Dolabella*, whose death was not yet known at *Rome*, an enemy to his country [h]. Soon after his collegue *Q. Pædius*, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of *Cæsar*. Pursuant to this law which passed without opposition, *L. Cornificius* took upon him to accuse *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* (X) appeared against *Cassius*. The conspirators were

[h] APPIAN. l. iii. p. 586. DIO. l. xlvi p. 321, 322.

(X) *Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa* was, according to *Suetonius* (37), of a mean descent, but of an equestrian family according to *Cornelius Nepos* (38). The former writer tells us, that the emperor *Caligula*, ashamed to acknowledge *Agrippa* for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but the fruit of an incestuous commerce, between *Julia* the wife of *Agrippa* and her father *Augustus*; chusing out of a foolish and shameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an incest, than a lawful marriage (39). *Agrippa* was brought up from his infancy with *Octavianus*, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of him in the sequel of this history. *Velleius Paterculus*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, tells us, that his uncle *Capito* joined *Agrippa* in accusing *Brutus* (40).

(37) *Suet. in Caligula.* (38) *Cornel. Nep in vita Attici.*
(39) *Idem. ibid.* (40) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 69.

all

all ſummoned to take their trials; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of *Brutus*, both the people and ſenate expreſſed their concern for ſo worthy a cit zen with ſighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were choſen for the deciſion of ſo important a cauſe, *Silicius Coronas* was the only perſon who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which coſt him his life; for tho' *Octavianus* thought it then adviſeable to diſſemble his reſentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to *Silicius*, yet he ſoon after ſacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of that generous citizen, the conſpirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates confiſcated [1]. But as *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were at the head of twenty legions, *Octavianus* rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy for him to deſtroy them, without the aſſiſtance of *Antony* and *Lepidus*. He therefore diſpatched truſty meſſengers to theſe two chiefs, deſiring them to march with all poſſible expedition into *Italy*, that they might with their united forces fall upon *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and drive them out of the provinces which they had ſeized. Hereupon they both ſet out without delay, and paſſing the *Alps*, at the head of ſeventeen legions, entered *Ciſalpine Gaul*. The ſenate, alarmed at their approach, and ſtill ſtrangers to the private managements between them and *Octavianus*, ordered the latter to march out againſt them, and make war upon them as public enemies. *Octavianus* with great joy embraced this opportunity of putting the laſt hand to the treaty, which had been begun ſome time ſince between him and his rival. But, before he left *Rome*, he gave private inſtructions to *Quintus Pædius* his colleague and creature, to inſinuate, as of his own motion, to the ſenate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree againſt *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and not to drive ſuch men to deſpair, eſpecially *Antony*, who was as great a commander, and no leſs to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius*. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to the ſenate; but nevertheleſs, as they ſuſpected *Octavianus* to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in ſo nice a point. The crafty general readily conſented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but, to deceive the ſenate, told them in his letter, that his conſent had been in a manner extorted by the earneſt intreaties of his ſoldiers. However, the conſcript fathers began now plainly to ſee, that *Octavianus*'s deſign was to gain over *Antony* to his

Invites Antony *and* Lepidus *into* Italy.

[1] LIV. l. cxx. VELL. PATERCUL. l.ii. c 69. SUET in Nerone, c. 3. DIO. l. xlvi. p. 322. PLUT. in Bruto.

party,

party, and to act in concert with him againſt the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withſtand him, and therefore ſolemnly diſannulled all the decrees againſt *Antony* and his adherents. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antony* marched immediately againſt *Decimus Brutus*, who was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Mutina* with ten legions, four whereof conſiſted of veterans, but who were in a very bad condition on account of the diſtempers and fatigues they had ſuffered during the late ſiege; the ſix others were newly raiſed, and quite unacquainted with military diſcipline. So that *Brutus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the united and ſuperior forces of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, reſolved to quit *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and by the way of *Aquileia* paſs into *Illyricum*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where *M. Brutus* commanded. But, finding all the paſſes ſeized on that ſide by *Octavianus*'s troops, he took his rout towards the *Alps* with a deſign to paſs the *Rhine*, where that river divides *Tranſalpine Gaul* from *Germany*, and through the latter country purſue his march into *Macedon*. But the apprehenſion of the fatigues and dangers of ſo long a journey had ſuch an effect on the minds of the new raiſed troops, that they all abandoned *Brutus* and went over to *Antony*. Their example was ſoon followed by the other four legions; ſo that *Brutus*'s army was ſoon reduced to a few ſquadrons of *Gauliſh* horſe; and to ſuch of theſe alſo, as betrayed any unwillingneſs to follow him, *Brutus* not only gave leave to return home, but generouſly ſupplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus guarded only by three hundred horſe, he marched as far as the *Rhine*, the ſight of which rapid river ſo frightened the few *Gauls* he had with him, that they ſtole away one after another, except ten, who ſeemed determined never to forſake him. In this extremity he laid aſide all thoughts of entering *Germany*, and dreſſing himſelf after the *Gauliſh* manner, as he ſpoke the language like a native, he reſolved in that diſguiſe to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, not without hopes of reaching at length *Macedon* undiſcovered. But he had not gone far before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of free-booters, who conducted him, at his requeſt, to the lord of that diſtrict, by name *Camillus*, or, as others call him, *Camelius*, who had received a thouſand favours at his hands in the dictator's lifetime. But the ungrateful wretch, after having received him in a friendly manner, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Antony*, acquainting him, that he had *Brutus* in his power, and was ready to diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. *Antony* was touched with compaſſion at the misfortunes of a man ſo conſiderable for his birth,

The decree againſt Antony *and* Lepidus *revoked.*

The misfortunes and death of D. Brutus.

birth and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheleſs, as it was for the intereſt of his party that he ſhould be cut off, he wrote word to *Camillus* to diſpatch him and ſend him his head; which the treacherous *Gaul* did accordingly, without any regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality. *Dion Caſſius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca* tell us, that *Brutus* behaved on this occaſion in a manner very unbecoming a man of his rank and ſtation, and that he earneſtly begged for his life, even after *Helvius Blaſia*, his intimate friend and inſeparable companion, had killed himſelf in his preſence, to animate him by his example [k]. *Cicero* on the contrary, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſpeaks of him as a man, *who was never afraid, or even diſturbed* [l]; and the authority of *Cicero* is more to be relied on, than that of all the hiſtorians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, take no notice of this paſſage, which would have left no room for their long declants on the cowardice of that *perfidious wretch*, that *cruel traytor*, that *inhuman aſſaſſin*, as they are pleaſed to ſtyle *Brutus* for conſpiring againſt ſo fine a man as *Caſar*, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and uſurpation. When his head was brought to *Antony*, he looked on it with ſome concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried [m]. Thus died *Decimus Junius Brutus*, a year and a half after the death of *Cæſar*. He had been always honoured by the dictator with particular marks of friendſhip and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raiſed him. For he was appointed one of his ſecond heirs, in caſe any of his great nephews ſhould renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horſe; governor firſt of *Tranſalpine*, and afterwards of *Ciſalpine*, *Gaul*, and named conſul, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, for the year after the conſulate of *Hirtius* and *Panſa* [n]. And indeed *Decimus* ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity, till he began openly to aſpire at the ſovereign power; and then, conſidering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare to his private intereſt, which the abettors of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime. *Antony* immediately acquainted *Octavianus*, that he had ſacrificed *Decimus* to the manes of his father, and then advanced with *Lepidus* at the head of his army to meet him. The place they choſe for their private conferences was a ſmall iſland

[k] DIO. l. xlvi. p. 325. VAL. MAX. l. ix. SENECA. epiſt. 82. [l] CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 21. [m] DIO. ibid. p. 325. [n] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 64.

formed by the river *Rhenus*, now the *Reno*, which falls into the *Po*, after having watered the territory of *Bononia* or *Bologna* (Y). Both armies advanced to the oppoſite banks of this river, from whence by two bridges a communication was opened with the iſland. *Lepidus* entered the firſt into the iſland, to view whether it was ſafe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of thoſe ambitious men, who, even in the midſt of a reconciliation, could not help miſtruſting each other. *Lepidus* having made the ſignal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the iſland from the oppoſite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a riſing ground, whence they could be equally ſeen by their guards and both armies. After they had ſaluted and embraced each other in a polite and friendly manner, they took their ſeats, the other two yielding to *Octavianus*, as conſul, the moſt honourable place. The conference laſted three days, during which time they had the precaution to ſpeak conſtantly ſo low, notwithſtanding ſome warm debates, that not a ſingle word could be heard even by their guards, who ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance. At length they agreed on the following articles: 1. *That* Octavianus *ſhould forthwith reſign the conſulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to* Ventidius *one of* Antony's *lieutenants.* 2. *That the ſupreme authority ſhould be divided among them three, and kept by them for the ſpace of five years, under the name of* triumvirs, *and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth.* 3. *That they ſhould cauſe this authority to be confirmed by the* Roman *people.* 4. *That* Antony *ſhould have all* Tranſalpine *and* Ciſalpine Gaul, *except* Narbonne, *which together with both* Spains *ſhould be yielded to* Lepidus; *and that* Octavianus *ſhould have for his ſhare* Africa, *with* Sicily *and* Sardinia. 5. *That* Italy *and the eaſtern provinces, which were poſſeſſed by* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *ſhould for a while remain in common.* 6. *That* Antony *and* Octavianus *ſhould forthwith join their forces, and make war upon* Brutus

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus meet in a certain iſland.

The articles of their agreement.

(Y) *Appian* will have the triumvirs to have met in an iſland formed by the river *Labinius* in the neighbourhood of *Mantua* (41). But, in the firſt place, the *Labinius*, or, as others call it, the *Lavinius*, is at a great diſtance from *Mantua*, and rather in the neighbourhood of *Bononia*; and beſides is not large enough to form an iſland, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at preſent by the name of *Lavino*.

(41) *Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. ſub. init.*

and

and Caſſius, *while* Lepidus *with four legions ſtaid at* Rome, *to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there.* Thus was the empire of the world divided, as *Plutarch* obſerves, among theſe three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other articles were ſettled. As it was of the utmoſt importance, eſpecially for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were to march into the eaſt againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, to ſecure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary ſhould receive after the war five thouſand drachmas, each centurion twenty five thouſand, and each tribune fifty thouſand. To theſe imm nſe and almoſt incredible ſums, were added other rewards, yet more ſubſtantial. The triumvirs agreed to promiſe their ſoldiers ſettlements, on their return from the eaſt, in eighteen of the beſt cities of *Italy*, which ſhould be choſen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houſes and lands to the ſoldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injuſtice to be driven out of their old habitations, ſtript of their lands and effects, and ſuffered either to periſh with famine, or ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. Some of theſe unhappy cities were even then named, viz. *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Ariminum*, and *Vibo*. As the triumvirs had occaſion for immenſe ſums to carry on the war, and beſides were well appriſed, that there were ſtill in *Rome* great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raiſe diſturbances in *Italy*, during their abode in the eaſt, they came to that barbarous and inhuman reſolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the lateſt poſterity; a reſolution, which brings diſgrace upon tyranny itſelf. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but thoſe alſo who were either poſſeſſed of great eſtates, or were thought to retain the leaſt ſpark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the ſureſt means of maintaining themſelves in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their uſurped tyranny, and at the ſame time of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the ſupport of their troops. Theſe regulations were made without the leaſt conteſt or diſpute; but the liſt of the proſcribed, when it came to be ſettled, occaſioned warm debates, each of them intending to deſtroy his enemies and ſave his friends. *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Cicero*'s name was ſet down in the fatal liſt. *Octavianus* endeavoured to ſave him, and was for having *Antony* to ſacrifice *Lucius Cæſar*, his uncle by the mother's ſide. As for *Lepidus*, ſome writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he inſiſted upon the condemnation of his own brother *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had voted the firſt in the ſenate for paſſing the decree, which

The proſcription.

declared

declared him a public enemy when he joined *Antony*. Other authors ſay, that he would fain have ſaved his brother, but that *Octavianus* and *Antony* demanded his head. However that be, the thirſt of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the deſire of ſaving their friends and relations. *Octavianus* in the end ſacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*; *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Octavianus*; and *Lepidus* was either allowed to murder his brother *Paulus*, or forced to abandon him to the reſentment of the other two. The death of theſe three being agreed on, the liſt of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was ſoon drawn up, each of the three tyrants ſetting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The firſt in this liſt was *Paulus*, the brother of *Lepidus*; *Lucius Cæſar*, *Antony*'s uncle, was the ſecond; and *Cicero* the third. After theſe were named *Plotius*, conſul elect, and brother to *Plancus* one of *Antony*'s lieutenants; *Quintus*, who was alſo deſigned conſul for the enſuing year, and whoſe daughter *Aſinius Pollio*, a great ſtickler for the triumvirate, had lately married; *Thoranius*, who had been governor to *Octavianus*, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of the hiſtory. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and ſwore to by the contracting parties, the three chiefs ſeparated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the reſult of their conferences to their reſpective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promiſes that were made them, heard the report with the greateſt ſatisfaction. The ſame day the two armies joined, and mutually feaſted and entertained each other (A). Thus was concluded the ſecond triumvirate about a year and a half after *Cæſar*'s death, the conſequences whereof were moſt dreadful, and gave the laſt blow to the liberty of *Rome* [o].

The ſecond triumvirate.

[o] Appian. l. iv. 589, 590. Dio l. xlvi. p. 325, 326. Plut. in Cic. & Antonio. Flor l. iv. c. 6.

(A) The agreement being made, and the articles ſigned by the triumvirs, the army deſired that the friendſhip between *Antony* and *Octavianus* might be cemented by ſome alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce *Servilia*, the daughter of *Servilius Iſauricus*, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room *Clodia*, the daughter of the famous *P. Clodius*, who was killed by *Milo*, and of *Fulvia*, whom *Antony* had married after the death of her firſt huſband. (42).

(42) *Plut. in Antonio.*

And

AND now the triumvirs, ſeeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the ſoldiery of both armies, reſolved in the firſt place to publiſh the decree of proſcription, and haſten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked deſigns. Accordingly, the fatal decree was drawn up and made public. It began thus: *M. Lepidus, M. Antonius,* and *Octavianus Cæſar, choſen for the reformation of the common-wealth. If the generoſity of* Julius Cæſar *had not prompted him to pardon ſome faithleſs men, and to grant them beſides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deſerved as little, he had not fallen by their treaſon, nor ſhould we have been obliged to proceed in a manner diſagreeable to us, againſt thoſe who have declared us enemies to our country. But the wicked deſigns they formed againſt us, the horrible treachery they ſhewed towards* Cæſar, *and the certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened.* Then followed a juſtification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which *Cæſar* had procured for the *Roman* people by his victories, on the ingratitude of thoſe who had murdered him, and on the neceſſity of clearing the city of ſuch as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: *No man ſhall dare to receive, conceal, help to eſcape, any ways relieve thoſe who are proſcribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himſelf proſcribed. Whoſoever ſhall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proſcribed perſon ſhall receive if a freeman, twenty-five thouſand ſeſterces, and ten thouſand, if a ſlave. The ſlave who ſhall kill his maſter, ſhall moreover be declared a* Roman *citizen. The ſame rewards ſhall be given to ſuch as ſhall declare the place, where any proſcribed perſon lies concealed, and the name of the informer ſhall not be entered into any regiſter, to the end it may never be known who he was.* This decree, together with the firſt liſt of the unhappy wretches who were doomed to die, was immediately ſent to *Rome*, and at the ſame time ſome companies of ſoldiers diſpatched thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The ſoldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proſcribed perſons in the ſtreets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly maſſacred in their houſes; ſome while they were ſupping with their friends, and ſome in the temples, whither, upon the firſt alarm, they had fled for refuge. The city was in an inſtant filled with horror and confuſion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the liſt of the proſcribed perſons was not yet made public, every one fan-

The decree of the proſcription.

cied

Rome in the utmoſt conſterna-tion.

cied himſelf in that number; and hence a general terror and conſternation. Some in the height of their deſpair, reſolved to involve the whole city in their deſtruction, and accordingly ſet fire to it in different quarters. The darkneſs of the night, the fire which began to flame out in ſeveral places, the cries and groans of thoſe who were inhumanly butchered in the ſtreets, the running up and down of the armed ſoldiers, the flight of the people, the ſhrieks of the women, &c. filled every breaſt with dread and horror. Q. *Pædius*, the only conſul then in *Rome*, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude and prevent diſorders, ran from ſtreet to ſtreet, cauſing it to be every where publiſhed, that the number of thoſe, who were doomed to die, was but very ſmall, and that, as ſoon as it was day, he would cauſe their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning, the liſt of the proſcribed, containing the names only of ſeventeen perſons, was ſet up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This reſtored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the conſul *Pædius*, having over-heated himſelf with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people and prevent diſorders, died the night following [q].

The entry of the triumvirs into Rome.

During theſe alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards *Rome*, which they entered on three different days, *Octavianus* on the firſt, *Antony* on the ſecond, and *Lepidus* on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The firſt ſtep they took after their arrival was, to get a law paſſed, inveſting them with the authority which they had uſurped. It was accordingly propoſed by the tribune *P. Titius* to the aſſembled tribes, who paſſed it the ſame day in the following terms: *The* Roman *people lawfully aſſembled have thought fit to appoint three perſons to govern the commonwealth with conſular power. Theſe are* M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, *and* Cæſar Octavianus, *whoſe authority ſhall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the ſpace of five years.* The decree was no ſooner paſſed, than *Octavianus*, purſuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, reſigned his conſulſhip, ſome ſay to *C. Carrinas*, others to *Ventidius* (B). However that be, theſe two

[q] Appian. Dio. Flor. Plut. ibid.

(B) We have given elſewhere a particular account of the riſe, exploits, and character of *Ventidius* (43); and therefore ſhall only

(43) *Vol. X. p.* 531, & *ſeq.*

add

two were by the triumvirs appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the preſent year; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. Theſe three tyrants, looking upon themſelves now as lawful magiſtrates, added the night following the names of one hundred and thirty perſons to thoſe they had already proſcribed; a few days after they proſcribed a hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increaſed the number, till it amounted at laſt to three hundred ſenators, and above two thouſand knights. It is impoſſible to paint the horrors of this bloody proſcription; by it every conſiderable man in *Rome*, who was diſliked, or ſuſpected by the triumvirate to diſapprove their tyranny, who was rich and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given to ſuch as diſcovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their ſlaves and freedmen, many by their treacherous hoſts and relations. Many fled to the wilderneſs, where they periſhed for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and ſlaughter; the ſtreets were covered with dead bodies; the heads of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators were expoſed upon the roſtra, and their bodies left unburied in the ſtreets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming *Rome* to periſh at once. Many uncondemned perſons periſhed in this confuſion, ſome by malice or miſtake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Some of the antient hiſtorians ſeem to take pleaſure in deſcribing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proſcription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almoſt to a wilderneſs. They produce many remarkable and affecting inſtances of the affection of wives for their huſbands, and of the fidelity of ſlaves towards their maſters; but few, very few, as they own with

The ſad condition which the city was in.

add here, that as he had been formerly a muletier, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of ſuch *Roman* magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raiſed to the conſulate, the following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city:

Concurrite, omnes augures, aruſpices;
Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens:
Nam mulos qui fricabat, conſul factus eſt (44).

(44) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Plin. l vii. c. 43.*

Great

great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of *Oppius* may ſtand for many, who, like *Æneas*, carried his old and decrepid father on his ſhoulders to the ſea-ſide, and eſcaped with him into *Sicily*. His piety was not long unrewarded; for on his return to *Rome*, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proſcription, he found the people ſo taken with that generous action, that all the tribes unanimouſly concurred in raiſing him to the ædileſhip, and becauſe he wanted money to exhibit the uſual ſports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themſelves to defray the neceſſary charges attending ſuch ſhows, but gave proofs of the eſteem they had for ſo dutiful a ſon by ſuch contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal eſtate, which had been confiſcated by the triumvirs. *Caius Hoſidius Geta* was likewiſe ſaved by his ſon, who ſpread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himſelf, and, to render the fact more credible, ſpent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obſequies. By this means *Hoſidius*, not being ſearched after, made his eſcape, but loſt one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaiſter, the better to diſguiſe him. As for the barbarous impiety of thoſe children, who, by a ſtrange apoſtacy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried with them in eternal oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing ſuch impious monſters. Several ſlaves choſe rather to die on the rack, amidſt the moſt exquiſite torments, than diſcover the place where their maſters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon their dead bodies. Many illuſtrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of their conjugal love in theſe times of calamity, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. The wife of *Q. Ligarius*, ſeeing her huſband betrayed by one of his ſlaves, declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that ſhe had concealed him, and conſequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the ſame fate. But they not hearkening to her, ſhe appeared before the triumvirs themſelves, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned ſhe had concealed, in ſpite of their decree, her huſband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in her own houſe, and there, as ſhe was determined not to outlive her huſband, ſtarved herſelf to death. *Acilius* was betrayed by one of his ſlaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to ſave his life. *Apuleius*, *Antiſtius*, *Antius*, *Q. Lucretius Viſpallio*, *Titus*

Some of the proſcribed ſaved by their children.

Others by their wives.

Titus Vinius, and many others, were ſaved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had given themſelves up for loſt. *Lucius*, the uncle of *Antony*, was ſaved by his ſiſter *Julia*, in whoſe houſe he had taken refuge. The miniſters of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room, where he lay concealed; but his ſiſter meeting them at the door, cried out ſeveral times, *You ſhall never kill* Lucius Cæſar, *till you firſt diſpatch me, me, who gave your general his life and being.* The aſſaſſins, thunder-ſtruck at theſe words, retired: but nevertheleſs *Julia* flew to the forum, where her ſon was ſitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proſcribed, and paying the aſſaſſins the promiſed rewards. *I have tranſgreſſed your decree*, ſaid ſhe to *Antony*, and am come to inform againſt myſelf. I have taken my brother into my houſe, and am reſolved to protect him, till you ſhall think fit to put us both to death. *You have behaved*, replied *Antony*, *like a good ſiſter, but as a bad mother*, and took no further notice of what *Julia* ſaid; but *Lucius* was no more inquired after. Though the country as well as the city ſwarmed with informers and aſſaſſins; yet many illuſtrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proſcription, and to get ſafe, either to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, or to *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*. The latter kept conſtantly a great number of ſmall veſſels hovering on the coaſts of *Italy*, to receive ſuch as made their eſcape, and treated them with great kindneſs and civility. The moſt conſiderable perſons among thoſe who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and perſecutors, were, beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, *Valerius Meſſala*, *Bibulus*, *Arianus*, *Metellus*, *Reſtio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, *Junius*, *Pomponius*, *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, *Aruntius*, *Coponius*, and *Ventidius*. *Meſſala* and *Bibulus* were invited home by the triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any ways acceſſary to the death of *Cæſar*; but they choſe to continue with *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and ſignalized themſelves in the battle of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* was afterwards raiſed to the firſt employments in the ſtate. *Arianus* and *Metellus* were ſaved by their children, *Reſtio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, and *Junius* by their ſlaves. *Reſtio* had marked one of his ſlaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the uſual puniſhment inflicted on ſuch ſlaves as attempted to run away from their maſters. This ſlave, having by chance found out the place where *Reſtio* lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him, aſking whether he could do him any ſervice? *Reſtio* had afterwards treated the ſlave with great humanity, and done him many favours; but nevertheleſs, ſeeing himſelf now in his power, he looked upon his caſe as deſperate,

Lucius Antonius *ſaved by his ſiſter.*

The fidelity of ſome ſlaves.

deſperate, not doubting, but the ſlave would ſeize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront; which the faithful and generous ſlave obſerving, addreſſed him thus; *Can you imagine, that the marks, with which you formerly branded me, have made a deeper impreſſion on my forehead, than the favours, which you have ſince beſtowed upon me, have done in my heart!* Having thus ſpoke, he led him to a cave, and there ſupported him for ſome time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of ſoldiers coming that way and approaching the cave, the faithful ſlave, alarmed at the danger his maſter was in, followed them cloſe, and falling upon a poor peaſant, killed him in their preſence, and cut off his head, crying out, *I am now revenged on my maſter for the marks with which he has branded me.* The ſoldiers, ſeeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed *Reſtio*, ſnatched the head out of his hand and returned with it in all haſte to the triumvirs. They were no ſooner gone, than the ſlave conveyed his maſter to the ſea-ſide, where they had the good luck to find one of *Sextus Pompeius*'s veſſels, which tranſported them ſafe into *Sicily*. The generoſity of the ſlaves of *Appius* and *Meneius*, or *Menenius*, was ſtill more heroic; for they ſuffered themſelves to be ſlain in their maſters habits, while their maſters made their eſcape in the diſguiſe of ſlaves. *Pomponius*, finding no other means to get ſafe out of *Rome*, aſſumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his ſlaves in the diſguiſe of lictors: he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was ſent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young *Pompey*: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and ſupplied both with horſes and proviſions: ſeveral bands of ſoldiers and aſſaſins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to ſtop or examine an embaſſador of the triumvirs; ſo that he reached *Sicily* undiſcovered. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, and *Aruntius* killed, with the aſſiſtance of their friends, clients, and ſlaves, the ſoldiers, who were ſent to murder them, and made their eſcape ſword in hand. *Ventidius*, not the conſul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himſelf, and patroling about the country with ſome of his friends, as in ſearch of proſcribed perſons. The ſenator *Coponius* was ſaved by his wife at the expence of her virtue, *Antony* having cauſed his name to be ſtruck out of the black liſt in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after ſhe had been proof for ſeveral years againſt the offers, careſſes, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another ſenator, being quite tired

The bold undertaking of Pomponius.

tired with concealing himſelf in caves and dens, and ſculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to *Rome* in the diſguiſe of a ſchool-maſter, opened there a little ſchool, and kept it as long as the proſcription laſted without being diſcovered, nobody imagining, that a poor pedant could have been of ſuch ſignificancy, as to be ranked among the proſcribed ſenators and knights [q].

THO' we may perhaps ſeem to have already dwelt too long on ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, yet we muſt, before we diſmiſs it, acquaint our readers with the fate of *Cicero*. The great reputation of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the moſt minute circumſtances attending it. He was with his brother *Quintus*, who was likewiſe proſcribed, at his country-houſe near *Tuſculum*, when the firſt news was brought him of the proſcription. He no ſooner heard it, than he left *Tuſculum*, with his brother, taking his rout towards *Aſtura* (C), or, as ſome call it, *Stura*, another of his country-houſes, on the ſea-ſide between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circæum*. There they both deſigned to take ſhipping, and endeavour to join *Brutus* in *Macedon*. They travelled together each in his litter, oppreſſed with ſorrow, and often joining their litters on the road to condole each other. As they had, in the firſt alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the neceſſary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that *Cicero* ſhould make what haſte he could to the ſea-ſide, and *Quintus* return home to provide neceſſaries. Thus they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. *Quintus* returned to *Rome*, and got to his houſe undiſcovered, where he thought himſelf ſafe at leaſt for a ſhort time, ſince it had been lately ſearched by the miniſters of the triumvirs. But, as in moſt

The fate of Cicero.

[q] APPIAN. l. iv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO l. xlvii. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 11. SUET. in Octavio. MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 11.

(C) *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Aſtura* as a river and an iſland (45); and *Cicero* ſeems to inſinuate in one of his letters to *Atticus* (46), that his houſe was in the iſland. In proceſs of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the ſame name of *Aſtura*, as we learn from *Servius* (47).

(45) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5. & 6.* (46) *Ad Attic. l. xii. epiſt. 19.* (47) *Servius in Æneid. 7. v. 801.*

houſes there were as many informers as domeſtics, his return was immediately known, and the houſe of courſe filled with ſoldiers and aſſaſſins, who, not being able to find him out, put his ſon to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young *Roman* againſt the moſt exquiſite torments. However, the tender youth could not help ſighing now and then, and groaning in the height of his pain. *Quintus* was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot expreſs, how the heart of a tender father muſt have been affected, in hearing the ſighs and groans of a ſon dying on the rack to ſave his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he preſented himſelf to the aſſaſſins, begging them with a flood of tears to put him to death, and diſmiſs the innocent child, whoſe generous behaviour the triumvirs themſelves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the higheſt encomiums and rewards. But thoſe inhuman monſters, without being in the leaſt affected, with the tears either of the father or the ſon, anſwered, that *they muſt both die*, the father, becauſe he was proſcribed, and the ſon, becauſe, in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new conteſt of tenderneſs aroſe between the father and the ſon, who ſhould die the firſt: but this the aſſaſſins, deſtitute of all ſenſe of humanity, and no-ways affected with ſuch melting ſcenes, ſoon decided by beheading them both at the ſame time. Tho' *Quintus Cicero*'s life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it muſt be owned, was truly glorious; as for that of his ſon, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an inſtance of the moſt heroic affection and filial duty [r].

Affecting circumſtances of the death of his brother.

Embarques for Macedon.

But to return to the elder brother: *Cicero* having reached *Aſtura*, and by good luck found a veſſel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board with a deſign to paſs over into *Macedon* and join *Brutus*. But, either dreading the inconveniencies of ſuch a voyage, or ſtill depending on the friendſhip of *Octavianus*, whom he had all along ſupported with his credit and eloquence, he ſoon changed his mind, and ordered the maſter of the ſhip to ſet him aſhore at *Circæum*, whence he took his rout towards *Rome* by land. But after he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his reſolution anew, and returned to ſea, where he ſpent the night in a thouſand melancholy and perplexing thoughts. One while he reſolved

Changes his mind.

[r] Appian. Dio. Plut. Val. Max. ibid. Seneca in ſuaſor.

to

to go privately into *Octavianus*'s houſe, and there kill himſelf upon the altar of his domeſtic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of thoſe furies, which were deemed the avengers of violated friendſhip. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehenſion of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, ſoon made him drop that reſolution. Then falling into other thoughts equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in *Octavianus*'s friendſhip, and the fear of death, he at laſt ſuffered his domeſtics to convey him by ſea to a country-houſe, which he had in the neighbourhoood of *Gaieta*. Near the place, where he was to land, ſtood a little temple dedicated to *Apollo*, from which, it is ſaid, a flight of crows, coming with great noiſe made towards *Cicero*'s ſmall veſſel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the ſails and rigging, pecked them with a hideous noiſe; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, *Cicero* went aſhore, and entering his houſe, lay down upon his bed to take ſome reſt. The crows followed him, and fluttering about the windows of the room where he lay, made a dreadful noiſe. One of them was ſo bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where *Cicero* was repoſing with the cloa hs caſt over his head, pecked them off by degrees and uncovered his face. The example of this creature rouſed his indolent domeſtics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to ſave the life of a man, for whoſe preſervation the very birds of the air ſeemed concerned: wherefore, partly by force partly by entreaty, they put him again into his litter, and carried him towards the ſea-ſide. They were ſcarce gone, when a band of ſoldiers under the command of *Herennius*, a centurion, and *Popilius Lænas*, a military tribune, came to the houſe. *Cicero* had formerly undertaken the defence of *Popilius*, when he was under a proſecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had got him abſolved by thoſe very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a moſt cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with *Antony*, had promiſed to find out *Cicero*, wherever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his houſe ſhut, but breaking them open and ſearching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the ſlaves in the houſe to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their maſter lay concealed. But the faithful ſlaves, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered with great conſtancy and reſolution, that they knew not where he was. At length

Goes by ſea to his country houſe near Gaieta.

A band of ſoldiers in ſearch of him.

Is discovered.

length a young man by name *Philologus* (D), who had been ſlave to *Quintus*, and afterwards enfranchiſed by him, and inſtructed by *Cicero* in the liberal arts and ſciences with all the tenderneſs of a father, diſcovered to the tribune, that *Cicero*'s domeſtics were then carrying him in a litter through the cloſe and ſhady walks to the ſea-ſide. Upon this information, *Popilius* with ſome of his men haſtened to the place, where he was to come out, while *Herennius* with the reſt followed the litter through the narrow paths. As ſoon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his ſervants to ſet down his litter and ſtroaking, according to his cuſtom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the aſſaſſins with great intrepidity. This conſtancy, which they did not expect from him, his face diſfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected and in diſorder, *&c.* ſo affected the ſoldiers who attended *Herennius*, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, purſuant to *Antony*'s directions, his right hand, with which he had wrote the *Philippics*. With thoſe trophies of their cruelty, *Herennius* and *Popilius*, haſtened back to *Rome*, and laid them before *Antony* while he was holding an aſſembly of the people for the election of new magiſtrates. The cruel tyrant no ſooner beheld them, than he cried out in a tranſport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proſcriptions ; live* Romans, *live in ſafety ; you have nothing more to fear.* He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great ſatisfaction, ſmiling at a ſight, which drew tears from all who were preſent. After he had ſatiated his cruel and revengeful temper with ſo diſmal a ſpectacle, he ſent, as we are told by ſeveral writers, the head of the orator to his wife *Fulvia*, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himſelf, and had borne an implacable hatred to *Cicero*, ever ſince the time of her firſt huſband *P. Clodius*, who was ſlain by *Milo*. That internal fury, after having inſulted the poor remains of her enemy with the moſt injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and drawing out the tongue of the deceaſed, which had utered many bitter invectives againſt both her huſbands, pierced it ſeveral times with a golden bod-

His head and right hand cut off, and carried to Antony.

The cruelty of Fulvia.

(D) *Plutarch* ſeems to queſtion what ſome authors have wrote of the treachery of *Philologus* ; at leaſt he tells us, that this circumſtance was unknown to *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s emancipated ſlave, who publiſhed an account of his life, which in *Plutarch*'s time was in great requeſt, but has not reached ours. *Appian* tells us, that *Cicero* was betraved and diſcovered by one *Cyrillus*, who had formerly ſerved *Clodius*, his mortal enemy.

kin,

kin, which ſhe wore in her hair. When *Fulvia* had ſatiated her impotent rage, *Antony* ordered both the head and the hand to be ſet up on the roſtra, where *Rome* could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had ſo often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence[f] (E). Thus fell the greateſt orator *Italy* or any other country ever bred; *a man who*, as *Cæſar* the dictator uſed to ſay, *had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the* Roman *learning than thoſe of the* Roman *empire.* In his conſulate, which was truly glorious, he diſcovered with wonderful ſagacity the moſt ſecret plots of the ſeditious *Catiline*, defeated his beſt concerted meaſures, and ſaved, we may ſay, *Rome* from utter deſtruction; whence he was deſervedly honoured with the glorious title of *the father of his country.* The *Roman* people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; *for he was quoting on all occaſions, in and out of ſeaſon, the nones of* December, as *M. Brutus* obſerved in one of his letters to *Atticus.* He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him ſo far as to make him ſacrifice his private intereſt to the public welfare. This *Brutus*, who ſincerely loved him but knew his foible, inſinuates in ſeveral letters to their common friend *Pomponius Atticus. We are too much afraid*, ſays he in one of his epiſtles, *of death, baniſhment, and poverty. Theſe things appear to* Cicero *as great evils, who, provided he be allowed what he deſires, provided he be reſpected and praiſed, reckons an honourable ſlavery as nothing, if honour is compatible with ſo great infamy.* And elſewhere; *I have no great opinion of thoſe fine arts, of which*

His character.

[f] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 66. SENECA in ſuaſor. orat. 7. PLUT. in Cic. Dio. l. xlvii. APPIAN. l. iv. TACIT. dialog. de orat.

(E) We have followed *Plutarch*'s account; but other writers tell us, that *Cicero*'s ſlaves and domeſtics, ſeeing *Popilius* and *Herennius* purſuing their maſter, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and ſeemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that *Cicero* would not allow them to uſe any violence, ſaying, *Let us obey the decrees of deſtiny, and avoid ſhedding more blood than it has pleaſed the gods to require.* Having thus ſpoke to his domeſtics, he encouraged *Popilius* to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, *Draw near, veteran*, ſaid he, *and ſhew us what you can do.* At theſe words the tribune came cloſe to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head 48).

(48) *Appian. l.* iv. *& Val. Max.*

Cicero

Cicero *is ſo great a maſter; for what uſe do we ſee him make of all he has written concerning the liberty of his country, true honour, death, and baniſhment?* &c. *Plutarch* tells us, that though *Brutus* and his followers both loved and truſted *Cicero*, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their deſign to him, becauſe they were determined to admit into the conſpiracy ſuch only as were bold, brave, and deſpiſers of death; whereas *Cicero* was by nature a coward, and beſides become ſo wary and over-cautious by old age, that he would not have made one ſtep without the greateſt ſecurity, which would have blunted the edge of their forwardneſs and reſolution, in an affair that required all the diſpatch imaginable *. But after all, the intrepidity, with which he offered himſelf to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorouſneſs, puſillanimity, and irreſolution, which he betrayed in moſt occurrences of his life. He died on the ſeventh of the ides of *December*, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. *Antony* himſelf made ſome ſort of reparation to his memory; for, inſtead of rewarding the perfidious *Philologus*, who betrayed his maſter and benefactor, he delivered him up to *Pomponia*, the widow of *Quintus Cicero* and ſiſter of *Pomponius Atticus*, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and deſire of revenge with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent, obliged the miſerable wretch to cut off his own fleſh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her preſence. But *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s freedman, has not ſo much as mentioned the treachery of *Philologus*, as we have obſerved above out of *Plutarch*. *Octavianus*, who ſhamefully ſacrificed *Cicero* to his moſt cruel and bitter enemy, declared ſeveral years after the eſteem he had for him: for viſiting one day his daughter's ſon, and finding him with a book of *Cicero*'s in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown; which *Octavianus* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book ſtanding, gave it him again, ſaying, *This, my child, was a learned man and a lover of his country* †.

The cruelty of Pomponia *towards the ſlave who betrayed him.*

While the proſcription was ſtill raging, and *Rome* in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing herſelf daily deprived of ſome of her beſt citizens, *Lepidus* took it in his head to triumph, on account of ſome inconſiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted *Spaniards*. The decree, empowering him to enjoy this honour, was iſſued by himſelf with the conſent and approbation of his two collègues, and began thus: *To all thoſe who ſhall honour our triumph with ſacrifi-*

Lepidus's *triumph.*

* Plut. in Bruto. † Plut. in Cic.

ces,

ces, feaſtings, and other demonſtrations of joy, health and good fortune; but to others miſery and proſcription. This decree drew greater crouds to his triumph than had ever been ſeen on the like occaſion: he was attended by all the nobility of *Rome*, who ſtrove to outvie each other in offering ſacrifices for the ſafety of *Lepidus* and his collegues, and in feaſting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. *L. Munatius Plancus* was likewiſe decreed a triumph for ſomething, we know not what, he had done in *Gaul* [u]. As it was cuſtomary for the ſoldiers to ſing, during the triumphal proceſſion, ſatyrical verſes on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occaſion; *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant conſules.* The *Latin* word *Germani* ſignifies equally *brothers*, and, *the inhabitants of* Germany, ſo that the verſes might be underſtood as importing, either that the deſigned conſuls triumphed over the *Germans*, or over their *brothers*; for they had both procured the proſcription of their brothers, or at leaſt conſented to it [w].

The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.

AND now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of ſo many illuſtrious citizens, began to think of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. In order to this they publiſhed daily new liſts of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of the richeſt citizens in *Rome*, whom they cauſed, under ſeveral pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then ſeized on their eſtates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and ſucceſſion. They burdened the people with moſt grievous taxes, ſeized all the gold and ſilver, whether in plate or ſpecie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immenſe ſums, belonging both to ſtrangers and citizens of *Rome*, which had been depoſited in the hands of the veſtal virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the ſum of two hundred thouſand talents, which they judged neceſſary to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a liſt of fourteen hundred of the richeſt ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters, relations, or any ways allied to ſuch perſons as they had proſcribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though moſt of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourſe in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go all in a body, and plead their cauſe at the tribunal of thoſe magiſtrates, while they were adminiſtering juſtice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their

The Roman ladies taxed.

[u] Vide. GRUTER. inſcript. p. 297. & APPIAN. l. iv. p. 607.
[w] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 67.

way through the croud and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed at ſuch an unuſual ſight, ordered their guards to diſperſe them; but this occaſioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at length permitted to ſpeak, and the perſon the ſuppliants choſe for this purpoſe was *Hortenſia*, the daughter of the celebrated orator *Hortenſius*, who addreſſed the triumvirs thus: *The unhappy women you ſee here imploring your juſtice and bounty, would never have preſumed to appear in this place, had they not firſt made uſe of all other means, which their natural modeſty could ſuggeſt to them. Though our appearing here may ſeem contrary to the rules of decency preſcribed to our ſex, which we have hitherto obſerved with all ſtrictneſs, yet the loſs of our fathers, children, brothers, and huſbands, may ſufficiently excuſe us, eſpecially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our further misfortunes. You pretend, that they had offended and provoked you; but what injury have the women done, that they muſt be impoveriſhed? If they are as blameable as the men, why do you not proſcribe them too? Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we ſuborned your ſoldiers, raiſed troops againſt you, or oppoſed you in the purſuit of thoſe honours and offices which you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor is it our ambition, which has drawn the preſent misfortune on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for us. Why ſhould we contribute to a war, wherein we have no manner of intereſt? 'Tis true indeed, that in the* Carthaginian *war our mothers aſſiſted the republic, which was at that time reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs: but neither their houſes, their lands, nor their moveables, were ſold for that ſervice; ſome rings and a few jewels furniſhed the ſupply: it was not conſtraint and violence that forced it from them: what they contributed was intirely owing to their own good will and generous diſpoſition. What danger at preſent threatens the city? If the* Gauls *or* Parthians *were incamped on the banks of the* Tiber, *or the* Anio, *you ſhould find us no leſs zealous in the defence of our common country, than our mothers were before us. But we ought not, and will not be any ways concerned in civil wars. Neither* Marius, *nor* Cæſar, *nor* Pompey, *ever thought of obliging us to take part in the domeſtic troubles which their ambition raiſed; nay, not* Sylla *himſelf, who firſt ſet up tyranny in* Rome; *and yet you aſſume the glorious title of reformers of the ſtate, a title, which will turn to your eternal ignominy, if, without the leaſt regard to the laws of equity, you perſiſt in your wicked reſolution of plundering thoſe of their eſtates and fortunes, who have given you no juſt cauſe of offence.*

Horteniia's *ſpeech to the triumvirs.*

The triumvirs, provoked at the boldneſs of this ſpeech, and fearing it might occaſion ſome ſudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away ſuch troubleſome ſuppliants; but the people crying out againſt ſuch violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appeaſe the multitude, who had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the women, they reduced their number from one thouſand four hundred to four hundred; but at the ſame time taxed above a hundred thouſand men, as well ſtrangers as citizens, without exempting the prieſts themſelves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their eſtates, and a whole year's revenue. In the levying of this tax the ſoldiers committed ſuch unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the conſuls to watch them, and puniſh the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the cowardly magiſtrate, fearing to diſguſt the legionaries, winked at the diſorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only againſt a few ſlaves, whom he cauſed to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exerciſed in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, on ſome of the moſt illuſtrious citizens [x].

Many of the ladies exempted from paying the tax.

AND now the triumvirs, having cauſed about three hundred ſenators and two thouſand knights to be inhumanly maſſacred, and raiſed by a thouſand extortions the neceſſary ſums for their eaſtern expedition, aſſembled at laſt the few ſenators they had left alive, and, entering the ſenate-houſe, declared, that the proſcription was at an end. *Lepidus* endeavoured to juſtify their paſt proceedings, and aſſured the conſcript fathers, that for the future he at leaſt ſhould give them no occaſion of complaint. But *Octavianus*, not yet ſatiated with ſo many butcheries, openly declared, *That he ſtill reſerved to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing the guilty.* And indeed *Suetonius* tells us, that though he was at firſt unwilling to ſign the fatal decree, which doomed ſo many citizens to die, yet he was the moſt cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it [y]. Some of the antient and moſt of the modern writers endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon *Antony*; nay, they cry him up for one of the moſt mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. But we meet with too many inſtances in hiſtory, which evidently ſhew that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We ſhall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his ſhort conſulate, and reſerve the reſt for their proper places. The prætor *Quintus Gellius* had on all occaſions aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his

The proſcription at an end.

The cruelty of Octavianus.

[x] DIO. APPIAN. ibid. [y] SUET. in Octavio.

power, and employed all his intereſt in his behalf, when he firſt ſtood for the conſulate. *Octavianus* therefore no ſooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of *Africa*, with the title of proconſul: but ſoon after, taking it into his head, that the prætor deſigned to murder him, he cauſed him to be ſeized by a band of ſoldiers in his ſeat of juſtice, and to be hurried away, without further inquiry, to the rack, like the meaneſt ſlave. He confeſſed nothing, nor indeed had any ſuch thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to *Cæſar* and *Octavianus*. But neither could his great quality and high ſtation, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle conſul condemned him to die, but firſt cauſed the venerable magiſtrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleaſure of digging out his eyes with his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, leſs cruel than himſelf, to diſpatch him [z]. Is not this ſingle inſtance an undeniable proof of the cruelty of his temper?

The triumvirs appoint conſuls, prætors, &c. for ſeveral years.

After the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpreſſible joy both of the ſenate and people, that the proſcription was at an end, they appointed of their own authority, without ſo much as aſſembling the people, the conſuls for the enſuing year. Theſe were *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the triumvir, and *Lucius Munatius Plancus*. After this, as *Antony* and *Octavianus* were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the eaſt, againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they named, in concert with *Lepidus*, conſuls, prætors, and ædiles, for ſeveral enſuing years, chuſing for theſe great offices ſuch perſons as they all approved of, and could ſafely rely on. This precaution ſeemed neceſſary, to prevent the people from raiſing to theſe dignities, during their abſence, men of ſeditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus ſettled matters in the city, *Antony* and *Octavianus* firſt divided both the money and troops, and then ſet out, the former for *Brunduſium*, and the latter for *Rhegium*, where the fleets, appointed to tranſport them into the *Levant*, were ready to take the forces on board, and put to ſea with the firſt favourable wind. But, before we relate the great events which determined the fate of the unhappy republic, we muſt give a ſuccinct account of what paſſed in the eaſt, from the taking of *Laodicea* by *Caſſius*, to the arrival of *Antony* and *Octavianus* in *Macedon*.

Caſſius *reſolves to invade* Egypt.

Caſſius, having, by the reduction of *Laodicea*, made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, reſolved in the next place to invade

[z] Suet. ibid.

Egypt;

Egypt; for *Cleopatra* had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet; but as he was on his march, he was recalled by *Brutus*, who, by letters after letters, preſſed him to come and join him againſt the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in *Italy*, and aſſembling forces with a deſign to paſs over into *Macedon*. *It is not*, ſaid he in one of his letters, *to gain an empire for ourſelves, but to relieve our country, that we have aſſembled ſuch powerful armies. We ought not ſo much to think of gaining glory by new conqueſts, as of deſtroying thoſe who have enſlaved* Rome. *Let us remember what we have undertaken, and perſevere in our firſt intentions. It is high time for us to turn our thoughts upon* Italy, *which now groans under the oppreſſion of tyrants. Let us make what haſte we can thither, and endeavour to relieve our fellow-citizens.* As *Caſſius* had a great eſteem and veneration for *Brutus*, he dropt his enterpriſe upon *Egypt*; and, committing the government of *Syria* to his brother's ſon with one legion, he ſet out with all the reſt to meet him. On his march he detatched a body of horſe into *Cappadocia*, with orders to put king *Ariobarzanes* to death, upon an information that he had conſpired againſt him, and kept up a private correſpondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great ſums raiſed on his ſubjects, who were looked upon by *Caſſius* as diſaffected to the republican party. As he paſſed by *Tarſus*, being touched with compaſſion on the miſerable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the reſt of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for ſiding with *Dolabella*, and refuſing to ſupply with proviſions the troops which *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conſpirators, was leading into *Syria*. This conduct of the *Tarſenſes*, after they had entered into an alliance with *Caſſius*, and even preſented him with a crown of gold, ſo provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raiſing of which ſum they firſt ſold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both ſexes, and at laſt their women and old men. As the money accruing from theſe ſales did not amount to the ſum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at laſt forced to ſell ſome of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy wretches, preferring death to ſlavery, laid violent hands on themſelves: which *Caſſius* no ſooner heard, than he forgave them the reſt of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From *Tarſus* he purſued

But is recalled by Brutus.

Is touched with compaſſion on the miſerable condition of the Tarſenſes.

ſued his march into *Aſia* to join *Brutus* [a]. That general, ſeeing himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, had reſolved to paſs over into *Aſia* with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caius Antonius*, whom he had taken priſoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmoſt civility, had raiſed a ſedition among the troops that were left in *Macedon*. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put *Caius* under cloſe confinement in the city of *Apollonia*, purſued his march, and paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and, among the reſt, by *Dejotarus*, king or tetrarch of *Galatia*, though he had refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to *Caſſius*. While *Brutus* was in *Aſia*, *Caius Antonius*, having found means, even in his confinement, to debauch many of his ſoldiers, attempted to make his eſcape; but the plot being diſcovered, *Antonius* was more cloſely confined, and the guilty ſoldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they ſeemed determined to ſtand it out, and rather undergo any hardſhips, than ſubmit to the will of their officers. Hereupon *Caius Clodius*, to whoſe cuſtody *Brutus* had committed the ſeditious priſoner, fearing he might raiſe new diſturbances, and at length make his eſcape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by *Brutus*'s orders, is uncertain. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [b]. But *Plutarch* tells us, that *Brutus* no ſooner heard the news of *Cicero*'s death, than he ſent orders to *Hortenſius* to kill *Caius Antonius*; and adds, that, on this account, *Antony*, having afterwards taken *Hortenſius* in the battle of *Philippi*, ſlew him on his brother's tomb. However that be, *Brutus*, fearing the death of *Antonius* might occaſion diſturbances in *Macedon*, left *Aſia*, and haſtened back thither. On his arrival he put himſelf at the head of a legion, and marched againſt the mutineers, whom he ſoon forced to ſue for mercy. As *Brutus* was a man of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, and inſenſible of the paſſions of anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himſelf to put any of the ſeditious legionaries to death, reſpecting, as *Appian* obſerves, the character of a *Roman* citizen even in an enemy. His officers preſſed him to puniſh at leaſt a ſmall number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The good-natured general ſeemed to yield to their importunity; and, having ordered a galley to be got ready, cauſed the ringleaders of the

Brutus *paſſes over into* Aſia.

Caius Antonius *put to death.*

The great clemency of Brutus.

[a] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 625, & l. v. p. 675. Dio. l. xlvii. [b] Idem, ibid. p. 340, 341, & l. xlix. p. 341.

late

late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the ſea, and drowned; but, in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to ſome place of ſafety, and there leave them [c].

Brutus, having thus quieted all diſturbances in *Macedon*, haſtened back into *Aſia*. It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither, that he coined a new piece of money, which was for ſome time current in all the eaſtern countries. On one ſide was the head of *Brutus*, and on the reverſe a *pileus* or *cap*, the badge of liberty, between two poniards, with this legend, *Eid. Mar.* to revive the remembrance of the *ides of March*, which was the laſt day of *Cæſar*'s life, and uſurped empire. *Brutus*, arriving in *Aſia*, advanced in all haſte to *Smyrna*, where he had appointed to meet *Caſſius*, who accordingly came after him. As they had not ſeen one another ſince they parted at *Pireæus*, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedon*, we may eaſily imagine how great their joy was at their firſt meeting. They had been intimate friends long before the death of *Cæſar*, were nearly related, *Caſſius* having married *Julia* the ſiſter of *Brutus*, and looked upon themſelves as the only protectors of their oppreſſed country. Their joy was doubled, when they compared their preſent circumſtances with the deſpicable condition they were both in when they left *Italy*. *Caſſius* ſhewed all poſſible reſpect for *Brutus*, having a great opinion of his virtue, honeſty, and integrity. On the other hand, *Brutus*, conſidering *Caſſius* as the elder man, and of a more weakly conſtitution than himſelf, deſired that their conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies incamped ſeparately. When they came to deliberate about the proper meaſures to be taken with relation to the great war with which they were threatened, *Brutus* was for tranſporting all their forces over into *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, and there making head againſt the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberleſs troops in one of thoſe countries; but *Caſſius* was of opinion, that they ſhould firſt reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, that they might not leave two ſuch formidable maritime powers unſubdued behind them; for both theſe nations had refuſed to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a ſtrict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had ſent ſuccours under-hand to the triumvirs. As for the numberleſs forces of the enemy, *their great number*, ſaid *Caſſius*, *renders them leſs formidable*;

Brutus *and* Caſſius *meet at* Smyrna.

[c] DIO. APPIAN. ibid.

they

they will find a powerful enemy to contend with in Greece, Macedon, *or* Theſſaly, *famine. Where will they find proviſions for ſo great a multitude? Let us therefore turn our arms againſt their friends the* Lycians *and* Rhodians, *and in the mean time leave them to fight with want and famine*[d].

Reſolutions taken at their interview.

Brutus readily came into the opinion of *Caſſius*, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct after the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Parthians*[e]. It was therefore agreed, that, before they paſſed farther weſtward, *Brutus* ſhould march againſt the *Lycians*, and *Caſſius* ſail with his fleet againſt the *Rhodians*; but as *Brutus* had ſpent great ſums in equipping a fleet, he deſired *Caſſius* to ſhare with him the immenſe treaſure he had amaſſed in *Aſia*. This demand was taken ill by the friends of *Caſſius*, who endeavoured to diſſuade him from complying with the juſt requeſt of *Brutus*, ſaying, That it was not reaſonable the money which he had ſaved with ſo much parſimony, or got with ſo much envy, ſhould be diſpoſed of to inrich *Brutus*'s ſoldiers, and to make him popular. But *Caſſius*, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, generouſly gave him a third part of the great treaſure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, *Caſſius* marching againſt the *Rhodians*, and *Brutus* againſt the *Lycians*[f].

The Rhodians *find an embaſſy to* Caſſius.

As the city of *Rhodes* was at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and had a powerful fleet at ſea, *Caſſius*, before he attempted to make a deſcent on the iſland, took care to exerciſe his mariners at *Mindus* a maritime city of *Caria*. Thither the *Rhodians* ſent embaſſadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, over *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, and many others, and repreſenting, that their nation was not eaſily to be conquered; that he might, in ſo dangerous an attempt, loſe, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at ſea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, &c. As they were going on, *Caſſius* interrupted them: *Since you have ſo great an opinion of your own valour*, ſaid he, *I will ſoon give you an opportunity of exerting it. You have ſent ſuccours to* Dolabella, *and unleſs you aſſiſt me in the like manner, neither the numerous fleet you have at ſea, nor the dread of your naval forces, ſhall deter me from in-*

[d] Appian. ibid. p. 626. Liv l cxxii. [e] Vide Vol X. p 529. [f] Plut in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p 625. Dio. l. xlvii, p. 346.

ſtading

vading your iſland, and laying ſiege to your proud capital. This anſwer terrified the wiſer citizens, who were for complying with *Caſſius*'s demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, oppoſed all their meaſures; and two orators, *Alexander* and *Mnaſeas*, by magnifying the ſtrength of the nation, the number of their ſhips, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all propoſals of an accommodation; nay, the people, in an aſſembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magiſtrates, appointed *Alexander* commander in chief of the land forces, and *Mnaſeas* of the fleet, who immediately began to make the neceſſary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the *Romans*, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Caſſius*, employing for that purpoſe *Archelaus*, who had formerly taught him the *Greek* tongue in *Rhodes*, and for whom the *Roman* had on all occaſions ſhewed great reſpect and veneration. *Archelaus* put him in mind of their antient friendſhip, of the alliance that was ſtill ſubſiſting between the republic of *Rhodes* and that of *Rome*, and of the education he had received in that city. *Caſſius* anſwered, That if *Archelaus* had conſented to the hoſtilities of his countrymen againſt him, he had by that means renounced his friendſhip, and effaced all former obligations; but if he had adviſed them to embrace his intereſt, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them for the contempt they had ſhewn for him. As to their alliance with *Rome*, he ſaid, that in virtue of that treaty with the republic, they were obliged to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who were uſing their utmoſt efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power in its room; that he demanded ſuccours of them as prætor and proconſul appointed by the ſenate and the moſt honeſt part of the *Roman* people, and that, if they refuſed to acknowledge him in that character, or would not ſend him the ſuccours he demanded in the name of the ſenate and *Roman* people, he could not look upon them otherwiſe than as enemies to *Rome*, and would treat them as ſuch. *Archelaus* finding *Caſſius* inflexible, and the reaſons he alledged for making war upon the *Rhodians* unanſwerable, took his leave, and returned to *Rhodes*, where he found *Alexander* and *Mnaſeas* ready to put to ſea with a fleet of thirty-three ſhips of war, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. Theſe two commanders no ſooner heard the *Roman* general's final anwer, than they weighed anchor, and went in queſt of the enemy's fleet, which they met off *Cnidos*, where they had formerly defeated the navy of *Mithridates the Great*. This they looked upon as a good omen, and

They refuſe to ſubmit.

Caſſius's *ſpeech to the* Rhodian *envoy.*

The Rhodians *overcome in a ſea fight.*

therefore immediately attacked the *Roman* fleet, which was commanded by *Statius Murcus*, with incredible bravery and reſolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the *Rhodian* mariners, and the nimbleneſs of their ſhips; but at length the *Rhodians* were put to flight, after having loſt a great number of ſoldiers, as well as mariners, and five of their beſt ſhips, three whereof were taken, and two ſunk. After this engagement, *Caſſius*, who beheld it from a neighbouring mountain, marched his army to *Loryma*, a maritime city of *Caria*, ſituated over-againſt the iſland of *Rhodes*, and there, without loſs of time, put his forces on board a great number of tranſports, which he had aſſembled before-hand, and ordered them to land in the iſland, and fortify themſelves there, while he, with a fleet of eighty ſhips of war, inveſted the city of *Rhodes* by ſea, in hopes of ſtriking a terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodſhed, to ſubmit, and comply with his demands. With this view he continued ſome days inactive before the place; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the enemy's fleet unexpectedly ſail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this ſecond engagement the *Rhodians* were defeated anew, with the loſs of two galleys, and forced to take ſhelter under the walls of their city, which was immediately inveſted both by ſea and land, and, after a ſhort but moſt vigorous reſiſtance, forced to ſurrender at diſcretion [g].

The Rhodians *defeated anew, and their town taken.*

Appian tells, that ſome of the rich citizens, to ſave their eſtates, betrayed the city to *Caſſius*, after he had ſolemnly promiſed not to deſtroy it. The inhabitants ſeeing him maſter of the place, whether by force or treachery is uncertain, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their *king* and *maſter*. But *Caſſius*, abhorring thoſe titles, *I am neither your king nor maſter*, ſaid he, *but the deſtroyer of a tyrant, who would have been your king and maſter.* He then cauſed a tribunal to be raiſed in the market-place, and ſeating himſelf on it, with a ſpear planted before him, as it was cuſtomary among the *Roman* generals, when they had taken a city by ſtorm, he firſt forbad his ſoldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houſes, or offer any ſort of violence to the inhabitants. He then ſummoned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been moſt ſanguine for war, and pronounced ſentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty five more who had made their eſcape to perpetual baniſhment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and ſilver, whether belonging to the temples, to the pub-

Caſſius *treats the* Rhodians *with ſeverity.*

[g] Appian l. iv. p 627 ——— 632. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346.

lic,

lic, or to private perſons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening thoſe with death who ſhould conceal any part of their wealth, and promiſing rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover it, *viz.* a tenth to perſons of a free condition, and liberty to ſlaves. At firſt ſome concealed their treaſures, not thinking he would proceed with ſo much rigour; but when they ſaw three or four of the richeſt citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way part of their wealth, they deſired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before *Caſſius*, who by that means raiſed, at the expence of private perſons, the ſum of eight thouſand talents, as we have related more at length in the hiſtory of *Rhodes* [h]. *Caſſius*, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of *Rhodes*, returned to the continent, leaving *Lucius Varus* with a ſtrong gariſon on the iſland, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which at his departure he laid on thoſe refractory iſlanders. On the continent, he was informed, that *Cleopatra* had left *Egypt*, and was ſailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Upon this intelligence he ſent *Statius Murcus* with ſixty ſhips of war, and a legion on board, to cruize on the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of *Tænarus*, in hopes of meeting there with *Cleopatra*'s fleet; but the queen's navy was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and moſt of her ſhips daſhed to pieces on the coaſt of *Africa*; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aſide for the preſent all thoughts of ſending any ſuccours to the triumvirs. *Caſſius*, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin *Brutus*, obliging all the provinces of *Aſia*, as he paſſed through them, to pay, without the leaſt abatement, ten years taxes [i].

Cleopatra's *fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.*

WHILE *Caſſius* was thus employed againſt the *Rhodians*, *Brutus* was making war in *Lycia*, agreeable to the ſcheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hoſtilities, he ſent to the *Lycians* to demand a ſupply of men and money; but one *Naucrates*, a popular man among them, perſuaded them not to comply with *Brutus*'s requeſt, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, poſted ſeveral bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent *Brutus* from entering the country. But the *Roman* general detached a party of horſe againſt them; which, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed ſix hundred of them, drove the reſt from

[h] Vide Vol. VII. p. 363.

[i] APPIAN. & DIO. ibid. & VELL. PATERCUL. l ii c. 70.

Brutus enters Lycia, after having defeated the inhabitants who opposed him.

their posts, and opened a passage into the country for the whole army [k]. *Dion* tells us, that the *Lycians*, who were a brave and warlike people, met *Brutus* on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the *Romans* who made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage [l]. However that be, *Brutus*, after this first skirmish or battle, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himself master of all their cities and villages, except *Xanthus* (F) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a design to stand a siege. *Brutus*, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and great magnanimity, being unwilling to shed the blood of those unhappy wretches, set all the prisoners he had taken free without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the *Lycians*, despising his humanity and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; so that *Brutus* was forced, to his great grief, to lay siege to the place, which, he foresaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people. *Xanthus* was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia*; its walls were of an extraordinary height and thickness, and surrounded with a ditch fifty foot deep, and broad in proportion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great distance, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged *Brutus* to send parties a great way off to fetch the necessary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but notwithstanding the many difficulties which he had to struggle with, and which he did not himself expect to surmount in many months, as *Appian* tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: so great was the eagerness and ardour of the soldiery, animated by the example of their general, who shared with them all the toils and dangers of so difficult an undertaking. The besieged made a most vigorous defence, and behaved in their sallies with unparallelled bravery; but were al-

The memorable siege of Xanthus.

[k] Plut. in Bruto. [l] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 347.

(F) *Xanthus* was, according to *Strabo* (49), the metropolis of all *Lycia*. The river, which watered it, is said by *Stephanus* to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder *Xanthus*, who was, according to some, an *Egyptian*, according to others, a native of *Crete*.

(49) *Strabo*, *l.* xiv. *p.* 981.

ways

ways beaten with great loſs, *Brutus* keeping the half of his army night and day under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the *Xanthians* began to think of making their eſcape; and accordingly ſome of them threw themſelves into the river, which ran through the city, hoping to ſave themſelves by ſwimming and diving under water; but they were taken in nets let down for that purpoſe, with little bells faſtened to them, to give preſent notice when any of the unfortunate wretches were intangled in them; but the greater part, deſpairing to hold out any longer, reſolved to make a general ſally, and, forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. *Brutus*, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the *Xanthians* ſuppoſing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, ſallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the *Romans* who lay in wait for them. The next day about noon they made another ſally, ſet fire to the engines of the aggreſſors, and retired in great haſte within their walls. The *Romans* purſued them cloſe, and entered the city, to the number of two thouſand, with the beſieged; but the port-cullis falling, either by a ſtratagem of the enemy, or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the *Romans* were cruſhed to pieces, and others ſhut in, without any poſſible means of retiring, or receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their friends. In this deſperate condition they reſolved at leaſt to ſell their lives dear, and with this view marched in good order through ſhowers of darts, which were diſcharged upon them from all parts, to a temple dedicated to *Sarpedon* king of *Lycia*, who was ſuppoſed to have been killed in the *Trojan* war. There they fortified themſelves, and ſuſtained a ſiege in the very heart of the city. In the mean time, *Brutus* and his men exerted their utmoſt efforts to relieve their fellow-ſoldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the *Xanthians* defending it with a bravery and reſolution which ſurpriſed the *Romans* themſelves. As they could neither move nor break down the port-cullis, which was trelliſed with iron-bars, they endeavoured to ſcale the walls, uſing for that purpoſe not ſcaling-ladders, (for the beſieged had burnt them, together with the wooden towers when they firſt ſallied out) but long ropes, to which they faſtened iron hooks. Theſe they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the beſieged, by puſhing the aggreſſors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their ſwords, rendered this attempt likewiſe unſucceſsful. While *Brutus* was under the utmoſt concern for his men, who were,

to

to the number of two thouſand, ſhut up in the city, a company of *Oenoandes* (G), who ſerved under him and bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Xanthians*, climbing up a ſteep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themſelves from thence into the city, and opening a poſtern to ſome *Romans* who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with, and let in the reſt of the *Roman* army. But, in the mean time, ſome ſparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceneſs, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houſes, the flame was in a trice ſpread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. *Brutus*, fearing the whole city ſhould be deſtroyed, ordered his ſoldiers to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, and aſſiſt the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the *Xanthians*, ſeized with a kind of frenzy, which *Plutarch* calls *a violent deſire of dying*, ſtrove to drive away the ſoldiers who came to their aſſiſtance; nay, they themſelves, gathering together reeds, wood and other combuſtible matter, ſpread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. *Brutus*, ſeeing the flame blaze out in a moſt frightful manner, and extremely deſirous of having an opportunity to ſhew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with ſuch bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horſeback, and riding round the walls, ſtretched forth his hand to the innabitants, begging of them that they would ſpare their own lives and ſave their town. But his intreaties were not regarded; the *Xanthians* were immoveably determined not to outlive the loſs of their liberty, and therefore repulſed with ſhowers of arrows the *Romans*, whom the good-natured general ſent to their aſſiſtance. Some of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their ſlaves, before the ſoldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran like wild beaſts, on the enemy's ſwords, or threw themſelves headlong from the top of the walls. Some children were ſeen offering their throats, or opening their

The city taken.

The deſperate reſolution of the Xanthians.

Inſtances of the fury and deſpair of the Xanthians.

(G) *Oenoanda*, or, as others write it, *Oeneanda*, was, according to *Pliny* and *Stephanus*, ſituated on the confines of *Cabalia*, a ſmall province of *Lycia*. It was ſtill in being in the ſixth century of the chriſtian æra, and is mentioned in the *notitia* of the empire of *Conſtantinople*, commonly aſcribed to the grammarian *Hierocles*. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Xanthians* their neighbours, and therefore readily joined *Brutus* againſt them.

breaſts

breasts to their fathers swords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given. How great is the power of education! The *Xanthians* had inspired their children, from their very infancy, with the most heroic sentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to slavery and subjection, often relating to them, how their forefathers had suffered themselves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than submit either to *Harpagus*, *Cyrus*'s lieutenant, or to *Alexander* of *Macedon*, the famous conqueror of *Asia*; for they had in the *Persian* and *Macedonian* wars set fire to their city after the same manner, and destroyed themselves. When the city was almost wholly reduced to ashes, a woman was found, who had hanged herself with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. When this was related to *Brutus*, he burst into tears, and, declining to see so tragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any soldier who should save a *Xanthian*; but with all his care and good-nature he could only preserve one hundred and fifty, and those much against their wills [m]. *Appian* tells, that only some slaves were saved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted husbands to kill them; and adds, that *Brutus* found means to preserve some of the temples from so general a conflagration [n].

Brutus *endeavours to gain the* Patarenses *by gentle methods.*

FROM *Xanthus Brutus* led his army against *Patara* (H), another city of *Lycia*; but, being desirous to save the place and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them as he had done the *Xanthians*. With the deputies he sent the few prisoners he had taken at *Xanthus*, hoping, that they, by giving the *Patarenses* an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpose; the inhabitants seemed determin-

[m] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 633--635. [n] APPIAN. ibid.

(H) *Patara* stood on a peninsula, which *Stephanus* calls the *Lycian Chersonesus*. *Livy* (50) honours this city with the title of *caput gentis, the metropolis of the nation*. In our history of *Lycia* we have given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of *Apollo*, who was supposed to reside six months at *Patara*, and as many at *Delos*. (51).

(50) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c.* 15. (51) *Vide Servium in Æneid.* 4. *ver.* 14.

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ed to ſtand a ſiege, and undergo any miſeries, rather than ſubmit. This gave *Brutus* great uneaſineſs; he ſtudied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the ſame frenzy, which had driven the *Xanthians* to deſtruction, might ſeize them. Notwithſtanding the anſwer they ſent him, which was, *That they choſe rather to die like brave men, than purchaſe their lives at the expence of their liberty and reputation*, the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the reſt of that day to reflect more ſeriouſly on their preſent circumſtances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obſtinacy, he ſet at liberty ſuch of the *Xanthians* captives as were any ways allied to them, ſending them into the city as a preſent from him to their relations; but the *Patarenſes* ſtill continued inflexible. *Brutus* therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had recourſe to ſeverity, and cauſing the *Xanthian* captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be ſold to the beſt bidder under the very walls of *Patara*; but as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of thoſe unfortunate wretches had been ſold, he ſet the reſt at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to ſlavery, who had fought ſo valiantly in defence of their liberty. While he was under the greateſt concern imaginable for the *Patarenſes*, whoſe obſtinacy rendered all the meaſures abortive, which his good-nature could ſuggeſt for their preſervation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their ſtubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in ſcouring the country, happened to meet ſome of the chief women of *Patara*, whom they took priſoners, and carried to *Brutus*, who immediately diſmiſſed them all without ranſom. Theſe returning into the city, and there crying up the politeneſs, juſtice, and temperance of *Brutus*, prevailed upon their huſbands and relations, who were all leading men, to ſubmit to ſo good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. *Brutus* treated them with great humanity, pardoning even thoſe who had been to the very laſt for ſtanding a ſiege. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Roman* general exacted only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation, a very inconſiderable ſum, if compared with that of eight thouſand talents, which *Caſſius* extorted from the *Rhodians*. *Appian* writes, that *Brutus*, after the example of *Caſſius*, ordered the *Patarenſes*, on pain of death, to bring to him all their gold and ſilver, promiſing rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any hidden treaſures. Upon this, a ſlave, belonging to a rich citizen, informed againſt his maſter, and diſcovered to a centurion, who was ſent for that purpoſe, the

And at length ſucceeds.

Inſtances of Brutus's *good nature, juſtice, &c.*

place

place where he had buried the greateſt part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately ſeized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before *Brutus*. The mother of the accuſed followed them, declaring with many tears, that ſhe had hid the treaſure without her ſon's knowledge, and conſequently ought to be puniſhed. On the other hand, the ſlave ſtood to his firſt information, maintaining, that his maſter, and not his mother, had tranſgreſſed the edict. *Brutus* heard both parties with great patience, and being in the end convinced, that the accuſation of the ſlave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his maſter, he commended the tenderneſs and generoſity of the mother, reſtored the whole ſum to the ſon, and condemned the ſlave to be crucified. This judgment, which was immediately publiſhed all over *Lycia*, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them *.

AND now *Brutus*, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all *Lycia*, left that country, and entered *Ionia*, where he found the famous rhetorician *Theodotus*, who had the moſt contributed to the death of *Pompey the Great*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*. The unhappy wretch had fled out of *Egypt* on the arrival of *Cæſar* at *Alexandria*, and ever ſince that time ſculked about in *Aſia*, wandering from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. *Brutus* no ſooner heard he was in *Ionia*, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſacrificed to the manes of the illuſtrious *Roman*, who, by his advice, had been inhumanly murdered, as he himſelf had the impudence to boaſt °. This memorable act of juſtice was greatly applauded by every honeſt *Roman*, and all the princes of *Aſia*, who had a great veneration for the memory of *Pompey*. From *Ionia Brutus* marched into *Lydia*, and ſtopping at *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country, waited there for *Caſſius*, who, after the reduction of *Rhodes*, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city. As *Caſſius* drew near, *Brutus* went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and armies, was exceeding great on this occaſion. The ſoldiery expreſſed their ſatisfaction in ſeeing each other again with joyful acclamations, and ſaluted both generals with the title of *imperator*. As ſeveral jealouſies of each other and complaints had paſſed between the two generals, as ſoon as

Theodotus *put to death by* Brutus's *order.*

Brutus *and* Caſſius *meet at* Sardis.

* DIO, l. xlvii. p. 347. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 635, 636. ° PLUT. in Pomp. & Bruto.

the uſual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private apartment, with a deſign to ſettle all differences between them, before they entered upon any other buſineſs. What was the ſubject of their debate, we know not; but they diſputed with great warmth, reproaching and accuſing each other with hard words, and at laſt burſting out into tears. Their friends, who ſtood without, hearing them ſo loud and angry, began to be afraid, leſt their quarrel ſhould be attended with dangerous conſequences; but yet they durſt not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithſtanding this prohibition, *M. Favonius*, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himſelf more upon a ſort of *Cynical* liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed, than upon the dignity of a ſenator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the ſubject of the diſpute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verſe, which *Homer* puts in the mouth of *Neſtor*; *Be ruled, for I am elder than you both.* This made *Caſſius* laugh; but *Brutus*, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended *Cynic*, thruſt him out, calling him *a dog*, in alluſion to his ſect, and *a counterfeit philoſopher.* This, however, put an end to the diſpute; *Caſſius* provided a ſupper that night, and *Brutus* invited his friends to it. As they were ſitting down, *Favonius* came in, and took the moſt honourable place, though *Brutus*, calling out aloud, told him, That he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company, and the entertainment was ſeaſoned both with mirth and learned diſcourſes [p].

A private diſpute between the two generals.

Brutus's equity.

The next day, *Brutus*, upon the accuſation of the inhabitants of *Sardis*, publicly condemned and branded with infamy *Lucius Pella*, who had been formerly cenſor, and often employed by *Brutus* himſelf in offices of truſt, for having embezzled the public money. This ſentence offended *Caſſius*, who but a few days before had abſolved in public two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, tho' accuſed of the ſame crime, contenting himſelf only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his ſentiments on this head from *Brutus*, whom he accuſed in a friendly manner of too much rigour and ſeverity, when gentleneſs and favour were more neceſſary, and would prove of greater ſervice to their cauſe. In anſwer to this, *Brutus* put him in mind of the ides of *March*, the day on which they had killed *Cæſar*, who himſelf neither vexed nor oppreſſed man-

[p] Plut. in Brut.

kind

kind, but was the ſupport of thoſe who did. He deſired him to conſider, that if juſtice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have ſuffered the injuſtice of *Cæſar*'s friends, than to give impunity to their own; *for then*, ſaid he, *we could have been accuſed of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injuſtice of others, we make ourſelves liable to the ſame accuſation, and ſhare with them in the guilt.* From this we may perceive, as *Plutarch* obſerves, what was the rule of all *Brutus*'s actions [q].

AND now the two republican generals, being maſters of all the eaſtern provinces, from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*, after ſeveral conſultations, reſolved to march from *Sardis* to *Abydos*, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, advance into *Macedon* againſt *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they had met with from *Statius Murcus*, *Caſſius*'s admiral, had tranſported their troops, without the loſs of one ſingle ſhip or man, to *Dyrrhachium*. From thence they detached *Decidius Saxa* and *Caius Norbanus*, with eight legions, to ſeize on the ſtraights leading from *Thrace* into *Macedon*, in order to prevent *Brutus* and *Caſſius* from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the neceſſary proviſions for the ſupport of their two armies. *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, upon the firſt intelligence of theſe motions, left *Sardis*, and marched in all haſte to *Abydos*, where they had appointed the *Lycian* fleet to meet them, and tranſport their forces out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. It was on this march that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt or ſpectre in his tent. This memorable ſtory is thus related by *Plutarch* [r], *Florus* [s], and *Appian* [t]: *Brutus*, being uſed to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching, and allowed but a very ſmall portion of time for ſleep. *Plutarch* tells us, that he never ſlept in the day-time, as was cuſtomary among the *Romans*, and in the night then only when he had diſpatched his affairs, and when, every one elſe being gone to reſt, he had no body left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, and he very careful and ſolicitous about the event of it, uſed to lie down for a ſhort while juſt after ſupper, and ſpend the reſt of the night either in diſpatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes uſed to wait on him for their orders. According to this cuſtom, he was one night, before he paſſed out of *Aſia*, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by

Antony *and* Octavianus *paſs over into* Macedon.

Brutus *ſees a ghoſt.*

[q] PLUT. in Bruto. [r] Idem ibid. [s] FLOR. l. iv. c. 7.
[t] APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665.

him, there being a general ſilence all over the camp, eſpecially about his tent. As he was muſing with himſelf and very thoughtful, he heard on a ſudden an unuſual noiſe at the door of his tent, which at the ſame time flew open. *Brutus*, caſting his eye towards the place whence the noiſe came, ſaw a terrible and ſtrange figure of a huge and frightful body coming towards him without ſpeaking; but he undauntedly addreſſed the ſpectre, aſking it, *What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what buſineſs doſt thou come to us? I am*, ſaid the ghoſt, *thy evil genius*, Brutus; *thou ſhalt ſee me again near* Philippi. *Brutus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered boldly, *Well, I will ſee thee there:* upon which the apparition vaniſhed. *Brutus* immediately called his ſervants; who all told him, that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the reſt of the night, and, as ſoon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*; who, as he had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy, aſcribed the viſion wholly to the weakneſs of his ſenſes and the force of imagination, which eaſily moves and varies them into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the ſame manner, as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any ſuch thing as ſpirits or demons*, ſaid he, *let us never believe it, much leſs that ſpirits can have human ſhape or voice, or any power over us; though I could earneſtly wiſh it were ſo, that we might not only rely on the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but likewiſe on the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred as ours is* (I). This diſcourſe ſatisfied *Brutus*, who was

Caſſius ſatisfies him with reaſons from the Epicurean *philoſophy.*

(I) As *Caſſius* had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy, and had often diſputed with *Brutus* concerning matters of this nature, he ſpoke to him thus, as *Plutarch* informs us: "It is the opinion of our ſect, O *Brutus*, that all we feel or "ſee is not real and true; but that our ſenſes, being apt to re- "ceive all ſorts of impreſſions, are very treacherous; and the "imagination, which is more quick and ſubtil, moves and varies "them into all manner of ideas, which have no real exiſtence in "nature, as readily as we imprint any form upon wax; ſo that "it is eaſy for the ſoul of man, which has in itſelf both that "which forms, and that which is formed, to vary it into what "ſhapes it pleaſes. This is evident from the ſudden changes of "our dreams, in which the imagination, upon very ſlight prin- "ciples, repreſents to us all ſorts of paſſions of the ſoul, and ap- "pearances

was not under the leaſt apprehenſion for himſelf, but very ſolicitous about the fate of his friends and country. Both generals purſued their march to *Abydos*, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, took their rout through *Thrace*, with a deſign to diſlodge *Saxa* and *Norbanus*, who had ſeized the paſſes between that country and *Macedon*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, on their march, two eagles flew to them, and, lighting upon the two foremoſt enſigns, continually attended the army, and were fed by the ſoldiers till they came to *Philippi*, where, the day before the battle, they diſappeared. Upon their arrival in *Thrace*, they were joined by *Rhaſcupolis*, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thouſand horſe, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There *Brutus* and *Caſſius* thought it adviſeable, before they attempted to force the paſſes, which were guarded by ſo numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a ſolemn ſacrifice for the ſucceſs of their arms, and put their ſoldiers in mind of the juſtice of the cauſe in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies paſſed in review before the two gene-

Brutus and Caſſius paſs over into Europe.

They review their forces.

" pearances of things; for it is the nature of the mind to be in " perpetual motion, and that motion is our imagination and " thought. But, beſides all this, in our caſe the body, being tired " and worn out with continual labours and cares, naturally works " upon the mind, and keeps it in ſuſpence and trouble; but that " there ſhould be any ſuch thing as demons, or ſpirits, or, if there " were, that they ſhould have human ſhape, or voice, or power " that can reach us, is altogether improbable; though, I confeſs, " I could wiſh there were ſuch beings, that we might not rely " upon our arms only, and our horſes, and our navy, but might be " likewiſe confident of the aſſiſtance of the gods in this our moſt " ſacred and honourable attempt (52). " 'Tis true, as *Caſſius* obſerves, that our imagination, when heated, may impoſe upon us falſe objects, which we ſee with the ſame certainty as if they were real; but to ſay, that there are no ſuch beings as ſpirits, who can appear to us, ſpeak to us, and foretel future events, is carrying this principle too far. *Caſſius*, after inſinuating that the notion of ſpirits is falſe and groundleſs, makes it appear that it were to be wiſhed there were ſuch ſpirits; for, in that caſe, they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate, but happy events; an effectual way of removing *Brutus*'s apprehenſions; for, by this way of reaſoning, be there ſpirits, or be there not, the phantom which *Brutus* imagined to ſee was falſe, and a mere illuſion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

(52) *Plut. in Bruto.*

rals,

rals, and were found to conſiſt of eighty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, counting *Romans* and auxiliaries. In the next place, a ſacrifice was offered with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpoſe; having on their right hand the *Roman* ſenators and magiſtrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. *Caſſius*, who was the elder man, took upon him to ſpeak, and, after having enlarged on the juſtice of their cauſe, on the unheard-of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in *Italy*, on the miſerable condition to which *Rome* was reduced, *&c.* he concluded with acquainting them, that *Brutus* and he had agreed to give immediately two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier, five thouſand to each centurion, and double that ſum to each tribune. This cauſed an univerſal joy in the army; nothing was heard but ſhouts of joy and loud acclamations, the ſoldiers and officers ſtriving to outdo each other in proteſtations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the intereſt of their leaders, which, they ſaid, was the ſame with that of their country. The money was immediately diſtributed, and, beſides, conſiderable preſents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; ſo that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of *Oricum*, which was bounded towards *Macedon* by the ſtraights we have mentioned above. *Norbanus*, who was incamped there, upon the firſt notice of the enemy's march, diſpatched an expreſs to *Decidius*, who guarded the coaſt of the *Meliac* gulf, entreating him to make what haſte he could to join him. The two bodies thus united, poſted themſelves ſo advantageouſly in the narrow paſſes, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge them. Hereupon *Brutus*, being greatly at a loſs what to do, adviſed with *Rhaſcupolis*, who, as he was by birth a *Thracian*, and well acquainted with that country, told him, that there was another paſſage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in leſs than three days, and beſides would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river *Arpeſſus*, which was but one day's march from the city of *Philippi*, by ways unknown even to the wild beaſts. The ſoldiers took courage, provided themſelves with water; and, truſting entirely to the conduct of *Rhaſcupolis*, ſet out on their march, *Bibulus*, ſon-in-law to *Brutus*, marching with the *Thracian* prince in the van, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* bringing up the rear. The hardſhips they underwent on their rout can hardly be expreſſed.

And diſtribute large ſums among the ſoldiers.

They get beyond the ſtraits of Symbolon *poſſeſſed by the enemy.*

preſſed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon *Rhaſcupolis*, ſuſpecting him of treachery, when their ſcouts, diſcovering the river, ſignified their joy to the harraſſed troops with loud ſhouts, which were anſwered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of *Norbanus* and *Saxa*, who thereupon abandoned their poſt, and retired in all haſte to *Amphipolis*, for fear of being ſurrounded. At the ſame time they diſpatched an expreſs to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, acquainting them, that the enemy had paſſed the ſtraights, and were advancing towards the frontiers of *Macedon*. Hereupon *Antony*, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of *Amphipolis* on the *Strymon*, which the triumvirs deſigned to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of *Dyrrhachium*, and, by long marches, reached *Amphipolis*. His arrival was ſo ſudden, and his march ſo expeditious, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* could not believe he was come, till they ſaw his van-guard advancing into the plains of *Philippi*. This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epiſtle which St. *Paul* afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly ſpeaking, to *Thrace*, but is placed by moſt geographers in *Macedon*, purſuant to the diviſion which obtained ever ſince the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who, having reduced the country lying between the *Strymon*, the antient boundary of *Macedon*, and the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus* added it to his hereditary kingdom; whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of *Macedon*, and is called in the *Acts*, the *firſt city of that part of* Macedon, that is, of that part beyond the *Strymon*, which was added to antient *Macedon*[u]. The city of *Philippi*, ſo called from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who fortified it againſt the incurſions of the *Thracians*, was ſituated on a riſing ground, which abounded with ſprings, and had on the north ſeveral hills covered with woods, on the ſouth a marſh, which reached to the *Ægean* ſea, on the eaſt the ſtraights we have mentioned above, which ſome writers call the ſtraights of *Topiris*, others the ſtraights of *Symbolon*; and on the weſt a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*. In this plain, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, was a riſing ground, and there *Brutus* intrenched himſelf, while *Caſſius* took poſſeſſion of a poſt equally advantageous, about three miles from *Brutus*'s camp, and nearer the ſea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, and built a ſtrong wall, which covered the interval between the two intrenchments; ſo that they could not have wiſhed for a more advantageous ſituation, having

Who abandon that poſt.

Antony arrives with his troops in the plain of Philippi.

Brutus *and* Caſſius *poſt themſelves advantageouſly in the ſame plain.*

[u] Acts, c. xvi. ver. 12.

ing

ing the plains of *Philippi* before them, the *Strymon* and the marſh on their left, the ſtraights of *Topiris* on their right, and behind them the ſea, by which means they could be eaſily ſupplied with all manner of proviſions from *Aſia* and *Sicily*, which iſland was in the hands of young *Pompey* [w].

Antony was informed at *Amphipolis* of the advantageous ſituation of the enemy; but neverthelefs having left in that city one legion, under the command of *Pinarius* he advanced boldly into the plain, and incamped in ſight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of *Octavianus*, who came up ten days after, having been detained at *Dyrrhachium* by a fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized him the ſame day he landed there. And now, the two moſt powerful armies *Rome* had ever raiſed being in ſight of each other, the world ſtood with dread and terror, expecting the ſucceſs of a general action, which, they foreſaw, would ſoon enſue, and decide the fate of the *Roman* empire. The army of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* conſiſted of nineteen legions, and twenty thouſand horſe, and that of the triumvirs of the ſame number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thouſand horſe; ſo that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the troops of *Brutus* far excelled thoſe of the triumvirs in the richneſs of their apparel and arms, which were for the moſt part adorned with gold and ſilver; for though *Brutus*, in other things, had accuſtomed his ſoldiers to uſe all frugality and moderation, yet he thought that the riches, which they carried about them in their hands and on their bodies, would inſpire them with courage, and make them more bold in action to preſerve their arms, which were in a manner their eſtates. This was likewiſe the ſentiment of *Cæſar* [x] and *Sertorius* [y], though *Mithridates* and other great commanders have been of a different opinion. *Antony* lay incamped oppoſite to *Caſſius*, and *Brutus* to *Octavianus*. The latter did nothing worth relating; but *Antony* was continually harraſſing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very ſoon to be ſtraightened for want of proviſions, having only *Macedon* and *Thrace* open to them, ſince *Pompey*, *Marcus*, and *Ahenobarbus* had, with their ſeveral navies, cut off all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. But, on the other hand, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* received daily ſupplies from *Aſia* and *Sicily*, and had amaſſed great ſtores of neceſſaries in the neighbouring city of *Neapolis*, and in the iſland of *Thaſus*, whence they were conveyed without the leaſt

The triumvirs begin to be ſtraightened for want of proviſions.

[w] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 840. [x] Suet. in Cæſare, c. 67. [y] Plut. in Sertorio.

leaſt danger to their reſpective camps. *Antony* indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the ſea, by opening a paſſage through the marſh, which lay between them and the ſhore, and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his deſign; but *Caſſius* no ſooner ſaw, to his great ſurprize, caſtles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than ſetting all hands to work, he drew a line croſs the marſh, from his camp quite to the ſea, and, fortifying it with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, maintained, in ſpite of *Antony*'s utmoſt efforts, a free and open communication with the ſea and the cities on the coaſt. In the mean time, *Thrace* and *Macedon* being quite exhauſted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more ſtraightened for want of neceſſaries, with which thoſe countries could no longer ſupply them. This made *Antony* extremely deſirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the ſad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worſe, carefully avoided. Had they continued in this reſolution, the triumvirs muſt either have marched back to *Dyrrhachium*, and from thence returned to *Italy*, or attempted to force their ſtrong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but *Brutus* ſoon changed his mind, and in a council of war, which conſiſted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, that ſo he might either reſtore *Rome* to her former liberty, or elſe deliver from their miſery ſo many nations, who were harraſſed with the expences, troubles, and dangers of the war. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, inlarged on the bad poſture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of proviſions, on the extremities to which they muſt be ſoon reduced: *Their forces*, ſaid he, *muſt moulder away of themſelves: if we can but reſtrain for a while that unſeaſonable ardour which tranſports us, we ſhall ſee the enemy fly before us, and leave us in poſſeſſion of their camp and baggage, without ſtriking a blow. But whither can they fly?* Macedon *and* Theſſaly *are drained of proviſions; the ſeas are beſet with our fleets; ſo that a battle is their only reſource, which, indeed, as they are ſomewhat ſuperior to us in the number of men, may retrieve their affairs, and deliver them from the miſeries of their preſent condition.* *Brutus* yielded to theſe unanſwerable reaſons, and both generals kept cloſe in their intrenchments, deſpiſing the bravadoes of *Antony*, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but, in the mean time, the undiſcerning ſoldiery began to complain, and aſcribe

Brutus *inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of* Caſſius.

cribe to cowardice the prudent measures of their generals; nay, they deserted in troops to the enemy, which, together with the advantages the light-horse of the republican generals had gained in several skirmishes, inclined *Brutus* again to venture an engagement. *Cassius* still opposed it, for the reasons we have alledged above (K); but most of the officers, fearing a general desertion, changed their opinions to that of *Brutus*; so that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which *Cassius* himself yielded at last, after having solemnly declared, that he was still of a contrary opinion. Besides *Cassius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, by name *Atellius*, was still for putting off the engagement, and spinning out the war till the next winter. *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage he promised himself from such a delay! If I gain nothing else*, answered *Atellius*, *yet I shall live so much the longer.* This answer offended *Cassius* and all the officers who were present; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. *Brutus* that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful and full of hope, diverting his guests with learned discourses till he went to rest. *Cassius* supped privately with a few of his most intimate friends, and, during the repast, appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his temper and custom. *Valerius Messala*, a young nobleman of great wit and learning who supped with him, tells us, that as *Cassius* rose from the table, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close in token of his good-will and affection, *Bear witness for me*, Messala, said he to him in *Greek*, *that I am forced, in the same manner as*

A general engagement agreed to by most of the officers.

(K) Some writers say, he was also deterred from fighting by the following omens: at the time of lustration, one of *Cassius*'s officers presenting him with a garland, which he was to wear at the sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward. Some time before, at a certain solemn procession, the person who carried, according to custom, a golden image of victory before *Cassius*, stumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp, and several swarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were seen in a place within the trenches, which the soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the camp, to remove the superstition which began to prevail among the soldiery (44). These pretended prodigies, which a man of common sense would now despise, are said to have terrified and confounded *Cassius* himself, in spite of his *Epicurean* philosophy; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the insufficiency of philosophy, as to the strengthening our minds against the least terrors and apprehensions.

(44) *Plut. ibid.*

Pompey

Pompey the Great *was before me, to expoſe the liberty of the* Roman *people to the hazard of one battle; yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjuſt to miſtruſt, though we have taken bad meaſures.* Theſe, *Meſſala* ſays, were the laſt words *Caſſius* ſpoke before he withdrew [z] (L).

THE next morning by break of day, a ſcarlet coat of armour, among the *Romans* the ſignal of battle, was expoſed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themſelves in a readineſs to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle ſpace between the two camps. *Caſſius*, deſirous to know what *Brutus* intended to do in caſe fortune ſhould prove their enemy, addreſſed him at their firſt meeting thus: *The gods grant, O* Brutus, *that we may now overcome our enemies, and paſs the reſt of our days together in repoſe and proſperity; but ſince the greateſt of human concerns are the moſt uncertain, and ſince it will be very difficult for us to ſee one another again, if the ſucceſs of the battle ſhould not anſwer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to ſave yourſelf by flight, or to die?* Brutus anſwered, *When I was young,* Caſſius, *and unſkilful in affairs, I condemned* Cato *for laying violent hands on himſelf, thinking it irreligious in itſelf, and unworthy of a man to quit the poſt in which providence has placed him, and not to take and*

What paſſed in the interview between Brutus *and* Caſſius *before the battle.*

[z] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 652, 653.

(L) *Plutarch* tells us, *That, in taking his leave, he invited him to ſup with him the next night, being his birth day.* The ambiguous manner in which the *Greek* writer expreſſes himſelf, leaves it a doubt, whether *Caſſius* invited *Meſſala*, or *Meſſala Caſſius*; whether it was the birth day of *Caſſius*, or of *Meſſala*. Mad. *Dacier* has made choice of the latter conſtruction; for *Caſſius*, ſays ſhe, penſive and gloomy as he was, muſt have been but little diſpoſed to make an invitation for the next night. It muſt therefore have been *Meſſala* who did it on account of his birth-day, as the cuſtom was among friends on the like occaſion. But this learned lady ſeems here to have forgot what ſhe muſt have read in *Appian*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that Caſſius *was killed on the very day he was born* (45); ſo that it was the birth day of *Caſſius*, and not of *Meſſala*. Neither was *Caſſius* ſo gloomy and penſive as Mad. *Dacier* imagines; he was only grieved to ſee himſelf obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himſelf ſure of victory without running any riſques.

(45) *Appian. l. iv. p.* 655.

bear patiently whatever the gods are pleased to send him. But my present situation has made me alter my opinion; so that if providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved to make no further attempts nor preparations for war but to die contented with my fortune; for I sacrificed my life to the service of my country on the ides of March, *in recompence for which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour* [a]. At these words *Cassius* smiled, and tenderly embracing him, *With these noble sentiments*, said he, *let us advance boldly against the enemy; for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do.* After this they consulted with their friends about the order of battle. *Brutus* desired of *Cassius*, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, tho' it was thought a post more fit for *Cassius*, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, *Cassius* placed *Messala* in the same wing, at the head of his best legions, ordering him to assist and support *Brutus*. While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, *Brutus* retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend *Atticus*, telling him, *That his affairs were in the best state he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of* Rome, *or die; and be himself free from slavery.* In the same letter he blamed the conduct of *Antony*, *who, when he might have been ranked among the* Bruti, *the* Cassii, *and the* Catos, *had joined* Octavianus, adding, that *if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would soon fall out and quarrel with one another* [b]; which happened accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

Brutus's *letter to* Atticus *before the battle.*

The two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. *Antony* commanded the right wing, and *Octavianus* the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his physician, by name *Artorius*, had the preceding night. He dreamt that he saw a vision, which directed *Octavianus* to be removed out of the camp. The vision was immediately obeyed, and he conveyed away very seasonably. This *Octavianus* himself tells us in his memoirs quoted by *Plutarch*, which *Dion* seems not to have consulted, since he writes, that *Octavianus* was in the action, but, like a sick person, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former in-

Octavianus *retires before the battle.*

[a] Plut. ibid. Appian. l. iv. p. 653, 655. Dio. l. xlvii.
[b] Plut. ibid.

disposition.

diſpoſition. *Brutus*, before he began the charge, ſent to all the commanders tickets with the parole or word of battle, which, according to ſome, was *liberty*, according to others, *Apollo*, and rid through the ranks, exhorting his ſoldiers to behave with their uſual bravery. They were ſo animated by his ſpeech, that few of them had patience to ſtay for the word of command to charge; but, before it could be given, ruſhed with loud ſhouts upon the enemy. This cauſed a great confuſion in the army, the legions being ſcattered and ſeparated from one another. *Meſſala*, at the head of his legions, inſtead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compaſs about, and having put ſome of the ranks in *Octavianus*'s rear in diſorder, and killed a ſmall number of his men, fell upon his camp, and entering it ſword in hand, made a dreadful havock of thoſe he found there, and cut off among the reſt two thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, who were newly come to the aſſiſtance of *Octavianus*. He himſelf had but juſt before been conveyed away, upon the perſuaſion of *Artorius*, as we have related above; but the ſoldiers pierced the litter, in which he uſed to be carried on account of his indiſpoſition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was ſpread, and for ſome time believed, that he was ſlain. In the mean time, *Brutus*, charging the enemy in front, eaſily put them to flight, as they were in great conſternation for the loſs of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the ſpot, and purſued the fugitives with great ſlaughter, the plain being, to a great diſtance, ſtrewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing intirely defeated by the brave *Brutus*, who, as *Octavianus* was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worſt of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by ſome of his ſoldiers, who preſenting themſelves to him, told him, that they had killed *Octavianus*, ſhewed him their ſwords all bloody, and deſcribed his age and perſon [c]. But the coward was ſafe enough, either in *Antony*'s camp, or lurking in the mire of the neighbouring marſh [d]. *Brutus* took a great many of the enemy's enſigns, and three eagles.

Brutus's *firſt charge without orders.*

Defeat the enemy's left wing, and ſeize their camp.

The cowardice of Octavianus.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the purſuit, left the wing, which *Caſſius* commanded, naked and ſeparated from the reſt of the army. Hereupon *Antony*, who well knew how to take advantage of this overſight, charged the enemy in front, and at the ſame time detached ſome legions with orders to croſs

[c] Idem ibid. FLOR. l. 4. c. 7. VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 70.
[d] SUET. in Octav. PLIN. l. vii. c. 45.

the

the marſh, and fall upon their flank which was left open and unguarded. The firſt ſhock was terrible; *Antony*, according to ſome writers, retired into the marſh to avoid the fury of it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with an unparalleled bravery and reſolution. *Antony's* men, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, could make no impreſſion upon *Caſſius*'s front; but, in the mean time, the detached legions, having opened a paſſage through the marſh, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, put them to the rout. The run-aways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men purſued them, and, finding it ill-guarded, made themſelves eaſily maſters of it. This occaſioned ſo general a conſternation in the reſt of the army, who were ſtill maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that firſt the cavalry, and afterwards the foot began to make their eſcape, and fly towards the ſea. *Caſſius* on this occaſion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned ſeveral times to the charge at the head of his guards and a few men he could rally, and ſnatching an enſign out of the hand of the ſtandard-bearer, who fled, carried it himſelf; but being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band or guards, he was forced to retire with a ſmall number of attendants to a riſing ground near the city of *Philippi* *.

The left wing commanded by Caſſius *defeated, and his camp taken.*

In the mean time, *Brutus*, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of *Octavianus*'s camp, when caſting his eyes upon that of *Caſſius*, he was ſurpriſed that he could not ſpy any tents ſtanding there, not even the general's, which uſed to appear at a great diſtance above the reſt. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and diſcerning ſight, acquainted him, that they diſtinguiſhed a great many arms ſhining about his tent, and ſilver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to thoſe who had been left to guard the camp. On the other ſide, there did not appear ſo many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of ſo many legions. However, *Brutus*, ſuſpecting *Caſſius*'s misfortune, left a ſufficient guard in the enemy's camp, called back his troops from the purſuit, and marched with all poſſible expedition to the relief of his collegue, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, diſcovered nothing, as he was ſhort-ſighted, except the deſtruction of his camp, and even that in a confuſed manner; but thoſe

Brutus *marches to the aſſiſtance of* Caſſius.

* Plut. ibid.

who

who were with him, acquainted him, that they ſaw a great body of horſe moving towards him. As *Caſſius* knew nothing of the victory and march of *Brutus*, he took them to be a party of the enemy ſent in purſuit of him. However, he ordered out *Titinius*, one of his moſt intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As ſoon as *Brutus*'s horſe ſaw him, thoſe who were his more familiar acquaintance, ſhouting for joy, and alighting from their horſes, ſaluted and embraced him, while the reſt who knew him to be one of *Caſſius*'s chief favourites, rid round him, as it were in triumph, aſking him, *What news of his general? Caſſius* obſerving this, and believing the horſemen, who diſmounted to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him priſoner, cried out, *Alas! to preſerve the remains of a miſerable life, I have expoſed my beſt friend to be taken by the enemy before my face.* Having thus ſpoke, he retired into a tent with *Pindarus*, one of his freed-men, whom he had reſerved for ſuch an occaſion ever ſince the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*. We have no good account of what paſſed there; but *Caſſius*'s head was found lying ſevered from his body, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards, whence ſome ſuſpected he had killed his maſter without his command [e]. *Livy* [f] and *Plutarch* [g], in the life of *Cæſar*, tell us, that *Caſſius* diſpatched himſelf with the ſame dagger with which he had killed *Cæſar*; but all other hiſtorians, nay, *Plutarch* himſelf in the lives of *Brutus* and *Antony*, agree in the circumſtances of his death, which we have related. A few minutes after *Caſſius*'s death, his attendants perceived who the horſemen were, and ſaw *Titinius*, crowned with garlands in token of *Brutus*'s victory, making what haſte he could towards them with the cavalry: but their joy was ſoon turned into the deepeſt melancholy and affliction. *Titinius* eſpecially was inconſolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate miſtake and death of his general. He burſt into tears, and crying out, *My long ſtay has been the occaſion of his death*, he drew his ſword and killed himſelf upon the body of his friend. *Brutus*, upon the firſt advice of the defeat of *Caſſius*, flew to his aſſiſtance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then ſhedding many tears over his body, he called him *the laſt of the* Romans, meaning thereby, that *Rome* would never produce another man equal to him. He cauſed his body to be privately conveyed to the iſland of *Thaſus*, left the celebrating of his funeral

Caſſius's death.

Brutus's concern for, and elogium upon, Caſſius.

[e] Idem ibid. APPIAN. p. 655. VELL. PATERC. l. vii. c. 70. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 354. VAL MAX. l. vi. c. 8. [f] LIV. l. cxxiv. [g] PLUT. in Cæſ. prope finem.

funeral within the camp might diſhearten the troops, and occaſion ſome diſorder. He then aſſembled the ſoldiers of the deceaſed general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, promiſed to each man two thouſand drachmas. *Caſſius* was generally eſteemed one of the beſt commanders of his age, and had given ſignal proofs of an extraordinary courage and conſummate knowledge of the military art, in *Craſſus*'s unhappy expedition againſt the *Parthians*. He was to the very laſt againſt engaging the triumvirs, and would, in all probability, if he had lived, brought over *Brutus* to his opinion; which could not but prove fatal to the enemy, who were already reduced to great ſtraights for want of proviſions, and muſt in a ſhort time have inevitably periſhed with famine. The good opinion which *Brutus* entertained of his honeſty and virtue, and the elogium, with which he honoured him after his death, are a ſufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections, with which the mercenary flatterers of the *Cæſars* have endeavoured to blacken his reputation, and aſperſe his memory. It was indeed commonly ſaid, as *Plutarch* informs us, *that* Brutus *hated the tyrannical power, and* Caſſius *only the tyrant*, on account of ſome private grudge (M); but

His character.

(M) *Caſſius* pretended to have received many injuries from *Cæſar*. Among the reſt he complained of his having taken ſome lions from him; for when *Caſſius* was deſigned for ædile, he had cauſed many lions to be taken, and conducted to *Megara*, in order to make uſe of them in the ſhows, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But *Cæſar* finding them in *Megara*, when that city was taken by *Fufius Calenus*, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of *Pompey*, ſeized them for himſelf This, ſome writers ſay, was what chiefly ſtirred up *Caſſius* againſt *Cæſar*; but *Plutarch* clears him from this imputation, as we have obſerved in the text. *Caſſius* bore a private grudge to *Cæſar* on another account: he and *Brutus* ſtood both for the *prætura urbana*, or the prætorſhip of the city; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretenſions, with a view to foment ſome ſmall differences that had ariſen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before *Cæſar*, *Brutus* had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppoſe to the many gallant actions, which *Caſſius* had performed in his youth againſt the *Parthians*. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, ſaid, in deliberating about the matter among his friends, Caſſius *indeed pleads with moſt juſtice*; *but* Brutus *muſt have the firſt prætorſhip*. Accordingly the prætorſhip of the city was given to *Brutus*, and another to *Caſſius*; but the gaining of this did not ſo much oblige him, as he was incenſed

but that writer, though no friend to *Caſſius* (N), clears him from this charge, and tells us, that from his infancy he bore an irreconcileable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: when he was but a boy, and went to the ſame ſchool with *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla*, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he roſe up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations of *Fauſtus* complained of this affront to *Pompey*, who thereupon ſummoned the two boys to appear before him; but young *Caſſius* was ſo far from yielding to the remonſtrances of *Pompey*, or giving any ſatisfaction to *Fauſtus*, that he threatened to ſtrike him again, even in *Pompey*'s preſence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was ſomewhat inclined to covetouſneſs, naturally paſſionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults? *Caſſius* in the main meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, ſaved his country from utter ruin.

Brutus, now the ſole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviſeable to withdraw his troops from the camp of *Octavianus*, which he had taken. *Antony* likewiſe, when informed of the total overthrow of his collegue, abanconſed for the loſs of the other (46). *Caſſius*, who was of a harſh and paſſionate temper, was, no doubt, fired againſt *Cæſar* on account of theſe private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in ſome degree to the reſolution he afterwards took; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as *Plutarch* himſelf owns, his natural rancour and hatred againſt the whole race of tyrants 47).

The two armies return to their former poſts.

(N) *Plutarch* was highly prejudiced againſt *Caſſius*, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruſes his works. This prejudice was probably owing to the ſeverity with which the republican general uſed the *Rhodians*, a *Greek* nation. Caſſius *having taken* Rhodes, ſays *Plutarch*, *behaved himſelf there with great cruelty* But with his leave, we cannot look upon the puniſhment of fifty mutiniers as an inſtance of cruelty. As he took the city by ſtorm, he might, after the example of other *Roman* generals, put all the inhabitants whom he found in arms to the ſword, but he contented himſelf with puniſhing fifty of the ringleaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to him by right of war; but, as *Plutarch* was a *Greek*, the love of his country has, on ſeveral occaſions, got the better of his philoſophy; a proof that no man, however philoſophical, can boaſt an intire exemption from prejudices.

(46) *Plut. ibid.* (47) *Idem ibid.*

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doned *Caſſius*'s camp, which he did not think himſelf in a condition to defend againſt the victorious troops of *Brutus*; ſo that both armies returned to their former poſts. *Brutus* was under the utmoſt concern for the loſs of *Caſſius*, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand, the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of *Caſſius*, were quite out of heart, having loſt above ſixteen thouſand of their beſt legionaries: whereas on the enemy's ſide there were not ſlain eight thouſand men, reckoning even the ſutlers and ſervants of the army. Beſides, proviſions were become very ſcarce in their camp, without any poſſible means of receiving new ſupplies, either by ſea or land. Theſe melancholy reflections had almoſt reduced them to deſpair, when a ſervant of *Caſſius*, by name *Demetrius*, coming in the evening to *Antony*, gave him an account of the tragical end of *Caſſius*, and at the ſame time delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his maſter's dead body, and his ſword ſtill bloody. *Antony*, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his collegue; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring *Brutus* to a battle, before his men recovered themſelves from the terror and conſternation, which, they were well appriſed, the defeat and death of *Caſſius* muſt have occaſioned; but *Brutus* having his own camp filled with priſoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of *Caſſius* in great diſorder, the ſoldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a ſecret envy and indignation againſt thoſe who had conquered, kept cloſe in his intrenchments, and deſpiſed the enemy's bravadoes. As his troops, elated with their late victory, ſhewed a great eagerneſs to venture a ſecond engagement, he aſſembled the ſoldiers of both armies, and, after having commended their valour, and ſlightly reproved his own men for falling upon the enemy in diſorder, without waiting either for the word, or the command of their general, he inlarged on the deplorable ſtate to which the enemy was reduced, and aſſured them, that if they could but reſtrain their ardor for a while, they would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the armies of *Antony* and *Octavianus* either periſh with famine, or, by a ſhameful flight, abandon *Greece* and *Macedon*. *But to hazard a ſecond battle*, ſaid he, *is to put ourſelves in the power of fortune, when we are ſure of victory by continuing inactive in our camp*. After this he cauſed a thouſand drachmas to be given to each ſoldier of both camps, and diſmiſſed them highly ſatisfied with the generoſity of their leader, to whoſe orders they promiſed an intire obedience and ſubmiſſion, whether

Antony and Octavianus, upon the news of the death of Caſſius, *endeavour in vain to draw* Brutus *to a ſecond battle.*

ther he thought proper to engage the enemy, or continue in a ſtate of inaction [h].

IN the mean time, proviſions growing daily more ſcarce in the enemy's camp, *Antony* and *Octavianus*, finding they could not bring *Brutus* to a battle, were greatly at a loſs what meaſures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet which they expected hourly from *Italy*, having on board great ſtore of proviſions, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of *Mars*, a prætorian cohort, and a conſiderable body of cavalry; but while they were comforting themſelves with the hopes of the ſpeedy arrival of this powerful ſuppiy, news was brought them, that their fleet, under the command of *Cneius Domitius Calvinus*, had been intirely defeated, and moſt of their ſhips, with the ſoldiers on board, either ſunk or taken by *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Lucius Statius Murcus*, the two admirals of the adverſe party. Some of their ſhips indeed found means to ſave themſelves among the rocks of the *Adriatic* ſea; but being there blocked up by the enemy, both the ſoldiers and mariners, after having conſumed all their proviſions, were forced by famine to feed upon the ſails and tackle of their ſhips, which they boiled with the pitch and greaſe they had prepared for the careening of their veſſels. This victory was gained by the admirals of the republic the ſame day in which the battle of *Philippi* was fought; and the news of ſo great an overthrow, which ſoon reached the triumvirs, ſo diſheartened them, that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite deſperate, being not only ſtraitened for want of neceſſaries, but without any proſpect or poſſible means of procuring new ſupplies. Beſides, as they were incamped in a low ground, ſurrounded with marſhes, and a great quantity of rain, as it uſually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, diſtempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand *Brutus* had ſufficient proviſions to ſupport his army for a long time, was very advantageouſly poſted, his camp being ſafe from the injuries of the weather, and inacceſſible to the enemy; and, as he was abſolute maſter of the ſea, he could receive whatever he ſtood in need of from *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. The triumvirs, finding themſelves in this deſperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke *Brutus*'s men, and make them mutiny againſt their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after

The triumvirs fleet deſtroyed by Brutus's admirals.

The bad ſituation of the triumvirs affairs.

[h] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 656. DIO. p. 355.

day, and marched in battle-array up to the very gates of the enemy's camp; but *Brutus*, who knew that their boldneſs and courage proceeded from deſpair, kept within his intrenchments, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon ſee them moulder away, and, by a ſhameful flight, abandon both *Greece* and *Macedon* to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means bring *Brutus* to a battle, detached two legions to take poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, which tho' cloſe to *Caſſius*'s camp, *Brutus* had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About ſix hundred paces from thence, towards the ſea, they poſted ten legions, and two more at a ſmall diſtance from them, with a deſign to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets. On the other hand, *Brutus* cauſed ſeveral works to be carried on from his camp quite to the ſhore, and by that means kept, in ſpite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the ſea; but as ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the ſoldiers of the oppoſite parties, who covered their workmen, in which *Brutus*'s men had all the advantage, they were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they began to mutiny, and, aſſembling in crouds, aſk their general, *What cowardice he had lately obſerved in them, that they muſt be thus, like priſoners, kept within their intrenchments, and not ſuffered to make uſe of their arms, and exert that courage, which had but a few days before proved ſo fatal to the enemy, who now inſulted them?* *Brutus* endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and reſtrain their unſeaſonable ardor, by repreſenting to them the deſperate poſture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy ſituation of their own; but all to no purpoſe, tho' the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and a conſiderable body of *German* troops, to avoid ſtarving in their camp, had deſerted, and given the mutiniers a full account of the miſeries, which the want of proviſions occaſioned in the enemy's army; yet, by an unaccountable obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, they ſtill perſiſted in demanding to be led out againſt the enemy, whom they deſired to conquer not by famine, but valour; nay, becauſe the prudent general refuſed to comply with their requeſt, ſeveral *Romans*, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy. Among the latter were *Amyntas*, commander in chief of the *Galatians* ſent by the old king *Dejotarus*, and *Rhaſcupolis*, who had proved ſo ſerviceable to *Brutus* and *Caſſius* on their march through *Thrace*. Some writers indeed ſay, that *Rhaſcupolis* did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded. Be that as it will, this deſertion gave *Brutus*'s great concern, which was increaſed by the diſorders that happened

Brutus's troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out againſt the enemy.

happened daily in *Caſſius*'s camp, whoſe ſoldiers, become headſtrong and intractable ſince the death of their general, refuſed to obey the officer whom *Brutus* had put in his room. In theſe circumſtances *Brutus* yielded at laſt to the importunity of his ſoldiers, and reſolved to put an end to his own cares and thoſe of the *Roman* world, by a general and deciſive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet; but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after, that is, till the very evening before the fight. This ſome writers aſcribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers, but *Plutarch* to providence, which, as the ſtate of *Rome*, ſays he, now neceſſarily required a monarchy, prevented *Brutus* from receiving notice of his good ſucceſs, that it might remove the only man who was able to reſiſt the perſon whom deſtiny had appointed to be the ſole governor of the *Roman* ſtate (O). However that be, the evening before the battle, when it was too late for *Brutus* to alter his meaſures, one *Caius Clodius*, a deſerter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice of the loſs of their fleet, and for that reaſon were in ſuch haſte to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay, *Brutus* would not ſo much as admit him to his preſence, taking it for granted, that he had invented the news to pleaſe him, and bring himſelf into favour [1].

Brutus *yields to the importunity of the ſoldiery.*

[1] PLUT. ibid.

(O) For the empire, ſays Mad. *Dacier*, was no longer able to ſupport itſelf. It was neceſſary for it to come under the dominion of a ſingle perſon. So long as there were ſo many competitors on foot, ſo many pretenders either to the empire or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhauſtible ſource of civil war and diſſenſion; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than *Brutus*. *Brutus* therefore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, ſtrongly proves the truth of *Plato*'s ſentiments, who maintains, that of all governments monarchy is the moſt perfect; but then the monarch muſt govern according to law. So far we agree with Mad. *Dacier*. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to reſtrain him? Is mankind to depend for ſecurity and happineſs upon uncertain inclinations? This ſurely is wide of the opinion of ſo wiſe a philoſopher as *Plato*, who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean by monarchy a power without controul.

AND

And now *Brutus*, determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action, found himſelf obliged to uſe violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, tho' neceſſary, may ſeem not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken in the late battle a great number of priſoners, partly ſlaves and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well ſpare. As *Antony* therefore and *Octavianus* had ordered all their priſoners, without diſtinction, to be inhumanly maſſacred, *Brutus*, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſlaves he had taken were tampering with his ſoldiers, commanded them all to be ſlain. Though they deſerved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet the flatterers of the *Cæſars* have, with great partiality and injuſtice, made long deſcants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen and *Roman* citizens. Of theſe he openly diſmiſſed great numbers, telling them, *That with the enemy they were captives and ſlaves; but with him freemen and citizens of* Rome. Others he concealed himſelf, and helped to eſcape privately, perceiving that ſome of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their deſtruction. Among the captives was one *Volumnius* a mimic, and *Sacculio* a buffoon, who, by their unſeaſonable jeſts, of which *Brutus* took no manner of notice, provoked ſome of the chief officers of his army. Theſe brought them before their general, and accuſed them of not being able, even in their preſent ſituation, to refrain from their abuſive jeſts and ſcurrilous language. *Brutus*, having his mind taken up with other affairs, returned no anſwer to the accuſation; but *Meſſala Corvinus* was of opinion, that they ſhould be whipt publicly upon a ſcaffold, and, after that ignominious puniſhment, be ſent back naked to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which, he thought, would reflect no ſmall diſhonour on thoſe two generals, who were not aſhamed to chuſe ſuch ſcoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this ſome who were preſent laughed; but *Publius Caſca*, who gave the firſt wound to *Cæſar*, *It does not become us*, ſaid he with a ſerious air, *to be thus merry after the loſs of* Caſſius. *And as for you*, O Brutus, *you will ſhew what reſpect you bear to the memory of your fellow-commander, by puniſhing or pardoning thoſe who cannot forbear ſcoffing and ſpeaking abuſively of him. Why then*, Caſca, *replied* Brutus, *do you tell me of this, and not do yourſelf what you think proper?* This anſwer was taken for his conſent to the death of thoſe unhappy wretches, who were accordingly carried away and ſlain [k].

Brutus puts the captive ſlaves to death, and ſets moſt of the freemen at liberty.

Volumnius and Sacculio, two mimics taken priſoners.

And put to death.

[k] Plut. ibid.

Brutus,

Brutus, having got rid of moſt of his priſoners, aſſembled his ſoldiers the day before the battle, and, in order to rouze their courage, promiſed them the pillage of *Theſſalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, two cities which had ſided with the triumvirs. This, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, is the only inexcuſeable fault which *Brutus* was ever guilty of; for, if in the end *Antony* and *Octavianus*, ſays that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their ſoldiers after victory; if they drove out almoſt all the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their ſoldiers in poſſeſſion of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only deſign and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of *Brutus* on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or ſave himſelf, but by means truly juſt and honourable, eſpecially after the death of *Caſſius*, who was generally accuſed of putting *Brutus* upon ſeveral actions, not entirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But after all, *Plutarch* entertained ſo great an opinion of *Brutus*'s virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to believe, that he made this promiſe of this own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers, according to whoſe advice he both did and ſaid many things, contrary to the bent of his own inclination, eſpecially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Caſſius*'s ſoldiers into better order, who were become bold and inſolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſhamefully overcome [1].

Brutus *promiſes his ſoldiers the ſpoil of two* Greek *cities.*

Brutus, having encouraged his men with promiſes of ample rewards after the victory, and made the neceſſary preparations for the next day's engagement, retired late in the night to his tent, when the ſpectre, which had promiſed to meet him at *Philippi*, is ſaid to have appeared to him again, in the ſame ſhape as it had done before, but to have vaniſhed in an inſtant, without one ſingle word being uttered on either ſide; but *Publius Volumnius*, a man given to the ſtudy of philoſophy, who was then in *Brutus*'s camp, and wrote an account of ſeveral other prodigies, which he ſuppoſed to have happened before this great battle (P), makes no mention of this appa-

The ſpectre appears again to Brutus.

[1] Idem, ibid.

(P) The firſt ſtandard, that is, the ſtandard belonging to the firſt legion, was covered with a ſwarm of bees. A kind of ſweat, in the

apparition [m]. Be that as it will, *Brutus*, without taking the leaſt notice of this or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm reſolution of reſtoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He choſe his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a ſmall diſtance from his camp, that he might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, *Fellow-ſoldiers*, ſaid he, *you have deſired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have gained a complete victory, by continuing inactive within your intrenchments; but this kind of victory you deſpiſed, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchaſing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to ſummon all that boldneſs, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your firſt victory, and to anſwer the truſt which I have repoſed in your valour. Whether* Rome *is to enjoy an uninterrupted happineſs and liberty, or be condemned to eternal ſlavery and endleſs calamities, this day will decide.* As for *Antony* and *Octavianus*, they could ſcarce believe their own eyes, when they firſt obſerved a coat of arms, the uſual ſignal of battle, expoſed on *Brutus*'s tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected reſolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famiſhed lions, as *Appian* expreſſes it, againſt their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promiſed to each ſoldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them at the ſame time in moſt lively colours the inexpreſſible miſeries and calamities, which they muſt unavoidably endure, if overcome. *You have but two things to chuſe*, ſaid they, *to conquer, or periſh by the moſt miſerable of all deaths, famine.* Having

Brutus's *ſpeech to his ſoldiers before the battle.*

[m] Plut. in Brut. & Cæſ. prope finem. Appian. l. iv. p. 668.

the nature of oil, and having the ſmell of roſes, iſſued from the arm of a centurion, which, tho' often wiped and dried, yet continued ſweating. The firſt man, whom *Brutus*'s troops met at the opening the gate of the camp to march into the plain, was an *Ethiopian*, or negro, whom they cut in pieces, interpreting that circumſtance as an unlucky omen. When the two armies were advanced within reach of each other, two eagles, appearing in the air, fought in the ſpace between the armies, the ſoldiers on both ſides being ſilent and intent on the fight, till that, which was on the ſide of *Brutus*, yielded and fled *&c.* (48).

(48) *Plut. ibid.*

thus

thus ſpoke, they ordered their men to advance with a ſlow pace againſt the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in preſence of each other, *Brutus* had the mortification to ſee a brave knight, by name *Cumulatus*, whom he highly eſteemed for his valour, abandon his poſt, and, riding cloſe by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon *Brutus*, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, cauſed the ſignal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by *Octavianus*, with ſuch intrepidity, vigor, and reſolution, that all gave way before him. As *Octavianus*'s cavalry was put into the utmoſt diſorder at the very firſt onſet, *Brutus*'s horſe broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the legionaries. But while the brave *Brutus* was thus ſignaliſing himſelf in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of *Caſſius*, men no-ways equal to that charge, was hard preſſed by *Antony*. *Caſſius*'s cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were poſted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be incompaſſed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but as this weakened them, they were at the firſt onſet broken and diſordered by the cloſe battalions of *Antony*. The plain was in an inſtant covered with the runaways ſcattered up and down, ſome of them making towards the camp, others flying to the ſea-ſide, but moſt of them repairing to the right wing to take ſhelter among the victorious troops of *Brutus*. *Antony* did not purſue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly againſt *Brutus*, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury. That brave commander performed on this occaſion all that could be expected from an expert general and valiant ſoldier, giving proofs in the greateſt danger of a courage and conduct, which well deſerved to be crowned with victory; but *Caſſius*'s troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crouding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, where-ever they came, deſpair and confuſion, turned the ſcale in favour of the enemy, after *Brutus* had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparallelled bravery, againſt all the forces of their united armies. His lines were at length broke and put into diſorder, notwithſtanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted ſeveral times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful, *Caſſius*'s men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the reſt of the army. *Brutus* ſtood his ground with the few men he could

The ſecond battle of Philippi.

Brutus *defeats the enemy's left wing.*

But his left is defeated by Antony.

Which occaſions the defeat of the whole army.

Brutus's *gallant behaviour.*

rally; but, being ſurrounded on all ſides and overpowered by the numerous forces of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies. And on this occaſion it was, that moſt of *Brutus*'s beſt officers were killed in endeavouring to ſave their general, who, with their aſſiſtance, breaking through the enemy's battalions that ſurrounded them, withdrew, when abandoned by his men, from the field of battle. Among the few who attended him was one *Lucilius Lucinus*, an intimate friend of his, who obſerving a body of *Thracian* horſe, under the command of *Rhaſcus*, the brother of *Rhaſcupolis*, taking no notice of any other in the purſuit, but making directly towards *Brutus*, reſolved to ſtop them, and ſave the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting *Brutus* with his deſign, he halted, till the *Thracians* came up and ſurrounded him. Then he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and, begging quarter, deſired they would carry him to *Antony*, pretending that he feared *Octavianus*, but durſt truſt him. The *Thracians*, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themſelves wonderfully happy, immediately detached ſome of their own body to acquaint *Antony* with their good fortune; and in the mean time giving over the purſuit, returned to the field of battle with their priſoner. The report being ſpread in an inſtant all over the army, that *Brutus* was taken, and that the *Thracians* were bringing him alive to *Antony*, both ſoldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to ſee him. Some pitied his misfortune, others accuſed him of a meanneſs unbecoming his former glory, for ſuffering himſelf, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for *Antony*, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loſs in what manner he ſhould receive, and how he ſhould treat, his illuſtrious captive: but he was ſoon delivered from his uneaſineſs; for as the *Thracians* drew near, he knew the priſoner, who had paſſed himſelf upon the *Thracians* for *Brutus*, and now addreſſing the triumvir with a generous confidence; *Be aſſured* Antony, ſaid he, *that no enemy either has, or ever ſhall take* Marcus Brutus *alive. Forbid it ye gods, that fortune ſhould ever prevail ſo much above virtue! But let him be found dead or alive, he will certainly be found in ſuch a ſtate as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myſelf up to ſave him, and am now ready to ſuffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding or expecting any quarter.* *Antony*, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generoſity of *Lucilius*, turned to the *Thracians*, now ſenſible of, and inraged at, their diſappointment, and addreſſed

The contrivance of Lucilius *to ſave* Brutus.

addreſſed them thus: *I perceive, my fellow-ſoldiers, that you are concerned, and full of reſentment, for having been thus impoſed upon by* Lucilius; *but be aſſured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you ſought for; you were in ſearch of an enemy, and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loſs how I ſhould have uſed* Brutus, *if you had brought him to me alive; but of this I am ſure, that it is better to have ſuch a man as* Lucilius *our friend than our enemy.* Having thus ſpoke, he embraced *Lucilius*, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of *Lucilius*, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the intereſt of his friend and benefactor * After this, both *Antony* and *Octavianus* marched with their victorious legions in purſuit of the enemy's broken and diſperſed forces, making a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and ſtrewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of *Brutus*'s officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly nor give ground; but died ſword in hand in the poſts aſſigned them. Among theſe were *Marcus*, the ſon of the great *Cato*; *L. Caſſius*, nephew to the deceaſed general; *C. Flavius*, one of *Brutus*'s beſt friends; *Marcus*, the ſon of *Lucullus* who conquered *Mithridates the great*; *Demetrius*, *Apollonides*, and ſeveral other commanders of great diſtinction. Young *Cato* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; for after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned ſeveral times to the charge with the few forces he could rally, overthrew all who oppoſed him, and declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at laſt upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he ſacrificed to the manes of his father and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very ſurpriſing in a man of young *Cato*'s character; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time, led an idle, indolent, and debauched life; but the glory he acquired by his death has recommended him to poſterity, as a worthy ſon of ſo great a father [n].

The glorious death of young Cato.

As for *Brutus*, the contrivance of *Lucilius* gave him an opportunity of paſſing a little brook, encompaſſed with rocks, and ſhaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he ſtopped in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a ſmall number of his friends and officers. There, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two *Greek* verſes, one of which *Volumnius*, who attended him, forgot, but

What happened to Brutus *after the loſs of the battle.*

* PLUT. ibid.

[n] PLUT. ibid. & in Catone.

remembered the other, which was the following out of the *Medea* of *Euripides*; *Punish, great* Jove, *the author of these ills*; by which it was thought he meant *Antony*, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of *Actium*, he was reduced to the necessity of laying violent hands on himself. Afterwards *Brutus* named severally all his friends, who had been slain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep sigh, especially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labeo*, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other master of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his followers, who was very thirsty, and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, ran to the brook, and brought him some water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noise being heard from the other side of the rivulet, *Volumnius*, taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus*'s armour-bearer with him, went out to discover what had occasioned it. They both returned soon after; but finding no water asked what was become of it; *It is all drank*, replied *Brutus* smiling; *but you shall have some more fetched immediately.* But he, who had brought the first water, being sent again, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerously wounded. *Brutus*, understanding by this that he was invested, exhorted those who were with him to make some attempt to get to their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not lost many of his men, and that those who had escaped had taken refuge there. *Statilius* undertook to pass through the enemy, and go by himself to the camp, promising, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and return immediately. *Statilius* got safe to the camp, and held up the torch, which gave *Brutus* some hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of *Statilius*, saying, *If* Statilius *be alive, he will come back*; but he was slain on his return by the enemy. At length *Brutus*, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whispered something in the ear to one of his domestics, by name *Clytus*, who returned him no answer, but burst into tears. Hereupon *Brutus*, taking aside *Dardanus* his armour-bearer, had some discourse with him in private, and afterwards addressed himself to *Volumnius* in *Greek*, conjuring him, by their common studies and antient friendship, to draw his sword and put an end to his life. *Volumnius*, and after him several others, answered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert *Brutus* from the thoughts of laying violent hands on himself, starting up, *There is no staying here any longer*, said he; *we must all fly. Yes*, answered *Brutus*, *we must fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands.* Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a chearful

chearful countenance, *That it was an infinite ſatisfaction to him to find, that none of his friends had proved falſe to him; that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for his country's ſake; that as for himſelf, he thought he was much more happy than thoſe who had conquered, not only in regard of what was paſt, but even in his preſent condition, ſince he ſhould enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injuſtice could never deſerve* (Q). Having thus ſpoke, he beſeeched his friends to provide for their own ſafety, telling them, That he hoped *Antony* and *Octavianus*, ſatisfied with his death, would purſue their revenge no farther. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among theſe was an *Epirote*, by name *Strato*, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they ſtudied rhetoric together. To him *Brutus* had recourſe, conjuring him, by their antient friendſhip, to give him the laſt proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office which the others had declined. As *Strato* could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, *Brutus* called one of his ſlaves; and then the faithful *Epirote*, crying out, *Forbid, ye gods, it ſhould ever be ſaid, that* Brutus *died by the hand of a ſlave for want of a friend*, covered his eyes with his left arm, and preſented the point of his ſword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it with ſuch violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediately [o]. Some hiſtorians relate the circumſtances of his death otherwiſe, and tell us, that taking his ſword by the hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran himſelf through, without the aſſiſtance of his faithful friend *Strato*. But all authors agree in this, that *Meſſala*, having ſome time after made his peace with *Cæſar Octavianus*, preſented *Strato* to him, ſaying with tears in his eyes, *This, O*

His laſt words to his friends.

The death of Brutus. Year of the flood, 2962. Before Chriſt, 37. Of Rome, 711.

[o] PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. cxxiv. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 74. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(Q) Some writers tell us, that when *Brutus* in the morning ſaw no way of eſcaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a ſolid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or at beſt a ſlave of fortune* (49). But *Volummius*, who was preſent, and from whoſe memoirs *Plutarch* copied the particulars of his death which we have related, makes no mention of ſuch a ſpeech, no-ways ſuitable to the character of *Brutus*.

(49) *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Dio. l.* xlvii. *ſub finem. Vide Plut. de ſuperſtit. init.*

Cæſar,

Cæſar, *is the man who paid the laſt friendly office to my beloved* Brutus.

His character.

THUS fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age (R), and with him fell the liberty of *Rome* and of the *Roman* people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcern no fault (S); in whom the virtues of humanity were eminent; in whom a conſtant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (T) formed the principal and

(R) *Brutus* died, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age; but to the authority of *Velleius* we prefer that of *Cicero*, who tells us, that *Brutus* was born ten years after *Hortenſius* appeared firſt at the bars and that celebrated orator made his firſt public eſſay of eloquence in the conſulate of *Lucius Craſſus* and *Quintus Scævola*, in the year of *Rome* 658; ſo that *Brutus* was born in the year of the city 668, and conſequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711, in the forty-third year of his age (49)

(S) *Thoſe who were moſt his enemies*, ſays *Plutarch* (50), *on account of his conſpiracy againſt* Cæſar, *if in that whole affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer it wholly to* Brutus, *and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of* Caſſius, Brutus's *moſt intimate and familiar friend; but not at all like him in honeſty and virtue.* Upon which words Madam *Dacier* comments thus: *It appears from this paſſage, that even in the days of* Plutarch, *there were ſome remaining, who hated the memory of* Brutus, *for the ſhare he had in the murder of* Cæſar; *and I am of opinion, that the ſame hatred continues, and will do ſo to the end of the world.* Among ſlaves, ſhe ought to have added, and perſons brought up in ſlaviſh principles, who are taught to look upon the diſarming of a tyrant, and the ſaving of their country from havock and oppreſſion, as an heinous crime; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, loved and revered by all, who have any ſpark of zeal for the welfare of their country and the good of mankind.

(T) The public good was, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the only end and ſtandard, which he propoſed for his hatred and friendſhip. This of an enemy made him a friend to *Pompey*, and of a friend made him an enemy to *Cæſar*. When *Cæſar* and *Pompey* took up arms againſt each other, it was generally believed that he would have taken *Cæſar*'s ſide: for his father not long before had been put to death by *Pompey*: but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the intereſt of the public to his private reſentment, and judging *Pompey*'s to be the better cauſe, took part with him, tho' formerly he uſed not ſo much as to ſalute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the leaſt converſation with the murderer of his father.

(49) *Cic. in Bruto.* (50) *Plut. in Bruto.*

But

and moſt diſtinguiſhable part of his character, and the uninterrupted buſineſs of his life, ever in view, ever purſued, but from the inherent equity of his mind, for he was, as his hiſtorian well obſerves, by nature exactly framed for virtue (U), without

But afterwards, looking upon him as the general of his country, he liſted himſelf under his command, and ſet ſail to *Sicily*, in quality of lieutenant to *Seſtius*, whom *Pompey* had appointed governor of that iſland; but finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were incamped near one another and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he haſtened into *Macedon* to ſhare in the danger. *Pompey* was ſo ſurpriſed at his arrival, and at the ſame time ſo pleaſed, that riſing from his tribunal, in the ſight of all his guards, he ſaluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefeſt men of his party. Thus *Brutus* embraced the party even of his father's murderer, becauſe he thought it more juſt than that of *Cæſar*, and conſidered *Pompey* as the head of the ſtate, of which *Cæſar* was the declared enemy. The ſame conſideration of the public good, which reconciled him to *Pompey*, eſtranged him from *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to ſacrifice his higheſt obligations, as well as his greateſt injuries, to the welfare of his country?

(U) " *Brutus*, ſays the author of his life, for the ſake of his " virtue, was eſteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, ad- " mired by all good men, and hated by none, no, not even by his " enemies; for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, great " magnaminity, inſenſible of the paſſions of anger, pleaſure or co- " vetouſneſs; ſteady and inflexible in his opinion, and zealous for " whatever he thought juſt and honeſt. That which gained him " the greateſt credit and reputation among the people was, their " inviolable opinion of his uprightneſs and integrity in all his un- " dertakings; whereas no man ever imagined, that *Pompey*, even " *Pompey the Great* himſelf, if he had overcome *Cæſar*, would have " ſubmitted his power to the laws, but would have retained the ſo- " vereign authority in his own hands, under the ſpecious name of " conſul or dictator, or ſome other mild and more popular title, " with which he would have ſoothed the people. As for *Caſſius*, " a man inclined to paſſion, and carried often by his covetous hu- " mour beyond the bounds of juſtice, they well knew, that he " endured all theſe hardſhips rather to obtain dominion to himſelf, " than liberty to the people As to the former diſturbers of the " peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is " manifeſt, that they, having ſet their country as a ſtake for him " who ſhould win, did almoſt own, in expreſs terms, that they " fought for empire. But even the enemies of *Brutus* cannot lay " this accuſation to his charge; nay, many have heard *Antony*

" himſelf

without one breach of that never to be omitted diſtinction of *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpoſe to illuſtrate this tranſcendent rectitude of his mind, by inſtancing his refuſal, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the faireſt cauſe, when, after the death of *Cæſar*, he addreſſed himſelf to the *Roman* people. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that *Brutus*, who had long been famed for eloquence (W), could be ignorant of ſpeaking to the

" himſelf ſay, That *Brutus* was the only man who conſpired againſt " *Cæſar* out of a ſenſe of the glory of the action, but that all " the reſt roſe up againſt the *man*, and not the *tyrant*, from their " own private malice and envy (51)." In this paſſage *Plutarch* does juſtice to *Brutus*'s virtue; but at the ſame time betrays his prejudice againſt *Caſſius*, the motives of which we have aſſigned elſewhere (52). What a high opinion *Cicero* had of *Brutus*'s virtue, the orator ſufficiently declares in the following words: *Bruto certe meo nullo loco decro, idque etiam ſi mihi cum illo nihil fuiſſet, facerem propter ejus ſingularem incredibilemque virtutem.*

(W) *Plutarch* tells us in his life, that in *Latin* he was a good ſpeaker, and had, by conſtant exerciſe, attained a ſufficient excellence in making public orations and pleading cauſes; but that in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the ſententious and ſhort *Laconic* way of ſpeaking, eſpecially in his epiſtles, a collection of which has been publiſhed by *Aldus* in *Greek*, and by *Ranutius Florentius* in *Latin*. *Plutarch* inſtances three of them, the firſt whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the *Pergamenſes*, or inhabitants of *Pergamus*, thus: *I hear you have given* Dolabella *money; if you gave it willingly, you muſt own you have injured me; if unwillingly, ſhew it by giving willingly to me.* The ſecond inſcribed in the *Greek* copy to the *Bithynians*, in the *Latin* to the *Galatians*, and in *Plutarch* to the *Samians*, is couched in the following terms: *Your deliberations are tedious, your actions ſlow; what do you think will be the end?* The third was to the *Rhodians*, thus: *The* Xanthians *ſuſpecting my kindneſs, have made their country their grave of deſpair. The* Patarenſes, *who have ſubmitted to me, have loſt nothing of their former liberty. It is in your power to chuſe the opinions of the* Patarenſes, *or the fortune of the* Xanthians (53). This epiſtle is likewiſe exhibited by *Velleius Paterculus*, but in a more diffuſed ſtyle (54). The ſpeech which *Brutus* made before *Cæſar* at *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in behalf of *Deiotarus* king of *Galatia*, is commended by *Cicero* (55), and the author of the dialogue on the *Latin* orators, which is commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*. Tho'

(51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Vide ſupra not.* (N). (53) *Plut. ibid* (54) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 70. (55) *Cic. in oratore.*

the

the paſſions of men, an art too ſucceſsfully made uſe of by *Antony* on the ſame occaſion. Such then was the integrity of

the king was charged with crimes of a high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of *Brutus* was ſo prevalent, that he preſerved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he ſpoke on this occaſion, gave riſe to that memorable ſaying of *Cæſar* concerning him, as *Cicero* relates it in the firſt letter of his fourth book to *Atticus*: *De quo quidem ille ad quem diverti, Cæſarem ſolitum dicere, Magni refert hic quid velit, ſed quidquid volt, valde volt. Idque eum animad-vertiſſe cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ diceret, valde eum vehementer & libere dicere.* And truly the natural firmneſs of his mind, as his hiſtorian obſerves (56), when once ſet on work by the motives of right reaſon, and the principles of honeſty, which way ſoever it turned itſelf moved with great vigour and impetuoſity, and generally effected its deſigns.

Brutus was, as we have obſerved above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the conciſe and grave ſtyle (57), he judged *Cicero*'s eloquence to want ſtrength (58); and *Cicero* on the other hand thought his ſtyle negligent and unconnected (59). *Brutus*'s ſtyle had another fault; it was often crouded with verſes. *Verſus hi fere excidunt*, ſays *Quintilian*, *quos Brutus ipſo componendi ductus ſtudio ſæpiſſime facit* (60). *Cicero* acknowledges, that *Brutus* very freely found fault with his taſte in point of ſtyle (61); but nevertheleſs that orator was highly pleaſed with the harangue which *Brutus* made on the death of *Cæſar*; *Eſt autem oratio*, ſays he, ſpeaking of this piece, after he had peruſed it with great attention, *ſcripta elegantiſſime, ſententiis, verbis, ut nihil poſſit ultra* (62).

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philoſopher. Of all the ſects of the *Greek* philoſophers, there was not one of which he had not been a hearer, and in which he had not made ſome proficiency; but he chiefly eſteemed the *Platoniſts*, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the ancient academy (63). He was likewiſe well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote ſeveral books, *viz.* one *de officiis*, cited by *Chariſius* and *Priſcian*, without all doubt the ſame which *Seneca* calls περὶ καθήκοντος (64); another *de virtute*, mentioned by *Cicero* (65) and *Seneca* (66); and a third *de patientia*, quoted by *Diomedes*. He abridged the *Roman* hiſtory of *Fannius* (67), and that of *Antipater* (68); but whether he finiſhed the abridgment of *Polybius*'s hiſtory which he

(56) *Plut. ibid.* (57) *Quintil. l. xii. c.* 10. (58) *Vide dialog. de cauſis corr. eloq.* (59) *Auctor de cauſis corr. eloq* (60) *Quintil l. ix. c.* 4. (61) *Cic. ad Attic l. xiv. epiſt* 20. (62) *Idem ibid. l. xv epiſt.* 1. (63) *Plut. in Bruto.* (64) *Seneca epiſt.* 95. (65) *Cic Tuſcul.* 1. & *de finibus* 1. (66) *Senec. conſol. ad Helviam, c* 9. (67) *Cic ad Attic. l. xii. epiſt.* 5. (68) *Idem ibid l. xiii. epiſt.* 8.

of *Brutus*'s mind, that he could not ſtoop to employ any indecent means even in the purſuit of virtue. The death of *Cæſar* was undoubtedly juſtifiable under the government which then prevailed in *Rome* (X), notwithſtanding all the dirt that has been thrown at this tranſaction by the mean and groveiling abettors of arbitrary power. We may ſee what the *Romans*, and *Tully*, the leaſt adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a paſſage in one of his letters to his friend had undertaken, we know not; for *Plutarch* (69) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of *Pharſalia*, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, *Brutus* ſpent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewiſe compoſed a panegyric on *Cato* which *Cæſar* did not think extraordinary well penned (70).

(X) By the laws of *Rome*, the dominion of one, and conſequently the dominion of *Cæſar* was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *eum jus faſque eſſet occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reaſon that can be alledged againſt killing *Cæſar* is, that the ſtate was irretrievable, and an uſurper become a neceſſary evil. This argument *Seneca* urges againſt the enterpriſe of *Brutus* and his followers (71). But *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the ſenate, that is, the greateſt and wiſeſt men in *Rome*, judged otherwiſe, and who was better qualified to judge? Nay, liberty was for ſome time actually reſtored; why it ſubſiſted no longer, was owing to caſualties, and to the treachery of *Octavianus*, who, after he was emperor, thought it poſſible to reſettle the old free ſtate, and propoſed once or twice to reſign. *Druſus*, his wife's ſon, was of the ſame opinion, and declared his reſolution to effect it. *Cæſar* himſelf might, by his dictatorial power, have ſuppreſſed the inſolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her firſt principles. This would have been true glory, the only right uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it; but, inſtead of this, he continued more and more to debauch the people, and trample upon the moſt ſacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jeſt to him; he treated the very name with contempt; *nihil eſſe rempublicam; appellationem modo ſine corpore ac ſpecie* (72). He ridiculed *Sylla* for reſigning his uſurped power; he had nothing in his head or heart but abſolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his luſt; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, ſpreto patriæ more*; nay he would have his very words to go for laws, *debere homines pro legibus habere quæ dicat* (73). He was therefore lawfully ſlain, tho' not by the forms of law, which his uſurped power had rendered impoſſible. *Abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimaretur*, ſays *Suetonius* (74).

(69) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (70) *Cic. ad Attic.* (71) *Senec. de benefic. l.* ii. *c.* 25. (72) *Suet in Cæſ.* (73) *Idem ibid.* (74) *Idem ibid.*

Atticus,

Atticus, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he ſays, *But notwithſtanding the cloud that hangs over us, I conſole myſelf in the ides of* March. *Our heroes have done every thing within their power, and with a reſolution by which they have acquired immortal glory.* Nor was the putting the deſtroyer of their conſtitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the *Roman* hiſtory (Y). And as to

(Y) Nor in *Brutus*'s family; for his mother *Servilia* was of the family of *Servilius Ahala*, who ſlew *Spurius Mantius*, as we have related elſewhere, for ſtirring the people up to a rebellion, and aſpiring at the ſovereign power. The famous dictator *Quintus Cincinnatus*, whoſe general of the horſe he was, commended the zeal of *Servilius*, and approved of the action (75). Whether *Brutus* was deſcended from the celebrated *Junius Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin the Proud*, is uncertain. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* maintains, not out of any prejudice to *Brutus*, that he was not deſcended from him. This, ſays he, is the opinion of thoſe hiſtorians, who have examined the affairs of the *Romans* with the greateſt exactneſs 76). *Dion* poſitively affirms, that none of the race of *Junius Brutus* was left after the execution of his two ſons (77). On the other hand, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Junius Brutus* had a great many children by a ſiſter of the *Vitellii* (78); and adds, upon the authority of the Philoſopher *Poſidonius*, that two indeed of *Brutus*'s ſons, who had attained to man's eſtate were, by their father's order put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*. The ſame philoſopher writes, that in his time there were ſeveral famous perſons of the family of *M Brutus*, and of his own acquaintance, who very much reſembled the ſtatue of *Junius Brutus* (79). *Cicero* likewiſe in his *Philippics* ſpeaks of our *Brutus* as deſcended from *L. Brutus*: L. Brutus *was the man*, ſays he, *who both himſelf freed the commonwealth from the ſovereignty of kings, and has now, almoſt five hundred years after, propagated deſcendants, famed for the like virtue and the like atchievement* (80). And elſewhere (81); *if leaders were wanting to free our country, I would ſtir up the* Brutuſ's, *who both daily behold the image of* L. Brutus, *and one of them that of* Ahala *alſo. Should theſe men therefore, deſcended from ſuch anceſtors, aſk counſel of ſtrangers, rather than of their own family, abroad rather than at home?* But after all, *Cicero* who ſpeaks here as an orator, and not as an hiſtorian, is not a proper evidence to invalidate the teſtimony of *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Dion*. An orator little cares whether ſuch facts be certain or not; it is enough for him, if the facts he relates be believed by the greater part of the people. Nothing can be with any certainty

(75) *Plut ibid.* & *Liv. l.* iv. (76) *Dio. Hal l.* v. (77) *Dio. l. xliv.* (78) *Plut. in Valerio* (79) *Plut. in Bruto.* (80) *Cic. Philip.* 1. (81) *Idem Philip.* 2.

to the method they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action; for who more proper to compass such an event, than a number of senators distinguished by their attachment to liberty? or what place could be more justly fixed on for the tyrant of *Rome* to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he possessed in violation of the laws of his country? We often see the love of one's country, the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by passion, acrimony of temper, vanity, resentment, a lust of power, or any other inducement; nor were all those, who joined in that glorious cause, altogether free from such suspicions; for an uniform, steady, constant attachment to the public good was to be met with in *Brutus* alone. Men generally differ from themselves as much as from one another; *Brutus* was always the same. If we have dwelt too long in considering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character and his inviolable attachment to the public cause may plead our excuse. We are not only indebted to history for the inlargement of our minds, but likewise for the improvement of our moral virtues; and to an *Englishman* the foremost of the rank is the pursuit of liberty. Who then more properly can become the object of our contemplation than *Brutus*, the genius of liberty?

The generosity of Antony, *and cowardly spite of* Octavianus.

Let us now return to the plains of *Philippi*. *Antony*, being informed the next day of the death of *Brutus*, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle of a great value over it, and charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illustrious deceased. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. *Octavianus*, who had not greatness of soul enough for such generous humanity, could not forbear shewing a cowardly spite to the dead body of *Brutus*, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He caused the head of that excellent person to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to *Rome*, and there lay it ignominiously at the feet of *Cæsar*'s statue [P]; but in the passage from *Dyrrhachium*, a violent storm arising, it

[P] Plut. in Anton. & Brut. Appian. l. iv. p. 668. Suet. in Octavio, c. 13.

determined on this head; but all things well considered, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Dion* and of *Dionysius*, a most accurate writer, to that of *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

was

was, probably out of ſuperſtition, thrown into the ſea [q]. The reſt of the body was burnt by *Antony*'s orders, and the aſhes conveyed in an urn to *Servilia*, *Brutus*'s mother. As for *Porcia* his wife, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Nicolaus* the *Peripatetic* philoſopher, tell us, that, being reſolved not to outlive her huſband, but ſo narrowly watched by her friends, that ſhe could neither make uſe of poiſon or a dagger, ſhe ſnatched ſome burning coals out of the fire, and, ſhutting them cloſe in her mouth, ſtifled herſelf, and expired in the arms of the women who watched her [r]. But we have a great deal of reaſon to look upon this account as fabulous, ſince *Plutarch* aſſures us [s], that, in his time, was ſtill extant a letter of *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of *Porcia*, and complained of them for ſuffering her to die of melancholy; ſo that the hiſtory of the live-coals, which has been the ſubject of a fine epigram [t], is no better than a fable. *The death of* Porcia.

THE death of *Brutus* was no ſooner known in his camp, than thoſe who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, ſubmitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the iſland of *Thaſus*, and from thence eſcaped into *Aſia*. *Antony* and *Octavianus* found in *Brutus*'s camp great ſtore of arms and proviſions, and immenſe ſums of money, which enabled them to ſatisfy immediately ſome of their veterans, whom they diſbanded ſoon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to uſurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs eſtabliſhed, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had uſurped, and became maſters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was ſtill held by *Sextus*, the ſon of *Pompey the Great*; but the oppoſition they met with from him was not very conſiderable, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter. *Many of* Brutus's *men ſubmit to the conquerors.*

[q] Dio, l. xlvii. p. 356. [r] Plut. in Bruto. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] Vide Mart. l. i. epig. 43.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Brutus *and* Caſſius *to the perfect ſettling of the empire by* Octavianus.

The triumvirs puniſh their enemies.

THE firſt days after the battle were ſpent by the triumvirs, in puniſhing ſuch of their enemies, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Antony*, after having reproached *Hortenſius* with the death of his brother *Caius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, cauſed him to be ſlain on his tomb. He likewiſe put *Varro*, an illuſtrious ſenator, to death, who had on all occaſions betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and ſcandalous life, which, he ſaid, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. *Livius Druſus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Auguſtus*, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himſelf in his tent. *Quintilius Varus*, after having adorned himſelf with all the enſigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, choſe rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be expoſed to the inſults of a mercileſs enemy. *Octavianus* on this occaſion betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*, which ſome of his flatterers endeavour to excuſe, by aſcribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but to the long and tedious indiſpoſition, which had ſoured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he ſhewed as much cruelty and inſolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it. We have ſeen above what cowardly ſpite he ſhewed to the body of his deceaſed enemy, which *Antony* treated with great reſpect and tenderneſs. The mean ſoul of *Octavianus* was not capable of ſuch generous humanity;

The cruelty of Octavianus.

nity: he inſulted every illuſtrious captive with bitter words and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earneſtly begged as a particular favour, that he would ſuffer his body to be buried after his death, he anſwered, that *the ravens would ſoon regulate that matter.* When a father implored mercy for his ſon, and the ſon for the father, he commanded, with an exceſs of cruelty hardly to be met with in the hiſtory of the moſt barbarous nations, the father and ſon to fight for their lives; this barbarous fight he beheld, beheld unconcerned the ſon to ſtab his father, and then himſelf for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and ſon to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himſelf voluntarily up to execution to ſave his ſon, who, diſdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, ſtabbed himſelf in the preſence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining priſoners reaſon, when they were brought before *Antony* and him, loaded with chains, to ſalute the former with the honourable title of imperator, and the latter with bitter invectives, curſes and reproaches? Among theſe were the famous *M. Favonius*, who with the ſword at his throat reproached the mercileſs *Octavianus*, with all the freedom of a *Cynic* philoſopher [w] (Z).

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illuſtrious citizens, who on that fatal day fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the eſtabliſhing of their authority; and the utter ſuppreſſion of thoſe who ſtill ſtood up in defence of their antient laws and liberties. For *Pompey* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus*'s admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coaſts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* ſea; *Caſſius Par-*

The republican party ſtill powerful.

[w] Vide Suet. in Julio, & Dio. l. xlvii.

(Z) *M. Favonius* had been always very intimate with *Brutus*, but nevertheleſs by him left out of the conſpiracy for the following reaſon. As *Brutus* was diſcourſing one day with him and *Statilius*, who was by ſect an *Epicurean*, and propoſing ſome queſtions to be diſputed, with a deſign to diſcover their ſentiments, *Favonius* declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Though he had no ſhare in the death of *Cæſar*, nor approved of the action, yet he joined *Brutus*, ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity to the laſt, and died with a conſtancy worthy of a *Roman* ſenator and philoſopher (81).

(81) *Plut. in Bruto.*

menſis

menſis (A), one of the conſpirators, having been left in *Aſia* by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with a conſiderable fleet and a competent number of forces, to keep the eaſtern provinces in awe, upon the news of *Brutus*'s overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty *Rhodian* ſhips, which he manned with *Romans*, and being joined by *Clodius*, governor of *Rhodes*, at the head of three thouſand men, by *Lepidus* governor of *Crete* with the gariſon which *Brutus* had left there, by *Clodius*, *Torulus*, young *Cicero*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who had fled into *Aſia*, he gave no ſmall umbrage to the triumvirs. In a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that *Antony* ſhould march into the eaſt and ſettle thoſe provinces, and that *Octavianus* ſhould lead the old troops into *Italy*, put them there in poſſeſſion of the lands which had been promiſed them, and to force young *Pompey* out of a retreat, which ſerved for an aſylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they diſbanded all their veterans, except eight thouſand, after having ſatisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in *Brutus*'s camp. Of the remaining forces *Octavianus*

(A) *Caſſius Parmenſis* was one of the conſpirators, but ſome time after the battle of *Philippi* he joined *Antony*, and ſerved under him at the battle of *Actium*. Upon his defeat he retired to *Athens*, where he was murdered by *Octavianus*'s orders. He was a native of *Parma*, and thence called *Parmenſis*. As that city ſtood within the bounds of antient *Hetruria*, which extended, as *Cluverius* ſhews, to the banks of the *Po*, no wonder that *Horace* calls him an *Hetruſcan* (82). He was in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great verſifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left ſuch a vaſt heap of writings behind him, that it was pleaſantly ſaid he wanted no other materials for his funeral pile.

——————————— *Hetruſci*
Quale fuit Caſſi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capſis quem, fama eſt, eſſe libriſque
Ambuſtum propriis ——————————— (83).

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was aſſaſſinated, is ſaid to have found a tragedy among his papers, intitled *Thyeſtes*, which he publiſhed as his own. It is at leaſt certain, that *Quintilius*, having put him to death, ſeized all his writings, among which were ſeveral tragedies, he having a particular talent at that ſort of compoſure. The verſes upon *Orpheus*, which *Achilles Tatius* publiſhed under his name, are by the beſt judges thought to be of a later date.

(82) *Horat.* 1. *Sermon. ſatyr.* 10. (83) *Idem ibid.*

took

took with him into *Italy* four legions, and four thouſand horſe; *Antony* keeping with him ſix legions, and ten thouſand horſe. It was alſo agreed, that *Octavianus* ſhould yield two of his legions to his collegue, and receive two others in their ſtead belonging to *Antony*, which had been left in *Italy* under the command of *Calenus*, one of *Antony*'s lieutenants [x]. Though the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were, by this time, reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vaſt ſums to pay five thouſand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principal motive of *Antony*'s expedition into *Aſia*, whither he carried with him for his guard four thouſand veterans, beſides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, though the time of their ſervice was expired, to attend him in quality of voluntiers, the like number remaining with *Octavianus* in the ſame quality and poſt [y].

Antony and Octavianus part.

AND now the two conquerors parted, *Octavianus* taking his rout towards *Dyrrhachium*, in order to return to *Italy*, and *Antony* marching into *Greece*, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into *Aſia*. *Octavianus* arrived in a few days march at *Dyrrhachium*, where we ſhall leave him for a while to follow *Antony* in his memorable, but to him fatal expedition into the eaſt. After ſo remarkable a victory, which was entirely owing to him (for *Octavianus* was not preſent in the firſt engagement, and in the ſecond was driven out of the field by the brave *Brutus*), he muſt needs viſit *Greece*, as being the country where flattery was managed with moſt delicacy. There laying aſide all majeſty, he took pleaſure in aſſiſting, like a private citizen, at the diſputes of the philoſophers in the ſchools and academies of *Athens*, in ſeeing the public ſports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the *Greeks*. As he was fond of being ſtyled the *Lover of Greece*, but above all the *Lover of Athens*, he adminiſtered juſtice there with a great deal of equity, and made very conſiderable preſents to the city, though he was himſelf in great want of money, his military cheſt being almoſt quite drained by the vaſt ſums he and his collegue had diſtributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left *Attica* he cauſed an exact ſurvey to be made of the temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he deſigned to repair it; but he dropt that project on his arrival in *Aſia*, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving *Lucius Cenſorinus*, one of his lieutenants, to govern *Greece* in

The obliging behaviour of Antony to the Greeks

[x] APPIAN. ibid. p. 672, 673. DIO. l. xlviii. p. 358. [y] APPIAN. ibid. LIV. l. cxxv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. PLUT. in Antonio. DIO. ibid. p. 357, 358.

In Aſia *he is courted by kings, princes,&c.*

his abſence. In *Aſia* all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſent, or appear moſt charming in his eyes. This croud of ſovereigns, who daily attended his levee, and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions, moſt agreeably ſoothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleaſed him ſo much as the reception he met with at *Epheſus*. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they uſed to wear when they ſolemnized the feaſts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys dreſſed like *ſatyrs* and *fauns*. Nothing was to be ſeen throughout the town but ſpears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys while they ſtyled *Antony* in their ſongs, *Bacchus the Gracious* and *the Gentle*; and ſo indeed he was to ſome, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all thoſe of *Brutus*'s party, who ſurrendered themſelves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conſpirators, and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Caſſius* in *Laodicea*. But then he ſtripped ſeveral rich citizens of their eſtates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the eſtates of men yet living, and in perfect health, making *Antony*, to whom they alone had acceſs, believe they were dead. Thus one of his cooks, having dreſſed him a ſupper to his taſte, begged, and obtained as his reward, the fine houſe of a wealthy citizen of *Magneſia*. But as the chief buſineſs, which had brought him into *Aſia*, was the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums for the ſatisfying of the victorious legions, he ſummoned the deputies of all the ſubjects and allies of *Rome* in thoſe parts to meet at *Epheſus*; and there, after having reproached them with aſſiſting *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs *Ceſar* had ſhewn them, he acquainted them with the great promiſes he and his collegue had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thouſand men and upwards, and then concluded thus: *You may judge of the ſums we want from the number of our ſoldiers, and the promiſes we have made them. This has obliged my collegue to go into* Italy, *where he has taken upon him to reward them with lands and houſes, from which he will be obliged to drive out the antient proprietors. But as for you, I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances, or drive you from your temples and ſepulchres of your forefathers. As you would needs run the*

His behaviour towards the Aſiatics.

His ſpeech to the deputies of the Aſiatic *cities.*

fortune of our enemies in war; now that the gods have been pleased to grant the victory, not according to your wishes, but their own justice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes, and inflict upon you some exemplary punishment. But as the laws of humanity will not always allow the punishments to be proportionable to the crimes, instead of other penalties we shall content ourselves with a sum of money, the same you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only punishment we intend to inflict upon you, which we should very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very pressing. At these words the deputies threw themselves at *Antony*'s feet, remonstrating with tears in their eyes, that their assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not be laid to their charge as a crime, since they had been forced to it by such cruel usage, as made them rather objects of pity than punishment; and that as to the sums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raise them, since *Brutus* and *Cassius* had stript them, not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As *Antony* continued inflexible, *Hybreas*, an orator and agent for some of the *Asiatic* cities; rising up, *Since you are determined*, said he, *to double our taxes, pray take care that our summers and autumns be doubled too; otherwise we shall never be able to satisfy your demands.* This liberty of speech did not displease *Antony* (B), who, as *Plutarch* tells us, was as

(B) The same *Hybreas* some time after told *Antony*, when he required more money; Asia *has already furnished two hundred thousand talents for your service; if the money did not come to your hands, call those to an account who levied it; but if it did, and you have already spent that sum, we are all undone.* These words, says *Plutarch*, touched *Antony* to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature easily imposed upon, but because he reposed too great confidence in the integrity of those he employed. He was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of apprehension; but as soon as he was made sensible of his faults, he was much troubled, and ready to ask pardon of those he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was pleased to rally others. This freedom had, as *Plutarch* observes, its inconvenience; for he imagined, that those friends, who used so much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any business of consequence, not perceiving, that these subtle parasites disguised their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any

as well contented to be handſomely rallied, as he was delighted in rallying others. The deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two [z]: ſo that all the princes, kings, and free ſtates of *Aſia*, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their ſubjects for the payment of this ſum; which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which *Caſſius* had loaded them, almoſt to a ſtate of beggary [a]. After this *Antony* took a progreſs through the provinces of *Aſia*, giving every-where extraordinary demonſtrations of generoſity and good-nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others of the adverſe party, who, upon the fame of his clemency, flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to thoſe who had any hand in the death of *Cæſar*. The *Xanthians* he freed from all tribute, and perſuaded them to rebuild their city. To the *Rhodians*, whom *Caſſius* had treated with great ſeverity, he gave the iſlands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Naxos*, and *Myndus*. The inhabitants of *Tarſus* and *Laodicea* he likewiſe exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the *Athenians*, to whom he granted the iſlands of *Ægina*, *Teos*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peparethus* [b]: ſo that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thouſand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of *Aſia*, properly ſo called, of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Paleſtine*. As he wanted ready money to pay his ſoldiers, while the tax was raiſing, he ſent all his horſe to *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor*, to take the plunder of that rich city inſtead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the deſign, removed, before their arrival, their families and effects to the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; ſo that the triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the *Palmyrenians* returned to their habitations, but, being exaſperated by this cruel uſage, put themſelves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which gave occaſion to the ſecond *Parthian* war [c].

The Aſiatics *loaded with heavy taxes.*

His generoſity.

[a] Plut. in Anton. Appian. l. v. p. 673, 674. [b] Appian. ibid. [b] Idem, ibid. p. 675. [c] Appian. ibid.

difficulty, they contrived matters ſo as not to ſeem to yield to him out of complaiſance, but becauſe his underſtanding was ſuperior to theirs (84).

(84) *Plut. in Anton.*

Antony

Antony arriving in *Cilicia*, diſpatched from thence *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to ſummon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war. For though ſhe had aſſiſted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiſs, conſidering what ſhe owed to the memory of *Cæſar*. *Dellius*, who was ſent on this meſſage, was a famous hiſtorian and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles, being one of thoſe who have always a baſe compliance for the inclinations of their maſters (C). As he was well acquainted with *Antony*'s temper, after a ſhort converſation with the queen, he eaſily judged with what ſentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, addreſs, and ſprightly converſation would inſpire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in perſon into *Cilicia*, aſſuring her, that *Antony*, who was a brave and amorous ſoldier, would receive her with all the reſpect due to perſons of her high ſtation, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of *Dellius*; but her chief dependence was in her own beauty; and indeed never had beauty been ſignaliſed by more illuſtrious conqueſts: ſhe had captivated the heart of *Julius Cæſar*, of *Pompey*'s eldeſt ſon, and formerly of *Antony* himſelf, when he ſerved under *Gabinius*, governor of *Syria*; and this when ſhe was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas ſhe was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inſpired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in *Antony*'s heart was, the quickneſs of her wit; for though there were ſome at *Rome* who ri-

He ſummons Cleopatra to give an account of her conduct

Her charms

(C) *Quintus Dellius* wrote in *Greek* an account of *Antony*'s unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians*, in which he attended him and had a chief command. He was one of *Horace*'s moſt intimate friends, who addreſſed to him the third ode of his ſecond book, containing the ſoundeſt principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy. He was a man of great wit and learning, but of a very bad character. *Meſſala Corvinus* uſed to call him *deſultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, the *vaulter of the civil wars*. For he left *Dolabella* to ſide with *Caſſius*, then quitted *Caſſius* to join *Antony*, and at laſt abandoned *Antony* to take party with *Octavianus*. During his ſtay at the court of *Egypt*, the fair queen captivated his heart, and is ſaid not to have been diſpleaſed with the addreſſes of a man of his fine genius. In the time of *Seneca* ſeveral letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (85).

(85) *Vide Senec. l.* i. *de clementia c.* 10. *& M. Senec. ſuaſ.* 1. *Strabo, l.* xi. *& Lipſ ad* 1. *Annal. Tacit.*

valled

valled her in beauty, none was to compare to her in the agreeableneſs of her converſation, and in a certain natural grace and ſweetneſs, which appeared in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, and made a deep impreſſion on all who heard her. In ſhort, the charms of her converſation were irreſiſtible, and the very tone of her voice ſo harmonious, that no inſtrument was capable of a greater variety of ſounds, and of equally ſoothing the ears of the hearers. Beſides, ſhe expreſſed herſelf with ſo much eaſe, and in ſo many different languages, that ſhe was looked upon by all as a prodigy. The moſt barbarous nations heard her with aſtoniſhment anſwer their embaſſadors without an interpreter. She underſtood, beſides many others, the *Æthiopian*, the *Troglodite*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, *Syrian*, *Median*, and *Parthian* tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, conſidering, that moſt of the kings, her predeceſſors, had not been able to learn the *Egyptian* tongue, and ſeveral of them had forgot the *Macedonian*, their original language [d]. The confidence ſhe placed in theſe extraordinary accompliſhments encouraged her more than the words of *Dellius*, or her own beauty, to appear before *Antony*. She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vaſt ſums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the *Egyptian* kings. Many were the letters ſhe received from *Antony*, haſtening her coming; but ſhe ſeemed to make no account of his orders. At length ſhe ſet out, and arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, ſhe embarqued on a ſmall galley, and appeared before *Antony* at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, in the fantaſtical manner which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [e]. The triumvir was ſo taken with the charms of her perſon, the quickneſs of her wit, and the agreeableneſs of her converſation, that from the firſt day he conceived a paſſion for her, which occaſioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the ſame man, but wholly taken up with the thoughts of the beautiful *Cleopatra*, he neglected all other buſineſs, and followed her into *Egypt*, ſpending there the whole enſuing winter with her in a moſt ſcandalous converſation, well ſuited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character [f].

She arrives at Tarſus *in* Cilicia.

And captivates Antony.

While *Antony* was thus wallowing in pleaſures with his beloved *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, his collegue was wholly taken up

[d] Plut. in Anton. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. Appian. l. v. p. 673. Dio, l. xlviii. p. 371. [e] Vide Hiſt. Univerſal. Vol. IX. p. 156. [f] Plut. Appian. Dio, ibid. Vide. Hiſt Univerſ. ubi ſupra.

in

in ſettling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promiſed lands among the veterans. Having imbarqued his troops at *Dyrrhachium*, he croſſed the *Adriatic* gulf, without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at *Brunduſium*; where he was taken ſo ill, that his phyſicians gave him over, and the news of his death was immediately ſpread all over *Italy*, and differently received according to the different inclinations of the people. Moſt of the ſenators looked upon this report as one of his uſual tricks to diſcover their intentions and real ſentiments; and therefore by a decree of the ſenate prayers and ſacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which ſoon followed by the favour of his native air and the vigor of his youth. As ſoon as he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey, he ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, eſpecially by the populace. Some time before his arrival the faſces had been tranſferred from *Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, to *L. Antonius*, the brother of the triumvir, and *P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus*; but *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, a woman of a manly ſpirit and an unbounded ambition, had gained the aſcendant over the new conſuls, and governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway. This *Octavianus* could not bear; and hence the mutual jealouſies and diſtruſt between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of *Italy*. *Octavianus* met with many, almoſt inſurmountable, difficulties in the diſtribution of the promiſed lands. As the public treaſury was quite exhauſted, he could not content the ſoldiery without giving up to them the ſeveral towns which he had promiſed them by way of reward after the victory; and this he was well appriſed would provoke the people. Moſt of the inhabitants of thoſe unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*: vaſt numbers of women with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence moved even the triumvir's friends to compaſſion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people on this occaſion talked with a great deal of freedom and boldneſs; *This war*, ſaid they, *has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who, ſince they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, and not ſatisfy their ſoldiers at the expence of ſo many diſtreſſed families.* *Octavianus* heard and patiently bore theſe complaints, with a diſſimulation peculiar to himſelf. Unwilling to give occaſion to freſh diſturbances, he borrowed what money he could; but finding he could not raiſe the ſufficient ſums to ſatisfy his ſoldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, purſuant to his firſt deſign, allotted them the lands

Octavianus *greatly indiſpoſed.*

Jealouſies at Rome *between him and* Fulvia.

lands for their inheritance, which he had promiſed in the beginning of the war. *Cremona* a city greatly attached to the intereſt of *Brutus*, ſuffered moſt in this iniquitous diſtribution; and *Mantua*, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable ſoldiery, had more than her ſhare in theſe misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have periſhed on this occaſion, by the hand of a centurion, named *Arrius*, who purſued him with his drawn ſword, for daring to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of his ſmall eſtate on the banks of the *Mincius*; and would have deprived the world of the greateſt poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily eſcaped the fury of the inraged centurion by ſwimming croſs the river. This very adventure ſeems to have moſt of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that divine and inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents being known to *Mæcenas* and *Aſinius Pollio*, he obtained by their intereſt the reſtitution of his farm, which is the ſubject of that excellent eclogue, the firſt of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

The prince of the Latin *poets in great danger.*

Octavianus himſelf was expoſed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the ſoldiery and people being equally exaſperated againſt him. Few of the veterans were ſatisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; *Antony*'s ſoldiers taxed *Octavianus* with partiality, as if he aſſigned the beſt lands to his own men and the worſt to them. *Fulvia* did not fail to improve theſe diſcontents; and being ſeconded by the conſul *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, whom ſhe eaſily gained over to her intereſt, ſhe left nothing unattempted to fire both the ſoldiers and people againſt one, who, ſhe well ſaw, was engroſſing all the power to himſelf. And indeed ſhe was attended therein with good ſucceſs, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private ſoldier having taken place among the knights at a public ſhow, *Octavianus* ordered an officer to drive him from thence; hereupon a report being ſpread, by the triumvir's enemies, that the ſoldier had been aſſaſſinated by his orders, as ſoon as the ſports were over, they all crouded round him, demanding with threatnings to ſee their comrade. *Octavianus* cauſed him immediately to be ſought for and brought before them; when the ſoldier declared, that he had not received the leaſt hurt or ill uſage: the mutinous troops were not eaſily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incenſed againſt him for depriving them of ſo ſpecious a pretence to murder their general. The other accident ſhews ſtill more plainly, to what a degree *Fulvia* and *Lucius* had eſtran-

Octavianus meets with great difficulties in the diſtribution of the lands.

ges

ged the minds of the ſoldiery from their general. He had appointed a day for his ſoldiers to meet in the field of *Mars*, in order to proceed to the diſtribution of the lands. The legionaries aſſembled accordingly at the time agreed on, but *Octavianus* not coming ſo ſoon as they expected, they began to mutiny, and ſpeak of their general with great diſreſpect; upon which *Nonius*, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for the indecency of their carriage. But the inſolent ſoldiery firſt rallied the zealous officer as a mercenary ſycophant, and then inſulted him in a moſt outrageous manner; inſomuch, that he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and throw himſelf, finding no other means to eſcape, into the *Tiber*, where he was drowned. The mutineers drew the body out of the river, and expoſed it on the way which led to the field of *Mars*, that *Octavianus* might ſee it, and learn what might be his own fate, if he provoked their reſentment. *Octavianus*, though acquainted with this diſorder, went, contrary to the advice of his friends, to the field of *Mars*, and, only turning away his eyes from the dead body as he paſſed by it, appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly with an affected calmneſs and tranquillity. He artfully pretended to believe, that *Nonius* had been killed in a quarrel by ſome private enemy; and, after having exhorted his ſoldiers not to carry their reſentment another time to ſuch extremities, without taking any further notice of ſuch a notorious breach of the military laws, he proceeded to the diſtribution of the lands, extending his liberality even to thoſe who had loſt their lives in the battle of *Philippi*, on whoſe wives and children he beſtowed that portion, which would have fallen to their lot. This falſe and iniquitous generoſity, for he gave nothing of his own, but only what he had with the utmoſt injuſtice taken from the lawful owners, had ſo good an effect on the minds of the undiſcerning multitude, that they demanded the authors of *Nonius*'s death might be brought to condign puniſhment. The crafty general anſwered, that they would be ſufficiently puniſhed by the reproaches of their own conſcience, and the remorſe which ever attends wicked actions [g].

His ſoldiers mutiny.

His addreſs in quelling the mutiny.

Octavianus, having thus regained the affections of his ſoldiers, and being no longer able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of *Fulvia*, divorced her daughter *Clodia*, after having ſolemnly declared upon oath, that for him ſhe was ſtill a virgin. Thus was touching the proud *Fulvia*, in the moſt ſenſible part: ſhe reſolved thenceforth to keep no mea-

He divorces Clodia *the daughter of* Fulvia.

[g] APPIAN. DIO, ibid.

ſures with *Octavianus*, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had ſerved under her huſband, to take arms againſt his ungrateful collegue, who, though he had no ways contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to engroſs the whole power to himſelf, and exclude *Antony*, to whoſe valour the victory was entirely owing, from any ſhare in the adminiſtration. She appeared in all the aſſemblies of the people with the children ſhe had by *Antony*, and there made bitter complaints of the cruel uſage ſhe pretended they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderneſs of a father, to have protected them againſt the inſults of their enemies. *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, joined her, giving out every-where, that *Octavianus* had nothing elſe in view but to inſlave *Italy*, deprive his collegue of all power, and make both the ſenate and people of *Rome* ſubſervient to his will. He pretended to act by the direction of, and in concert with, his brother, whoſe chief and main concern, he ſaid, was to preſerve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious *Octavianus*. This diſagreement between the young triumvir on one ſide, and *Lucius* and *Fulvia* on the other, gave riſe to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties.

The republic rent anew into two factions.

The veterans, who had ſerved under *Antony*, and ſuch of the *Italians*, as had been driven from their antient inheritances, ſided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*. The friends of the late dictator, and thoſe legionaries, who were ſatisfied with the lands fallen to their ſhare, took party with *Octavianus*: ſo that all *Italy* was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of *Rome*, where horrible diſorders and cruel murders were daily committed, by the inſolent populace and ungovernable ſoldiery of the two oppoſite factions. To complete the misfortunes of *Rome* and *Italy*, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever ſince the beginning of the civil war, the ſeas being beſet with the enemy's fleets, and *Sextus Pompeius* holding *Sicily*, whence the continent, and eſpecially the capital, was ſupplied with corn. In this diſtreſs *Octavianus* would fain have made up matters with *Fulvia* in an amicable manner; but ſhe would hearken only to the dictates of her own reſentment and the inſinuations of *Manius*, her huſband's agent, who aſſured her, that nothing but a war could force *Antony* from the arms of *Cleopatra*, and bring him into *Italy*. *Fulvia* followed the pernicious advice of *Manius*, and, abandoning *Rome*, retired to *Præneſte*, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her ſex, ſhe appeared with an helmet on her head and a ſword by her ſide,

Fulvia *retires from* Rome *and forms a camp at* Præneſte.

ſide, aſſembled ſome legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. *Octavianus*, fearing young *Pompey* might take advantage of the miſunderſtanding between him and *Fulvia*, ſent a deputation to the camp of *Præneſte*, exhorting the female general and her brother-in-law, who, tho' conſul, ſerved in a manner as her ſubaltern, to lay aſide all animoſities, and act in concert againſt their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the ſenatorial order and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on *Lucius* to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable *Fulvia* and by *Manius*, whom *Antony* had appointed to manage his affairs in *Rome*, during his abſence. He in a ſtudied ſpeech accuſed *Octavianus* of unfair dealing with reſpect to *Antony*, as if he deſigned to engroſs the whole power of the triumvirate to himſelf, and reduce his collegue to the ſtate of a private man, tho' the victory they had gained in the plains of *Philippi* was entirely owing to his valour: *And what other view*, ſaid he, *can the ambitious youth have in rewarding, as he has done, with lands and poſſeſſions thirty-four legions inſtead of twenty-eight? His only aim is to form a ſtrong party for himſelf, at the expence of innumerable unhappy wretches, who have been driven from their inheritances to make room for his private friends and partiſans, who had no ſhare in the late war, and conſequently no claim to rewards of any kind: for their ſake he has over-run and plundered all* Italy, *not ſparing even the temples of the gods. He is now raiſing troops under pretence of making war upon* Pompey; *but it is manifeſt, he has ſomething elſe in view, which ought to give us umbrage, ſince, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that expedition cannot ſo much as be thought of for want of proviſions and ſhipping. His real purpoſe is, without all doubt, to make himſelf formidable, and uſurp a tyrannical power, not only over the people and ſenate, but even over his collegues. If therefore he is ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, let him diſband his troops, give an account of the immenſe ſums which have paſſed through his hands, and for the future act in concert with thoſe who have nothing in view but the public good* [h].

Manius's *ſpeech againſt* Octavianus.

Octavianus, upon the report of his deputies, finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewiſe *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. In the mean time, ſeveral manifeſtoes and declarations were publiſhed by the oppoſite parties,

Both parties prepare for war.

[h] APPIAN. ibid. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 359 360. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. SUET. in Octav. c. 62.

and ſome very ſharp letters paſſed between *Lucius* and *Octavianus*. The latter, ſeeing many of the veterans take party with his enemies, diſpatched an expreſs to *Salvidienus*, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in *Spain*, ordering him to haſten into *Italy* with the ſix legions under his command. *Salvidienus*, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repaſſed the *Alps*, and advanced with incredible expedition into *Ciſalpine Gaul* to join *Octavianus*, who had left the capital and was aſſembling his forces in that province. *Caius Aſinius Pollio* and *Publius Ventidius*, two of *Lucius*'s lieutenants, who were incamped at the foot of the *Alps*, followed *Salvidienus*, harraſſing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great ſtraits. At the ſame time, *Lucius*, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, advanced to meet *Salvidienus* and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means, *Octavianus*'s lieutenant muſt inevitably have been cut off with all his men, had not *Vipſanius Agrippa* with a choice body of veterans come ſeaſonably to his relief, and, poſting himſelf between him and *Lucius*, attacked the city of *Sutrium*. As the inhabitants of that place had ſignaliſed their attachment to the intereſt of *Lucius*, he flew to their aſſiſtance, which gave *Salvidienus* an opportunity of joining *Agrippa*, and ſeizing with him, after he had taken *Sutrium* by aſſault, all the paſſes and defiles leading to the two camps of *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. *Lucius*, after having attempted in vain to open himſelf a way ſword in hand, reſolved to retire into the city of *Peruſia*, and wait there, as in a place of ſafety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, following him cloſe, inveſted the place, before he had time to reflect on the danger, to which he expoſed himſelf and his troops. *Octavianus* was no ſooner informed of the bad ſituation of *Lucius*, than he flew to *Peruſia*, and in concert with his two lieutenants carried on the ſiege with great vigour; but as he found it impoſſible to take by aſſault ſo ſtrong a place, garriſoned by a whole army, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view ſurrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty ſix furlongs in compaſs. From his camp he drew lines quite to the *Tiber*, which he ſtrengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal diſtances, that is about ſixty foot from one another. Theſe towers he filled with archers, ſlingers, and all ſorts of engines to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. *Lucius*, on his ſide, was continually harraſſing the workmen and the legions that covered them with

Salvidienus, *one of* Octavianus's *lieutenants, reſcued out of danger by* Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius *beſieged in* Peruſia.

with briſk ſallies, in which his men, who were for the moſt part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of theſe ſallies *Octavianus* himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, *Fulvia* detached from her camp at *Præneſte L. Munatius Plancus* with a numerous body of choſen troops, ordering him to join *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raiſe the ſiege. *Plancus*, in ſpite of *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, whom *Octavianus* detached againſt him, joined *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and together with them advanced as far as *Fulginium*, within a hundred and ſixty furlongs of *Peruſia*. *Lucius* was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to ſignify to him by fires in the night and other ſignals. He did not in the leaſt doubt, but they would exert their utmoſt endeavours, and make ſome great puſh for his relief. And ſuch indeed was their deſign; but *Plancus*, after having viewed the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place without expoſing their troops, for which they were reſponſible to *Antony*, to the greateſt dangers. His opinion prevailed, and as none of them approved of *Lucius*'s conduct, who had thus raſhly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general and his troops in the utmoſt deſpair. As the beſieged were already reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions, they made a deſperate ſally, but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparallelled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. *Lucius* being determined to hold out to the laſt, took an inventory of all the proviſions in the place, which he daily meaſured out ſparingly to the ſoldiers and inhabitants of free condition, but allowed none to the ſlaves and ſervants of the army, though he kept them at the ſame time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, leſt they ſhould acquaint the enemy with the miſerable condition to which the gariſon was reduced. This was ſentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a moſt cruel death; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in hiſtory! The unhappy wretches, reduced to this deſperate condition, wandered about the works in queſt of herbs, graſs, and roots, ſome of them even feeding upon their own ordure and the fleſh of their dead companions. At length the ſoldiers themſelves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of *Lucius* to make a general ſally, chuſing rather to die, like brave men ſword in hand, than to live under the miſeries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend

Lucius's generals deſpair of relieving him.

The cruelty of Lucius *towards the ſlaves.*

pend upon but their own valour, and that in their preſent circumſtances they muſt either conquer or die. They reſolved therefore to make a deſperate puſh, and ſally out by break of day, to avoid the diſorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having firſt provided a great number of ſpades, hooks, ſcaling ladders, and all ſorts of neceſſary tools to break down the wall, with which *Octavianus* had incloſed the city, as ſoon as day began to appear, they ruſhed out like famiſhed tigers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an inſtant, plucked up the paliſades, and began to undermine the wall, while the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpoſe, and filled with archers and dartmen, diſcharged ſhowers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggreſſors, their machines playing inceſſantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, &c. But though many of them fell, the reſt, not ſo much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazing reſolution, and climbing up the wall, in ſpite of all oppoſition, drove the enemy from their poſts. The diſpute continued many hours with an obſtinacy and fury hardly to be expreſſed, and *Lucius*'s men, though they fought with all the diſadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but *Octavianus*'s troops being far more numerous, and conſtantly relieved with freſh ſupplies, the beſieged weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite ſpent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. Theſe gallant men, though ſtunned with their fall, ſtill ſtrove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and geſtures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length *Lucius*, ſurpriſed at ſuch extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only ſerved to deſtroy them, commanded a retreat to be ſounded. Hereupon *Octavianus*'s men gave loud ſhouts of joy, ſtriking, according to the cuſtom of the *Romans*, when they had gained a victory, their ſwords againſt their bucklers. This thoſe brave men looked upon as an inſult, and therefore getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without tears, that *Lucius* prevailed upon them to retreat. *Octavianus* that night doubled his guards, and diſpoſed ſeveral bodies of troops on the ramparts in ſuch manner, that they could eaſily relieve each

The garriſon reduced to great ſtraits, make a deſperate ſally.

Their gallant behaviour.

each other in caſe of a ſudden attack, which he apprehended [1].

Lucius, finding himſelf reduced to the utmoſt extremity without any hopes of relief, reſolved at length to capitulate, and by that means ſave the lives of ſo many brave men. Accordingly he diſpatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with *Octavianus* in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this anſwer to their propoſals, that he willingly pardoned all thoſe who had ſerved under *Antony* againſt the murderers of his father, but as for the others, he inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion. Thus he ſpoke to the deputies in common, but afterwards taking *Furnius*, one of them, aſide, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who out of hatred to him had been the occaſion of all theſe diſorders. Upon the report of the deputies many illuſtrious *Romans*, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of *Octavianus*, with whoſe cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted *Lucius* to inſiſt on the ſafety of all, and not to ſurrender upon any other terms. *Lucius* touched with compaſſion for ſo many brave men, whom he well knew *Octavianus*, if it were left to him, would ſacrifice to his revenge reſolved to go out in perſon, and, putting himſelf into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. *Octavianus* received him with great marks of eſteem and affection, and promiſed, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. *Lucius*, depending on *Octavianus*'s promiſe, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of *Peruſia*, who had ſhewn an inviolable attachment to *Lucius*, he ordered thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains, and ſentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement and the promiſe he had made. Some of thoſe unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the ſame anſwer, *Moriendum eſt, you muſt all die.* Accordingly, they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders carried in chains to an altar raiſed to *Julius Caeſar*, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the

Lucius *reſolves to capitulate.*

Goes in perſon to treat with Octavianus.

The barbarous cruelty of Octavianus.

[1] APPIAN. DIO. ibid.

the ides of *March*, the anniverſary of his death. With them were ſacrificed by the barbarous tyrant, *Caius Flavius*, *Clodius Bithynicus*, and *Canutius*, three illuſtrious ſenators of *Rome*, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city itſelf he delivered up to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers; but one *Ceſtius*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus* from his having ſerved a long time in *Macedon*, not caring to outlive the ruin of his country and the miſeries of his fellow-citizens, by ſetting fire to his own houſe, occaſioned the total deſtruction of that antient and once powerful city. For, a high wind ariſing, the flames ſpread from houſe to houſe, and burnt with ſuch violence, that in a very ſhort time the whole city was laid in aſhes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the *war of Peruſia*. As for *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Plancus*, and the other commanders of *Antony*, though they had ſtill thirteen legions and fifteen hundred horſe, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for ſuccours from *Antony*; but *Octavianus* purſuing them, *Aſinius Pollio* went on board the fleet commanded by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Brutus*'s admiral, carrying with him ſeven legions. *Plancus*, being purſued cloſe by *Agrippa*, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join *Fulvia* at *Præneſte*. The legions went over to *Agrippa*, but *Plancus* together with *Fulvia* fled from *Præneſte* to *Puteoli*, and from thence to *Brunduſium*, where they both imbarqued and paſſed over into *Macedon*. The other commanders made their eſcape into *Sicily*, where they were kindly received by *Sextus Pompeius*, who, had he not been of a ſlothful and indolent temper, might have improved theſe diviſions to his advantage, and with great eaſe made himſelf maſter of all *Italy*. For *Statius Murcus*, falling out with *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions and twenty four ſhips, carrying with him immenſe ſums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of *Aſia*. Beſides, he had received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Cephalenia*, conſiſting of veterans who had eſcaped from the battle of *Philippi*. But the indolent *Pompey*, though in condition to invade *Italy* and cruſh the party of the triumvirs there, contented himſelf with ravaging the coaſts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general [k].

Peruſia *reduced to aſhes.*

Lucius's *generals diſperſed.*

Tiberius Claudius Nero *maintains the party of* Lucius *in* Campania.

And now the other officers, who had ſerved under *Lucius*, being driven with their forces out of *Italy*, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, at the head of a few veterans and a great number of

[k] Appian. ibid. p. 672, & ſeq. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 72—77. Dio, l. xlviii. p. 362—368.

ſlaves,

ſlaves, whom he had drawn together by promiſing them their liberty, undertook to maintain the intereſt, and ſupport the ruined party, of *Lucius*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. *Tiberius* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*, and had been honoured with great employments by *Julius Cæſar*, who had a particular eſteem for him. He had been his quæſtor, and commanded his fleet in the war of *Alexandria*, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor, and raiſed to the high ſtation of pontifex maximus. But notwithſtanding all the favours he had received at *Cæſar*'s hands, after his death he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conſpirators, but exhorted the conſuls to reward them, as the deliverers of their country and the avengers of their oppreſſed liberty. He had by a timely flight avoided the fury of the proſcription, and, ſiding with *Lucius* at the beginning of this war, had ſhut himſelf up with him in the city of *Perufia*, whence he found means to make his eſcape into *Campania*, where he raiſed the army we mentioned above. But his raw and undiſciplined troops being frightened at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious army, they immediately diſperſed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. *Tiberius* thus deſerted by his forces, fled in diſguiſe with his wife *Livia* and his ſon *Tiberius*, not yet two years old, to the ſea-ſide, hoping he ſhould find there ſome veſſel to convey him over to *Sicily*. *Livia* was the daughter of *Livius Druſus Claudianus*, who was killed in the battle of *Philippi*, fighting for *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. *Livius* was deſcended from the *Claudian* family, whence he had the name of *Claudianus*; but his branch had been long ſince adopted into the *Livian* family. The only perſon of diſtinction, who followed *Tiberius* and *Livia* in their flight, was *Caius Velleius*, the grand-father of the famous hiſtorian *Velleius Paterculus*, who had ſerved with great reputation in the armies of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. But his great age and infirmities not ſuffering him to attend them over into *Sicily*, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the mercileſs *Octavianus*, he put an end to his life with his own ſword, and by that means prevented the vengeance of the bloody tyrant. As for *Tiberius* and *Livia*, *Octavianus* purſued them cloſe; but they, after having eſcaped a thouſand dangers, attended only by one domeſtic, found a ſmall boat, which conveyed them over into *Sicily*. And here we cannot help reflecting with *Velleius Paterculus* on the ſtrange turns of fortune, which ought to teach us, that as to future events our fears are often as groundleſs

Being abandoned by his troops retires with his wife Livia *into* Sicily.

leſs as our hopes. *Livia* was flying from an enemy, whoſe affections ſhe was one day to gain and maintain to the hour of his death; and the infant ſhe carried in her arms was to ſucceed *Octavianus*, and after him rule the *Roman* empire with an abſolute ſway. *Tiberius*'s troops being diſperſed, and he fled, *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feaſts were celebrated for ſeveral days together, and it was enacted by a decree of the ſenate and people, that *whenever any general ſhould for the future merit a triumph*, Octavianus *ſhould have a ſhare in his honour* [1].

The end of the war of Perufia Year after the Flood, [illegible] before Chriſt, 35. Of Rome, 713.

While *Cæſar Octavianus* was making war in *Italy* with *Lucius*, and ſettling his affairs there with all the ſkill and addreſs of an able politician, *Antony* was paſſing his time inglorioufly at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures and diverſions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the reliſh of them by the charms of novelty (D). But, in the mean time, all *Syria* and

[1] Appian. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid

(D) The poets have not given to *Omphale*, queen of *Lydia*, a greater aſcendant over *Hercules*, than hiſtory gives to the fair *Egyptian* queen over *Antony*. Like a ſecond *Hercules*, from a rough ſoldier and formidable conqueror, he became the ſlave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing ſtock not of *Egypt* only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the *Roman* name. Out of complaiſance to his admired idol, he exchanged the *Roman* for the *Greek* dreſs, piquing himſelf upon appearing among the effeminate *Aſiatics*, who compoſed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aſide all other buſineſs, he was ſolely intent on pleaſing and diverting *Cleopatra*, who never left him night nor day; ſhe played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when he thought fit to exerciſe the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diverſion than their improvement, ſhe was always by him. Nothing was talked of at court but feaſts, ſhows, revels, *&c.* Mirth, jollity, and pleaſures, had baniſhed all buſineſs, all ſerious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the *inimitable life*. They treated one another by turns, on which occaſion their expences were beyond all meaſure *Plutarch* gives us two inſtances of *Antony*'s extravagance, which he learned of his grandfather *Lamprias*, who had them from one *Philotas*, a phyſician of *Amphyſſa* *Philotas*, being acquainted with one of *Antony*'s cooks, was invited by him to ſee what ſumptuous preparations he was making for ſupper. Coming into the kitchen, he was ſurpriſed at the prodigious variety of the moſt rare and expenſive things; but nothing ſtruck him ſo much as the

ſight

and *Paleſtine* being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes that were impoſed upon them, the *Aradians* killed thoſe who were

ſight of eight wild boars roaſting intire; *Surely*, ſaid he, *You have a great number of gueſts*; but the cook, laughing at his ſimplicity. *There are not above twelve gueſts*, replied he; *but every diſh muſt be ſerved up juſt roaſted to a turn, and if any thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is ſpoilt; for*, added he, *may be* Antony *will ſup juſt now, may be not this hour, may be not theſe two hours, becauſe he may perhaps have a mind to ſpend ſome time in drinking, or talking; ſo that not one but many ſuppers muſt be had in readineſs, it not being eaſy to gueſs at his hour.* The ſame *Philotas* related, that being afterwards in the ſervice of *Antony*'s eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, and admitted with other domeſtics of a better rank to his table, when the young man did not dine with his father, it happened, that another phyſician, full of argument and noiſe, diſturbed and tired the company with the impertinence of his talk: *Philotas*, no longer able to bear the empiric, put this ſophiſtical ſyllogiſm to him; *There is ſome kind of fever, wherein cold water is good; every one who has a fever has ſome kind of fever; therefore cold water is good for all thoſe who have fevers.* This ſophiſm quite ſilenced the quack; at which young *Antony* was ſo pleaſed, that addreſſing himſelf to *Philotas*, and pointing to a ſide-board covered with rich plate, *Philotas*, ſaid he, *all that is yours.* *Philotas* thanked him for his good will, but could not conceive that the young man had a power of diſpoſing of things to that value. He therefore went home without ſo much as thinking of the preſent. But he was very much ſurpriſed, when ſoon after his departure he ſaw all the plate brought home to his houſe by ſlaves followed by an officer of young *Antony*, who deſired him to put his mark upon them. *Philotas* excuſed himſelf, fearing to accept from a young man a preſent of ſo great a value. But the officer, who brought it, *What ails the man?* ſaid he, *don't you know that he, who makes you this preſent, is* Antony's *ſon, who could very well ſpare it, were it all gold? But if you will be adviſed by me I would counſel you to accept of the value in money; for among the plate there may be ſome pieces of antiquity, or the work of ſome famous maſter, for which* Antony *may have a particular eſteem.*

But to return to *Cleopatra*; ſhe was daily contriving new diverſions for *Antony*'s entertainment; and the moſt inconſiderable trifles, when managed by her, received ſuch an air as made them agreeable diverſions. They often rambled about the ſtreets in the night, hand in hand, *Cleopatra* dreſſed like an ordinary woman, and *Antony* like a ſlave, and in that diſguiſe entering the public houſes mixed with the mob. *Cleopatra* took great delight in theſe expeditions, as they gave her room to diſplay her wit and humour in retorting the coarſe raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which ſhe did with an unparallelled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and ſometimes with blows. This kind

were ſent to gather them; and, thereupon, joining the *Palmyrenians* and ſeveral petty princes of *Syria*, called in the *Parthians*, which put the whole country into the utmoſt confuſion. For the *Parthians* on this invitation paſſing the *Euphrates* under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's ſon, and *Labienus* a *Roman* general (E), overcame in a pitched battle *Saxa*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Syria*, and forced him to take refuge in *Cilicia*. After this victory the two generals divided their army: *Labienus* with one part of it purſued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he ſlew him, defeated his army, over-ran all *Aſia Minor*, and, forcing *Antony*'s lieutenants to make their eſcape into the iſlands, brought all places under him as far as the *Helleſpont* and the *Ægean* ſea. At the ſame time, *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice* as far as *Tyre*, which city alone held out againſt him, the remains of the *Roman* forces in that country having got thither before him *.

The Parthians over-run Syria, and gain great advantages over Antony's lieutenants there.

* Dio. Appian. ibid. & in Parthicis. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Epit. Liv. l. cxxvii. Plut. in Anton. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen and a *Roman* magiſtrate, a genera land a conqueror, who was at this time forty and upwards, ſeemed very ſtrange to the graver and better ſort of people; but the populace were highly pleaſed with their frolics, ſaying of *Antony*, that they had great obligations to him, for ſhewing them his comical countenance, and reſerving his tragical one for the *Romans*. Of *Antony*'s other follies, eſpecially of the pleaſant adventure that happened to him, while he was angling with *Cleopatra*, we have ſpoke in our hiſtory of *Egypt* (86).

(E) This *Labienus* was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæſar*'s lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his moſt intimate friends; but afterwards going over to *Pompey*, he became one of his moſt inveterate enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the battle of *Munda* (87). His ſon, purſuing the ſame intereſt, was ſent by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, in quality of embaſſador to the *Parthian* king to ſolicit his aſſiſtance for that war; and was at the *Parthian* court, when the battle happened; by the ill ſucceſs of which being diſcouraged from returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king *Orodes* to undertake this war, he was ſent with *Pacorus*, the king's ſon, to command under him (88).

(86) *Vol. IX. p.* 158. (87) *Cæſ. comment. & Plut. in Cæſ.* (88) *Dio. l. xlviii. p.* 371. *Flor. l. iv. c.* 9. *Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c.* 78.

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of these successes was brought to *Antony* at *Alexandria*, and at the same time news of the ill state of his affairs in *Italy*, and of the unsuccessful war which his brother *Lucius* had waged there with *Octavianus*. Hereupon recovering, as it were, from a drunken fit, he resolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith against the *Parthians*. With this view having got together two hundred ships, he sailed to *Tyre*; but finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the same time most lamentable letrers from *Fulvia*, he changed his mind, and resolved to postpone the war with the *Parthians*, and sail directly to *Italy*. Accordingly, he left *Tyre*, after having reinforced the garison of that place; and, sailing by the islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*, whom he highly blamed as the chief cause of the late disorders. In this city he received certain advice, that *Octavianus* had made himself master of *Transalpine Gaul*, and forced the son of *Calenus*, after the death of his father, to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As *Transalpine Gaul* had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of *Philippi*, yielded to *Antony*, he looked upon such a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to sea without loss of time, set sail for *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sicyon*. This neglect and scorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for she died in that city soon after her husband's departure. *Antony* in crossing the *Ionian* sea was met by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, who, instead of opposing him, came on board his galley, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by *Asinius Pollio*, who had fled from *Italy*, as we have related above, after the surrender of *Perusia*, and taken refuge on board *Domitius*'s fleet (F). The two fleets thus joined

Antony *resolves to return to* Italy.

The death of Fulvia.

came

(F) *Appian* tells us, that *Antony*, meeting *Domitius* in the *Ionian* sea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in person against him with five galleys only. *Plancus*, who was then with *Antony*, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that *Domitius*, who had a fleet much more powerful than his, would neither submit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. *Antony*, without hearkening to his reasons, advanced boldly, and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who stood on the prow of his galley, cried out to *Domitius* to strike his flag to the triumvir, who was of a higher rank than he. At these words the republican admiral as if he had been thunder-struck, submitted to the summons, &c.

Antony *arrives in* Italy, *and lays ſiege to* Brunduſium.

came to an anchor on the coaſt of *Epirus*, and from thence ſet ſail for *Brunduſium*. In this city *Octavianus* had five legions, which ſhut the gates againſt *Antony*, refuſing admittance, not to him, they ſaid, but to *Domitius*, who was *Octavianus*'s declared enemy. Upon this refuſal *Antony* immediately blocked up the place, and at the ſame time diſpatched one of his officers to *Pompey* in *Sicily*, inviting that general to join intereſt with him againſt *Octavianus*, and invade *Italy*. *Pompey* came readily into the propoſal, made a deſcent, took ſeveral cities on the coaſt, while *Antony* purſued the ſiege of *Brunduſium* with great vigour. Hereupon *Octavianus*, having drawn together his legions, and detached *Agrippa* with a conſiderable body againſt *Pompey*, marched with the reſt to the relief of the beſieged city. But his veterans refuſing to draw their ſwords againſt *Antony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which at length was brought about by the interpoſition and management of *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and the famous *Mæcenas* (G). This dangerous

Octavianus *and* Antony *come to an agreement.*

luted *Antony* as his general, and, coming on board his galley, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by *Appian*; but we have choſe to follow *Velleius*, who tells us with more appearance of truth, that *Pollio* had before-hand engaged *Domitius* to take party with *Antony*, by which ſignal piece of ſervice he acquitted himſelf of the many obligations he owed him. To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event, *Antony* cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, or rather a piece of money to be coined, which is ſtill to be ſeen, with the triumvir's head, and on the reverſe the prow of a ſhip with the names of the two generals.

G) *Caius Cilnius Mæcenas*, well known from the verſes of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was deſcended from the antient kings of *Hetruria*, but contented himſelf with the degree of a *Roman* knight. The *Cilnian* family was, according to *Livy* (89), one of the moſt illuſtrious of *Hetruria*. As for the ſurname of *Mæcenas*, it was probably borrowed from ſome place belonging to the family; at leaſt *Varro* tells us, that all the *Latin* names ending in *as* denote ſome place. *Pliny* ſpeaks of the wines of *Mæcenatium*, and ranks them among the beſt of *Italy*: *Cæſenatia vina*, ſays he, & *Mæcenatia* (90). This illuſtrious *Roman* was a man of great politeneſs and generoſity, which towards men of letters knew no bounds, whence thoſe, who ever ſince his time have ſet up for encouragers of learning, have in all ages been honoured with his name. *Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*, ſays *Martial*. But *Mæcenas* was not only a generous patron to the learned; he was

(89) *Liv. l. x.* (90) *Plin. l. xiv. c. 6.*

himſelf

gerous breach being made up, and all paſt offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the ſoldiers of the two armies, to make the friendſhip of their generals more laſting, deſired it might be cemented with the ties of blood, and propoſed a match between *Antony* and *Octavianus*'s ſiſter *Octavia*, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. *Octavianus* had a great veneration and tenderneſs for his ſiſter; and to do her juſtice, none of her ſex ever had a better claim to the eſteem and veneration of mankind. For tho' ſhe excelled all the women of her age, *Cleopatra* herſelf not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her perſon were far inferior to thoſe of her mind. Though the queen of *Egypt* had ſo large a ſhare in *Antony*'s heart, yet the match was no ſooner propoſed to him, than he agreed to it with unexpreſſible ſatisfaction, at leaſt in appearance. After this the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after mutual embraces and promiſes of laſting friendſhip, they came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof *Codropolis* (H), a town of *Illyricum*, was to be the boundary of their

They divide the Roman *dominions.*

himſelf thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleaſures. *Ingenioſus vir ille fuit*, ſays *Seneca* of him (91), *magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, niſi illum enervaſſet felicitas, imo caſtraſſet*; and elſewhere (92), *Habuit Mæcenas grande & virile ingenium, niſi ipſe illud diſcinxiſſet*. After the battle of *Philippi* he interceded with *Octavianus* in favour of *Horace*, and obtained his pardon, though he had ſerved under *Brutus* in quality of legionary tribune. He protected *Virgil*, and by his intereſt got his farm reſtored to him, which *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers had ſeized. He was one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, and ſerved him to the laſt with the utmoſt fidelity. He was a man of great penetration and addreſs in managing the moſt difficult affairs; but liked his pleaſures too much to engage in buſineſs, when he could decline it without diſguſting his maſter, the gaining of whoſe favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, eſpecially *Juvenal* and *Seneca*, reproach him, and not undeſervedly, with luxury, indolence, and effeminacy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, *Meibomius* has wrote an intire volume under the title of *Mæcenas*, to which we refer our readers.

(H) This city is called by *Appian Scodra*, the ſituation whereof agrees with that of *Codropolis*. *Scodra*, now known to the *Turks* by the name of *Eſcodar*, and to the *Italians* by that of *Scutari*, was antiently the capital of the country of the *Labea-*

(91) *Senec. epiſt.* 19. (92) *Idem, epiſt.* 92.

tes,

their dominions; all from that place weſtward was allotted to *Octavianus*, and all eaſtward to *Antony*: ſo that the former had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, and the latter all the eaſtern provinces quite to the *Euphrates*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, who had been ſent by *Octavianus* with ſix legions into that province ſome time before the arrival of *Antony*. It was agreed, that *Antony* ſhould make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavianus* upon *Pompey*, if he refuſed to ſubmit to reaſonable conditions. *Italy* was left common to both the triumvirs for the raiſing of forces wherewithal to carry on theſe wars. To theſe conditions *Antony* added, that *Octavianus* ſhould pardon *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and likewiſe all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him in the war of *Peruſia*. The two generals thus reconciled marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Antony* and the incomparable *Octavia* was ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, *Antony*, to give *Octavianus* an undeniable proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, diſcovered to him, that *Salvidienus* (1), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops and his ſervice, when *Octavianus* ſent him into *Spain*, and that he had repeated the ſame offer at *Brundiſium*. Hereupon *Octavianus* accuſed him

Antony *marries* Octavia, Octavianus's *ſiſter*

tes, a people of *Illyricum*, and is at preſent the chief city of *Albania*. It ſtands on the river *Drilo*, now the *Drino*, about ſixty miles eaſt of *Raguſa*. This city, which was the bulwark of *Illyricum* on the ſide of *Macedon*, and looked upon as one of the beſt fortified and moſt inacceſſible cities in the world, is often mentioned by *Livy*, and the other *Roman* writers who give an account of the war between the republic and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. *Florus* was certainly miſtaken, when he placed *Scodra* in *Macedon*, and ſtyled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(1) *Salvidienus* was the ſon of a poor peaſant, and ſpent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly employed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if all in a flame. This he looked upon as a prognoſtic of ſome extraordinary good fortune, and therefore ſoon after liſted himſelf in the army, where by his valour he roſe to the higheſt poſts. He attended *Cæſar* in moſt of his wars, and as he had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, the dictator had named him one of the conſuls, who were to govern the republic in his abſence, though *Salvidienus* had not yet been admitted into the ſenate. Upon the dictator's death, he out of gratitude ſided with his ſon *Octavianus*, and had a great ſhare in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking *Octavianus* did not reward him according to his deſerts, he offered his ſervice to *Antony*, who, by baſely betraying him, was the occaſion of his death.

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of treachery before the ſenate, who declared him an enemy to the people of *Rome*, ſentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the diſcovery of the treaſon. At the ſame time, *Manius*, of whom we have ſpoke above, was by *Antony*'s orders put to death, as having been the chief author of the late diſturbances [m].

IN the mean time, *Pompey*, who was maſter at ſea, keeping all the ports of *Italy* blocked up with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, eſpecially of corn, which was become ſo dear, that the people were ready to ſtarve. Hereupon *Antony* preſſed his collegue either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him by a vigorous war to recall his fleets, and leave the ſea open for trade and navigation. *Octavianus* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Antony*'s approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*, the one of four drachmas and a half for every ſlave, the other on all legacies. This ſo provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they roſe in oppoſition to theſe edicts, aſſaulted *Octavianus* in the forum, and would have torn him to pieces, had not *Antony* haſtened to his aſſiſtance with a body of troops, which was incamped at the gates of the city. The rabble was ſoon diſperſed, and ſeveral of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*; but, as the famine ſtill continued, the populace, notwithſtanding the puniſhment of a few, grew daily more outrageous. *Antony* therefore, fearing a general inſurrection, wrote to *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was then in *Sicily* with *Pompey* his ſon-in-law, inviting him to *Rome* to treat there of an accommodation between *Octavianus*, *Pompey*, and himſelf. *Pompey* was overjoyed at this propoſal, as was alſo *Statius Murcus*; but *Menas*, whom ſome writers call *Menodorus*, one of *Pompey*'s infranchiſed ſlaves, and a ſea-officer of great experience and bravery, not only oppoſed it, but with groundleſs inſinuations intirely eſtranged *Pompey* from *Murcus*, who preſſed him with great earneſtneſs to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and reſtore *Italy* to its former tranquillity. Hereupon *Murcus* retired to *Syracuſe*, where he was murdered by ſome ſlaves, whom *Pompey* afterwards cauſed to be executed to clear himſelf from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that *Menas* had put him to death by *Pompey*'s orders. But, notwithſtanding *Menas*'s

Rome in great diſtreſs for want of corn.

The people riſe.

The triumvirs agree to come to an accommodation with Pompey.

[m] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. cxxvii. DIO. l. xlviii. p. 375.

oppoſition, *Pompey* allowed *Libo* to go to *Rome*, in compliance with *Antony*'s invitation, where he perſuaded *Octavianus* and *Antony* to come to an interview with *Pompey*, that they might, in perſon, and face to face, diſcuſs their pretenſions, and put an end to their differences. To this *Pompey* conſented at the earneſt requeſt of his officers, and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount *Miſenus*, where he and *Libo* in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpoſe, expoſed their mutual claims and pretenſions. *Pompey* demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate inſtead of *Lepidus*, whoſe authority declined daily. This demand ſeemed very reaſonable to *Pompey*, but quite otherwiſe to *Antony* and *Octavianus*; ſo that, after a warm and long diſpute, they parted without coming to any reſolution. *Pompey*, who knew he had it in his power to reduce *Rome* and all *Italy* to the utmoſt extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms againſt the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference and returning to *Sicily*. But *Libo* adviſed him to ſtay and continue the negotiations, at leaſt by deputies, which he did accordingly. The ſecond day he dropped his pretenſion to a place in the triumvirate, but propoſed the following preliminaries: 1. That thoſe, who had been concerned in the death of *Cæſar*, ſhould only be baniſhed, and be at liberty to chuſe for their exile what place they pleaſed. 2. That ſuch, as had been proſcribed on any other account whatſoever, ſhould be allowed to return to *Rome*. 3. That the latter ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands and fortunes. *Antony* and *Octavianus* abſolutely rejected the two firſt articles, and only conſented that thoſe, who were not in the number of the conſpirators, ſhould be allowed to purchaſe their eſtates. Moſt part of thoſe who were about *Pompey*, tired with ſo long and deſtructive a war, and dreading the fate of *Murcus*, declared, that they were willing to return to *Rome*, even upon the conditions propoſed by the triumvirs; which ſo diſpleaſed *Pompey*, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he tore his robe, calling thoſe who ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions, vile traitors and cowardly deſerters. *Menas*, ſaid he, *is the only true friend I have in the world*; Menas *alone has given me wholeſome and diſintereſted advice*. However, at the earneſt intreaties of his mother *Mutia*, of *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother, and of *Libo*, his father-in-law, he conſented to a ſecond interview, in which, after three days debates, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties. "1. That *Pompey* ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, "*Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and the adjacent iſlands, and ſhould "over and above have *Peloponneſus* yielded up to him. 2. "That

An interview between the triumvirs and Pompey.

Pompey's *demands.*

The articles of accommodation between the triumvirs and Pompey.

" That he ſhould have the privilege of demanding the con-
" ſulate, though abſent, and of diſcharging that office by
" any of his friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maxi-
" mus ſhould be conferred upon him, and ſeventy thouſand
" great ſeſterces reſtored to him out of his father's confiſcated
" eſtate. 4. That ſuch as had taken refuge with him meer-
" ly out of fear, ſhould be allowed to return and enjoy their
" whole eſtates; and that the proſcribed perſons, who were
" not guilty of *Cæſar*'s death, ſhould have only the fourth
" part of their eſtates reſtored to them. 5. That trade and
" navigation ſhould be free; that *Pompey* ſhould withdraw
" his troops from *Italy*; that he ſhould ſuffer no inroads or
" deſcents to be made upon the coaſts, nor build more ſhips.
" 6. That he ſhould not for the future receive the ſlaves
" who fled to him; that thoſe who had bore arms under him
" ſhould be declared free, and that his legionaries, when the
" time of their ſervice was expired, ſhould have their ſhare
" in the diviſion of lands with thoſe of *Antony* and *Octavia-*
" *nus*. 7. That he ſhould immediately ſend to *Rome* the
" corn he had retained, oblige the *Sicilians* to pay annually
" what corn was due to the republic out of their iſland, and
" clear the ſeas of all pirates.". This treaty was ſigned by the three chiefs, and ſent to *Rome* to be depoſited there in the hands of the veſtals [n]. They then agreed to treat each other in token of their ſincere reconciliation; and it fell to *Pompey*'s lot to make the firſt entertainment. *Antony* aſked him where he deſigned to receive them? *In Carinis*, anſwered *Pompey* pleaſantly: for the word *carinæ* in *Latin* ſignifies *ſhips*, and was likewiſe the name of a ward or part of the city, where *Pompey the Great* had a ſtately palace, which *Antony* had ſeized. *Antony* underſtood the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertainment, *Pompey*, having brought his galley near the ſhore, and made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two gueſts with great civility and politeneſs. And here *Octavianus* ſeemed to have forgot his uſual warineſs and circumſpection; and this entertainment would have coſt both him and his collegue dear, had not *Pompey* been endowed with a truly great and generous ſoul. For while they were at table, and *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, growing warm with wine, began to rally *Antony* upon his amours and fondneſs for the fair *Egyptian* queen, *Menas* approaching *Pompey*, *You have now a fair opportunity*, he whiſpered him in the ear, *of revenging the death of your father and brother, and making yourſelf maſter of*

The triumvirs and Pompey *treat each other.*

Pompey's *generoſity.*

[n] APPIAN. DIO. PLUT. ibid.

the whole Roman *empire*; *'tis but cutting the cable, leave the reſt to me.* The blow was ſure, and the temptation violent, *Pompey*'s fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces aſhore. However, the generous *Roman* ſcorning to purchaſe the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a ſhort pauſe, *Menas*, ſaid he, *may forfeit his word and reputation, but that is not becoming the ſon of* Pompey. 'Tis a great pity we have the characters of illuſtrious men only from hiſtorians, who, either out of fear or flattery, cry down the enemies of the princes, whoſe favour they courted. *Velleius Paterculus*, who wrote in the time of *Auguſtus*, and has in his hiſtory miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, paints *Pompey* in the worſt colours. But the greatneſs of mind which he diſplayed on this occaſion againſt his own intereſt, is ſufficient to bely that mercenary ſcycophant, and the other flatterers of the *Cæſars*, who ought to have had ſome regard to his memory in conſideration of this generous action, which, in ſpite of all their diſguiſes, and falſe repreſentations, will recommend his name to the lateſt poſterity. *Plutarch* relates this matter ſomewhat differently; for according to him *Pompey* returned this anſwer to the propoſal of *Menas*; *This you might have done without imparting it to me*; *but now let us make the beſt of our preſent condition, for I cannot prevail upon my ſelf to violate my faith once given.* From this anſwer it appears, that ſo great an advantage, joined to the pleaſure of revenge, was a kind of ſurpriſe upon his generoſity; but it ſerved only to make it break out with greater luſtre in rejecting a perfidious action, what profit ſoever might accrue from it [o]. *Antony* and *Octavianus* treated *Pompey* in their turns with great demonſtrations of ſeeming friendſhip; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, *Pompey*, who was ſincere, propoſed a match between his daughter and *M. Marcellus*, the ſon of *Octavia* by her former huſband; which *Octavianus* conſenting to, they both entered into the uſual engagements, *Pompey* for his daughter, and *Octavianus* for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous *M. Marcellus*, whom *Octavianus* had appointed his heir in caſe he had no iſſue male of his own, and whoſe virtues are ſo highly commended by the prince of the *Latin* poets [p]. Before the three chiefs parted, they named conſuls for the four following years, viz. *Antony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavianus* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Soſius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Cæſar* for the fourth.

Pompey's daughter betrothed to M. Marcellus

Octavianus's nephew.

[o] Appian. ibid. Plut. in Antonio.

[p] Vide Virg. Æneid. l. vi. v. 868, & ſeq.

fourth. The conſuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *C. Aſinius Pollio*, who had ſucceeded *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus*; but before their year expired, others, namely *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *P. Canidius Craſſus*, on what account we know not, were ſubſtituted in their room [q].

AND now all differences being compoſed, and for a while an end put to the civil wars, *Pompey*, taking his leave of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, returned to *Sicily*, and the other two to *Rome*, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to ſee themſelves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of *Italy*. The joy of the people was doubled upon the return of many illuſtrious citizens, who had been proſcribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into *Octavianus*'s hands after the ſurrender of *Peruſia*. Among theſe were *L. Aruntius*, *M. Junius Silanus*, *C. Sentius Saturninus*, *M. Titius*, *M. Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *M. Cicero*, the ſon of the orator, and many other citizens of great diſtinction; who after having aſſured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments, returned to their native country, where they were received with thoſe marks of eſteem and affection which were due to their merit. The praiſes of *Pompey*, who had the glory of ſaving ſo many worthy men, and reſtoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true *Roman*. And now *Antony* and *Octavianus*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Rome* (K), took leave of each other, and quitting the capital, ſet

The proſcribed citizens return to Rome.

Octavianus *marches into* Tranſalpine Gaul

[q] DIO. l. xlix.

(K) While *Antony* and *Octavianus* ſtaid together at *Rome* after the concluſion of the peace, they frequently diverted themſelves with drawing lots, playing at dice, *&c.* when *Antony* was conſtantly the loſer. As this gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an *Egyptian*, who was with him, and was deemed very ſkilful in the calculation of nativities, told him, that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overſhadowed by that of *Octavianus*; he therefore adviſed him to keep himſelf at a diſtance from that young man: *For your genius*, ſays he, *dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when abſent from him, but in the preſence of his unmanly and dejected.* This, no doubt, the impoſtor ſaid to make his court to *Cleopatra*, by forcing *Antony* to leave *Rome*, and return to *Egypt*; wherein he ſucceeded; for *Antony*, who put great confidence in the ſkill of the *Egyptian* aſtrologer, left *Rome* ſoon after (93).

(93) *Plut. in Anton.*

out,

out; the former for *Greece*, and the latter for *Gaul*. Some nations beyond the *Alps* having attempted to ſhake off the yoke, *Octavianus*, to whoſe ſhare *Gaul* was fallen, marched againſt them in perſon, and having eaſily reduced them, repaſſed the *Alps*, and ſtopped in *Hetruria*. As for *Antony*, he diſpatched *Ventidius* into *Aſia* to put a ſtop to the inroads of the *Parthians*, but went himſelf no farther than *Athens*, where he ſpent the winter with his new wife *Octavia*, in the ſame exceſſes of luxury, folly, and childiſh diverſions, as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Laying aſide the enſigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exerciſes in the *Grecian* habit, like a private citizen of *Athens*. He often viſited the academy, and the *Lyceum*, ſpending ſometimes whole days in hearing the diſputes and conferences of the philoſophers. While he thus led an idle life at *Athens*, *Ventidius* his lieutenant was ſignalizing himſelf in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on againſt the *Parthians*. We have given elſewhere [r] a diſtinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that warlike nation by the brave *Ventidius*, and therefore ſhall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the ſame tranſactions. When news was brought to *Antony* of the ſignal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the *Greeks* of any rank, exhibited ſports and ſhows, and preſided at them in perſon as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleaſed with the title of *Bacchus*, which divinity he took upon him to perſonate in a proceſſion he made upon the joyful tidings of the ſucceſs of his arms in the eaſt. During theſe public rejoicings the *Greeks* ſet no bounds to their flattery; they fell proſtrate before the pretended *Bacchus*, beſeeching him to marry *Minerva* the tutelar deity of their city. *Antony*, diſpleaſed with this groſs flattery, conſented to the match, but aſked a thouſand talents for the portion of the goddeſs. *Your father* Jupiter, anſwered one of the *Athenians*, *required no fortune with your mother* Semele. *'Tis true*, replied *Antony*; *but* Jupiter *was rich, and I want money*. *Antony* would abate nothing of the ſum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themſelves, according to their cuſtom, with ſatires and lampoons, of which his amours with *Cleopatra* were the chief ſubject. But he laughed at their jeſts, and took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortify them the more, gravely repreſented to him, that he acted therein againſt the

Antony paſſes the winter at Athens *in idleneſs.*

Puniſhes the Athenians *for their flattery.*

[r] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 531, & ſeq.

Roman

Roman laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion [r].

Resolves to march into the east.

IN the mean time news was brought to *Antony* of a second victory gained by *Ventidius* over the *Parthians*, for which he made great rejoycings; but being informed at the same time, that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations with a design to invade *Syria* anew, and thinking it no ways consistent with his reputation to continue idle at *Athens*, and suffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he assembled his troops early in the spring, and reassumed with the marks of his dignity all the majesty of a *Roman* general. When his army was ready to march, he made himself a garland of the olive-tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and filled a vessel with the water of the *lepsydra* to carry along with him (L). At length he left *Athens* after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the east. But before he got thither, *Ventidius* gained a third victory far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and redeemed the honour of the *Roman* name, which had suffered much ever since the battle of *Carrhæ*: for *Pacorus* himself, with above twenty thousand of his best men, was slain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our history of the *Parthians* [s]. Had *Ventidius* pursued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*; but not thinking it prudent to push his good fortune any further, for fear of giving *Antony* umbrage, he turned his arms against those who had revolted in *Syria* and *Phœnice* during the late war. Pursuant to this design, when *Antony* arrived, he was besieging *Samosata*, the capital of *Comagene*, whither *Antiochus*, king of that country, had retired. *Antony* on his coming thither dismissed this brave commander, and sent him to *Rome* to demand of the senate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a subaltern, whose glory eclipsed that of his general. *Antiochus* from the begin-

His lieutenant Ventidius *gains great advantages over the* Parthians.

[r] PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. ibid. & DIO. ibid. [s] Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 533.

(L) This was a fountain in the citadel of *Athens*, and was called *Clepsydra*, as being sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty, like those vessels which were antiently in use among the *Greeks*, and also the *Egyptians*, to measure time by the running out of the water. *Antony* imagined that this water would not a little contribute to the success of his arms.

ning

ning of the ſiege had offered to *Ventidius* a thouſand talents for his pardon, and promiſed an intire obedience and ſubmiſſion to all *Antony*'s commands. But as *Antony* was then on his march, *Ventidius* ordered him to ſend his propoſals to him; which he did accordingly; but *Antony* rejecting them, the beſieged dreading his reſentment, defended the place with ſuch vigour and intrepidity, that the *Roman* general began to repent his not accepting the firſt offer, and was in the end glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred talents, that he might raiſe the ſiege with honour, which otherwiſe he feared he ſhould be forced to do in a ſhameful manner, his ſoldiers being highly diſpleaſed with his diſmiſſing *Ventidius*, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo many ſignal victories [u]. After this, *Antony*, having appointed *Soſius* his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, left the army under his command, and returned to *Octavia* at *Athens*.

Antony beſieges Samoſata.

He returns to Athens.

In the mean time new diſputes ariſing between *Pompey* and *Octavianus*, the latter was wholly intent on making the neceſſary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to invade *Sicily*. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretenſions, but not their ambition; and that animoſity between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey the Great*, which had laid waſte the *Roman* world, was ſtill ſubſiſting in the minds of their children. The apparent ſubject of their quarrel was *Peloponneſus*, which had been yielded to *Pompey*, as we have obſerved above in virtue of the treaty. *Octavianus* pretended that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that *Pompey* ought to be reſponſible for them. On the other hand *Pompey* maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to enſue, *Pompey* cauſed his old galleys to be refitted, and ſeveral new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plauſible pretence for *Octavianus* to invade *Sicily*. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and aſſembled what ſhips he could on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* ſeas. *Pompey*, informed of theſe preparations, blocked up the ports of *Italy* anew, and in a ſhort time reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and ſeemed diſpoſed to riſe, if their grievances were not ſoon redreſſed. *A fine peace indeed!*

New diſputes between Pompey *and* Octavianus.

Rome *reduced again to great ſtraits.*

[u] Plut. in Anton. Appian. in Parthic. Dio. l. xlix. p. 405.

ſaid

ſaid they, *what have we gained by it but to have four tyrants inſtead of three?* But *Octavianus*, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war both by ſea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the diſcontented populace. He wrote to *Antony*, deſiring him to leave *Athens* for a while, and paſs over into *Italy*, that they might confer together about the moſt proper meaſures for the cruſhing of *Pompey*, their common rival. He likewiſe acquainted *Lepidus* with his deſign, who was then in *Africa*, which had fallen to his ſhare in the laſt diviſion of the *Roman* dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all poſſible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade *Sicily* at the ſame time. *Antony* in compliance with his requeſt came to *Bruduſium*, but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to *Athens*; whether out of ſome diſtruſt he had of *Octavianus*, or becauſe he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (M). Whatever his reaſons were, he reimbarqued and returned to *Athens*, leaving a letter for *Octavianus*, wherein he exhorted him to ſtand to the conditions of the laſt treaty. As for *Lepidus*, who was a man of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he ſpent the whole ſummer in making preparations, and did not leave *Africa* till the following year; ſo that the whole burden of the war fell upon *Octavianus*, whoſe boundleſs ambition would allow him no reſt, till he had got rid of ſo powerful a rival, and made himſelf maſter of the wealthy iſland he poſſeſſed. However, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no ſmall relief in the agreeable converſation of *Livia*, with whoſe charms and refined wit he was ſo taken, that in the end he divorced his own wife *Scribonia* (N), and married her, though

Octavianus falls in love with Livia and marries her.

(M) One of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left intire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of *Brunduſium* told him, that at break of day they had ſeen a wolf come out of his tent.

(N) *Scribonia* was the ſiſter of *Scribonius Libo* father-in-law to *Pompey*. *Octavianus* married her with a political view, which was to divert *Pompey* by that alliance from ſiding with *Antony*, who ſeemed inclined to eſpouſe the quarrel of his brother *Lucius*, and his wife *Fulvia*. *Libo* with *Saturninus* and ſome other ſenators had already attempted to conclude a league between *Antony* and *Pompey*. *Octavianus* therefore, to gain *Libo*, who had a great aſcendant over his ſon-in-law, married his ſiſter, and had by her the famous *Julia*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But as in that marriage he had conſulted his in-

though then big with child, her husband *Claudius Tiberius Nero* not daring to withstand the inclinations of so powerful a lover. *Livia* had one son by *Tiberius*, who bore his father's name, and was, three months after her marriage with *Octavianus*, brought to bed of another, named *Drusus*. But of these two children, and their mother *Livia*, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. The charms of *Livia*, however powerful, were not able to divert *Octavianus* from the pursuit of his ambitious views. He continued with the same ardor his warlike preparations, recalled the legions he had left in *Transalpine Gaul*, and assembled a great number of vessels in the ports of *Hetruria*, and at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic* sea. But as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of *Pompey*, he must have put off his *Sicilian* expedition till the return of *Antony*, and the arrival of *Lepidus*, had he not been favoured by fortune beyond his expectation. For *Menas*, the famous freedman of *Pompey*, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his freedmen killed by the senators who were about him, revolted to *Octavianus*, and joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which he commanded, delivered up to him the islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, over which he had been placed by his indulgent master. *Octavianus* received the traytor with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the priviledge of wearing a gold ring, and sitting among the *Roman* knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This *Pompey* looked upon as a declaration of war, and therefore immediately sent out *Menecrates*, another freedman, and a mortal enemy to *Menas*, with a numerous squadron, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, which he did accordingly; but being met on his return by a squadron of *Octavianus*'s fleet, commanded by *C. Calvisius*, and his antient rival *Menas*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Menecrates* and *Menas* distinguished themselves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, animating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity, and therefore, regardless of all dangers, fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. At length, after a long and most obstinate dispute between the two rivals, *Menecrates* being dangerously wounded, *Menas* boarded his

Menas Pompey's freedman goes over to Octavianus.

A new breach between Octavianus and Pompey.

terest, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry *Livia*, who was accounted the most agreeable woman of her age.

galley

galley, and made himſelf maſter of it. Hereupon *Menecrates*, chuſing rather to die, than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himſelf into the ſea, and periſhed in the waves. Upon his death *Demochares*, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, attacked *Calviſius*'s ſquadron ſo warmly, that he forced him to give way, took ſeveral of his galleys, ſunk others, and drove the reſt againſt the rocks near the ſhore, where moſt of them were daſhed to pieces; ſo that *Calviſius* eſcaped by the favour of the night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with *Menas* in the bay of *Cumæ* [w].

Octavianus's *fleet defeated by* Pompey's.

Octavianus, who was then at *Tarentum*, where he had aſſembled a numerous fleet, upon the firſt news of this engagement, reſolved to paſs the ſtraights of *Meſſana*, and join *Calviſius* and *Menas*, for whom he was in great pain. But being attacked in that narrow paſſage by *Pompey* and *Demochares*, who was returned to *Meſſana*, moſt of his ſhips were either ſunk, or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. *Octavianus* himſelf gained the ſhore with the utmoſt difficulty, where he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, who having landed and ſurrounded him, thought themſelves ſure of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country ſaved him; for being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, by by-ways he reached the top of it, and there with a few attendants lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another. A ſlave of *Æmilius Paulus*, whoſe father had been proſcribed by *Octavianus*, ſeeing the triumvir without his uſual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old maſter; and therefore accoſting him with a dagger, attempted to ſtab him; but miſſing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants [x]. While *Octavianus* lay concealed on the top of the mountain, far from all danger, *Cornificius*, who commanded under him, ſtill maintained the combat with great bravery; and having ſunk *Demochares*'s ſhip, continued fighting notwithſtanding the great loſs he had ſuſtained, till ſun-ſet, when *Calviſius* and *Menas* appearing unexpectedly with their ſquadrons, *Pompey* thought it adviſeable to ſound a retreat. The next morning *Octavianus* from the top of his mountain had the mortification to ſee moſt of his veſſels ſtranded upon the coaſt, ſome of them half burnt, others ſtill in a flame,

Octavianus *is overcome in a ſea fight by* Pompey.

Octavianus *in great danger.*

[w] APPIAN, DIO, ibid. [x] APPIAN, l. v. DIO, l. xlviii.

and the ſea to a great diſtance covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was to ſee the enemy's fleet advancing full ſail againſt *Menas* and *Calviſius*, who were no ways in a condition to withſtand them. However, they drew up, but as they were ready to engage, a violent ſtorm aroſe, and the ſea began to run very high. Hereupon *Pompey* retired into the port of *Meſſana*; but *Octavianus*'s ſhips were for the moſt part either ſunk with all the men on board, or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks and the ſhore. As the ſtorm laſted all night, *Octavianus*, to avoid ſo diſmal a ſight, went early next morning to *Vibonium*, or *Vibo*, a city of *Brutium*, whence he ſent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great care the coaſts of *Italy*, leſt *Pompey* ſhould attempt an invaſion. But he was ſo far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that by an unpardonable negligence he ſuffered the poor remains of his ſhattered fleet to retire unmoleſted to *Vibonium* *.

Octavianus's fleet ſhipwrecked.

And now *Octavianus*, finding himſelf without ſhips or money, and at the ſame time the people at *Rome* being ready to riſe for want of corn, he diſpatched *Mæcenas* to *Antony*, ſoliciting his aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. *Antony*, who was then in *Syria*, as we read in *Dio*, or at *Athens*, as *Appian* has it, promiſed to aſſiſt his collegue to the utmoſt of his power; and accordingly, having with all poſſible diligence aſſembled his fleet, he ſailed for *Italy* with three hundred ſhips. But in the mean time *Octavianus*, receiving news of a complete victory gained by *Agrippa* over the revolted *Gauls*, he began to think that he ſtood no more in need of *Antony*'s aſſiſtance, and would willingly have diſpenſed with his civility. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore under various pretences would fain have declined going to meet him. Theſe proceedings highly diſpleaſed *Antony*, who had for a long time been jealous of his collegue. However, as he deſigned to exchange with *Octavianus* part of his fleet, which would be of no uſe to him in his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at *Tarentum*, though he had been refuſed admittance at *Brunduſium*. At length he began to grow very uneaſy, and to complain of *Octavianus* in moſt bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon *Octavia*, who had attended him from *Greece*, tho' then big with child, prevailed upon him to ſend her to her brother, not doubting, but ſhe ſhould eaſily clear up all their jealouſies and ſuſpicions. As ſhe was on her jour-

Antony arrives in Italy.

Miſunderſtanding between him and Octavianus.

* Appian. Dio. &c. ibid.

ney

ney to *Rome*, ſhe met her brother, and had a conference with him in the preſence of his two friends *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, whom ſhe was willing to have for witneſſes of what paſſed between them. After ſhe had with great prudence and addreſs anſwered the complaints of her brother againſt her huſband, ſhe conjured both him and his two favourites with tears in her eyes, to conſider her circumſtances, and not ſuffer her, inſtead of the moſt fortunate of women, to become the moſt miſerable; *for at preſent*, ſaid ſhe, *the eyes of the whole* Roman *people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties, which bind me to two of the greateſt men in the world, being wife to the one, and ſiſter to the other. If raſh counſels prevail, and war enſues, I ſhall be miſerable without redreſs; for on what ſide ſoever victory falls I ſhall be ſure to be the loſer.* *Octavianus*, ſoftened by the intreaties of a ſiſter, whom he loved with the greateſt tenderneſs, conſented to an interview with *Antony*, for which a place was choſen between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* upon a river bearing the name of the latter. *Antony* came thither the firſt, and as ſoon as he ſaw *Octavianus* advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other ſide the river. *Octavianus*, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the ſame, ſo that the two boats met in the midſt of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly conteſt on which ſide they ſhould land. *Antony* was for landing on *Octavianus*'s ſide, and *Octavianus* on *Antony*'s; but *Octavianus* at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his ſiſter, who was returned to *Tarentum*. They walked together to the town, where *Octavianus* ſpent the night without any other guards about his perſon, but thoſe of *Antony*, who likewiſe went the next day without guards, and paſſed the night in *Octavianus*'s camp. All little differences between them being made up in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that *Octavianus* ſhould give *Antony* two of his legions to be employed againſt the *Parthians*, and that *Antony* in return ſhould leave with him an hundred armed galleys. *Appian* ſays, that *Antony* yielded to *Octavianus* an hundred and fifty ſhips, and *Octavianus* to *Antony* twenty thouſand men. Beſides this, *Octavia* obtained of her huſband twenty ſmall ſhips, or, as *Appian* has it, ten triremes, for her brother, and of her brother a thouſand foot for her huſband. That their friendſhip and union might be more laſting, *Octavianus* betrothed his daughter *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to *Antyllus*, *Antony*'s ſon; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without conſulting either the

Octavia brings her brother and husband to an interview.

Their differences made up.

ſenate

ſenate or people. After this *Antony* departed once more for *Syria*. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, whence, that ſhe might not be expoſed to the dangers of that expedition, he ſent her back into *Italy*, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his chilren both by her and his former wife *Fulvia* to the care of *Octavianus* [y]. It is not unlikely, that *Antony* had already propoſed returning to *Egypt*, and therefore was glad to get rid of *Octavia*, that ſhe might not diſturb him in the enjoyment of his beloved *Cleopatra*.

Octavianus *makes great preparations for war againſt* Pompey.

Octavianus, upon the departure of his collegue, began to make vaſt preparations both by ſea and land for his intended expedition againſt *Pompey*. He appointed *Agrippa* commander in chief of his navy, and that brave officer in a few months aſſembled with indefatigable induſtry a fleet able to cope with *Pompey*'s. And now both the ſea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, *Octavianus* reſolved to invade the iſland in three different places at the ſame time: *Lepidus*, whom he had ſent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum* on the ſouth of the iſland; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the eaſt ſide at cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavianus* himſelf on the weſtern coaſt at cape *Pelorum*. As for *Agrippa*, he was with a numerous ſquadron to cruiſe off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coaſt of the iſland, where *Pompey* was ſaid to have aſſembled all his naval forces.

Menas *abandons* Octavianus, *and returns to* Pompey.

Menas had already, out of his natural levity, abandoned the party of *Octavianus* and returned to *Pompey* with his ſquadron, not thinking himſelf conſidered, as he deſerved, by his new maſter. *Calviſius*, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, he having incurred the diſpleaſure of *Octavianus*, for ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached by *Menas*, when he deſerted to *Pompey*. And now all things being ready, *Octavianus*'s fleets, though in different ports, ſet ſail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of *July*, both that day and month being ſacred to the memory of *Julius Cæſar*.

Octavianus's *fleet ſhipwrecked a ſecond time.*

But they had ſcarce put to ſea, when a violent ſtorm ariſing, defeated all *Octavianus*'s meaſures. *Statilius Taurus*, foreſeeing it, returned to *Tarentum* with the hundred and two ſhips he commanded; but the ſquadrons of *Octavianus*, *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, ſuffered much, that eſpecially of *Octavianus*, who on this occaſion loſt ſix of the ſhips, which *Octavia* had given him, twenty ſix others, and a great num-

[y] Plut. in Anton. Appian. p. 726. 727. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 390. 391.

ber

ber of light veſſels, called by the *Latins Liburnicæ.* His own ſhip with much ado made the bay of *Velia*, where, as in all dangers he had a particular care of his own perſon, he went on ſhore, leaving his friends and mariners to ſtruggle all night with the winds and waves. When he reached the ſhore, and found himſelf out of danger, rage ſucceeded fear, and tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear venting it upon *Neptune* himſelf, crying out, *I ſhall conquer at length; yes, I ſhall conquer*, Neptune, *in ſpite of thee.* *Lepidus*, who was come from *Africa* with twelve legions, and five thouſand *Numidian* horſe, on board eighty ſhips of war and a thouſand tranſports, after having loſt ſome of his veſſels, landed at *Lilybæum* in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from *Plennius*, whom *Pompey* had poſted there with ſome legions and a great number of ſlingers and archers. All the other ſquadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could. *Pompey*, looking upon theſe repeated ſhipwrecks in ſummer, when the ſea is commonly calm, as viſible tokens of the favour and protection of *Neptune*, returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, and was ſo elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, as to ſtyle himſelf *the ſon of* Neptune. On the other hand, *Octavianus* thinking himſelf ill uſed by that deity, never forgave him; but cauſed his ſtatue ſeveral years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated. But his chief care at preſent was, to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the diſturbances which the news of this diſaſter might raiſe in *Rome*. Thither he diſpatched *Mæcenas*, who with his uſual addreſs ſoon calmed the minds of the people. At the ſame time, he went in perſon to the ſeveral ports, where his ſhips had taken ſhelter, and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to ſea again before the end of the ſummer. In this ſecond attempt he was attended with better ſucceſs than in the former; for *Meſſala Corvinus* landed ſafe with three legions, and encamped near *Tauromenium* at a ſmall diſtance from *Lepidus*; ſeveral other legions were ſet aſhore, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition in other places of the iſland, and *Statilius Taurus* made himſelf maſter of cape *Scylaceum* on the continent, which *Pompey* had ſeized. But on the other hand *Papias* one of *Pompey*'s admirals, falling in with a ſquadron, which was conveying four legions to *Lepidus*, attacked the tranſports, took ſome of them, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to return to *Africa*. In this encounter two of *Lepidus*'s legions were either taken, drowned, or cut in pieces. In the mean time, *Octavianus*, who

Lepidus *lands in* Sicily.

Octavianus *refits his fleet.*

who was then with his fleet in the port of *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* islands, observing all the coast of *Sicily* on that side lined with *Pompey*'s forces, left the command of the fleet to *Agrippa*, and returned to *Vibonium* to hasten the departure of the rest of his ships. Upon his departure, *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of signalizing his valour, made himself master of *Hiera*, one of the *Æolian* islands, a place of the utmost importance. From thence he steered his course towards *Mylæ*, with a design to surprise *Demochares*, who had in that port a fleet of forty sail under his command.

One of Pompey's squadrons defeated by Agrippa.

But being informed that *Papias* was advancing to the relief of *Demochares*, he thought it advisable first to engage the former; which he did accordingly, and gained a complete victory, *Papias*, who behaved on this occasion with unparallelled bravery, having lost thirty galleys, and *Agrippa* only five. Upon the news of this victory, *Octavianus*, who was then at *Scylaceum*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, imbarqued the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Taurominium*, with a design to to besiege that place. But, in the mean time, *Pompey* appearing unexpectedly on the coast with his fleet, both *Octavianus* and his troops were struck with such terror, that *Pompey* might have easily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far spent, instead of attacking them without loss of time, retired with his landforces to a neighbouring mountain, and there spent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp. Next morning by break of day *Octavianus*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, *L. Cornificius*, *Titinius*, and *Carcius*, and went on board his fleet. But flying from one danger, he fell into another; for *Pompey*, not thinking it advisable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and soon convinced his rival, that if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. *Octavianus*'s fleet was put to flight at the first onset, several of his ships were taken, and the rest, a small number only excepted, either sunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the shore, such of *Octavianus*'s men as could swim took refuge in the camp of *Cornificius*, but the rest were for the most part either drowned or taken. As for *Octavianus* himself, he made his escape in a boat, and leaving his troops ashore to shift for themselves, made *Abala*, a city on the coast of *Italy*, being attended only by one domestic. As he was quite spent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open shore, and fell into so sound a sleep, that he was carried without waking by some officers, who

Pompey *defeats a squadron commanded by* Octavianus, *who is in great danger.*

who knew him, to a camp, which *Meſſala* had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coaſt (O). His firſt care after he awaked was, to provide for the ſafety of the troops he had left in *Sicily* under the command of *Cornificius*. With this view he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Agrippa*, enjoining him to ſend forthwith a ſtrong body of legionaries under the command of *Laronius* to their aſſiſtance. And indeed *Cornificius* was reduced to the utmoſt extremity. He could receive no proviſions by ſea, which was beſet by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by *Pompey's Numidian* cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what rout to take. At length he reſolved to march towards *Mylæ*, which *Agrippa* had ſeized, but was ſo harraſſed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to deſpair, and give themſelves up for loſt. *Cornificius* with his words and example ſupported their drooping courage, till they found themſelves ſhut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called *the fiery brook*. As the ground was here covered all over with duſt and aſhes thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any ſprings or rivulets, they muſt inevitably have periſhed with thirſt, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, had not the ſuccours ſent by *Agrippa*, coming very ſeaſonably, diſengaged them from the deſperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the *Roman* legions, the *Numidians* retired, leaving *Cornificius* to purſue his march without the leaſt diſturbance. That general was ſo pleaſed with his retreat, that on his return to *Rome*, when he happened to ſup at his friends houſes, he always came home mounted, as it were, in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made uſe of that warlike animal in his retreat [z].

His troops in Sicily *reduced to great ſtraights.*

But relieved by Agrippa.

IN the mean time, *Octavianus* returning to *Sicily*, had joined *Agrippa* in the neighbourhood of *Tyndaris*, where he was incamped with twenty one legions, two thouſand horſe, and five thouſand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards *Meſſana*, with a deſign to beſiege that place,

[z] LIV. l. cxxix. VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. c 79. SUET. in Octavio. APPIAN. l. v. DIO. l. xlix. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

(O) An accident is ſaid to have happened to him here, which, however, frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at laſt. A large fiſh leaping out of the ſea, fell at his feet; and this the augurs, who were always conſulted on ſuch occaſions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the ſea, by this tribute and ſubmiſſion, had acknowledged his power.

hoping thereby to draw *Pompey* to a battle, who had lodged all his military ſtores, proviſions, and treaſures, in that city. As they approached the place, *Lepidus*, whom *Octavianus* had acquainted with his deſign, joined them with all his ſea and land forces. This triumvir, ever ſince his firſt landing in the iſland, had given *Octavianus* juſt reaſons to ſuſpect his intentions. He took indeed, upon his arrival, ſome ſmall places on the coaſt, and beſieged *Plennius* in *Lilybæum*; but afterwards acting only defenſively, he ſuffered *Octavianus* to carry on the war by himſelf, without offering him the leaſt aſſiſtance, as if he had maintained a private correſpondence with *Pompey*. However, upon motives, which he diſcovered ſoon after, he approved of *Octavianus*'s plan, and came to join him with all his forces before *Meſſana*, which city was cloſely inveſted both by ſea and land. *Pompey*, having aſſembled into one body all the troops he had diſperſed up and down the iſland, poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from *Octavianus*'s camp, and at the ſame time drew together his ſeveral ſquadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, whith blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After ſeveral motions and ſlight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces, *Pompey* challenged *Octavianus* to put an end to their differences by a ſea fight with three hundred ſhips on a ſide. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to *Octavianus*, who had not hitherto been attended with any great ſucceſs by ſea. However, depending upon the valour and experience of *Agrippa* on one ſide, and on the other ſuſpecting the fidelity of *Lepidus*, who had according to ſome twelve, according to others twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day was appointed for the deciſive action. Great preparations were made on both ſides for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties. When the day agreed on, and impatiently wiſhed for, by the two generals, came, both fleets appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between *Mylæ* and *Naulochus*; upon which the two armies ran to the ſhore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great meaſure depended. The ſignal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is peculiar to men, who are more animated by private hatred and party-rage, as happens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conqueſt. *Agrippa* behaved with his uſual bravery, and *Pompey*, knowing all lay at ſtake, diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the beginning of the action to the end in a very eminent manner. Never was victory diſputed with more obſtinacy, the

Meſſana inveſted by Octavianus and Lepidus.

A general action at ſea between Pompey and the two triumvirs.

the ſoldiers as well as officers of both parties fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible reſolution and intrepidity. The ſea was covered to a great diſtance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but ſhouts of the ſoldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men periſhing in the waves. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length all yielding to the valour and ſuperior conduct of *Agrippa*, *Pompey*'s fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate *Roman* obliged, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, to own himſelf conquered. Of his numerous fleet only ſeventeen veſſels eſcaped, the reſt being taken, burnt, or ſunk[a]. *Demochares*, one of his admirals was taken priſoner, but laid violent hands on himſelf to avoid the diſgrace of being led in triumph. *Apollophanes*, his other admiral, yielded up himſelf and his galley to *Agrippa* in the very beginning of the action. What became of *Papias*, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great truſt, we know not, none of the antients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. As for *Menas*, he had long before the battle with his uſual inconſtancy and perfidiouſneſs abandoned *Pompey* the ſecond time, and gone over with his ſquadron to *Octavianus*, who received him, rather to weaken the enemy's party, than to ſtrengthen his own; for knowing he was not a man to be truſted, he gave him no command, and diſplaced all the officers of the ſquadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whoſe courage and experience were worthy of a more noble mind, retired, if we believe *Horace*, with great wealth, and ſerved afterwards in the poſt of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was intirely owing to *Agrippa*; for *Octavianus*, if *Antony* is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia, but in a great fright lay down in his galley with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beſide himſelf, and continued in that poſture, till *Agrippa* had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that at the time of the engagement he was overcome with ſo profound a ſleep, that his friends with much ado waked him to give the word, and the ſignal for the charge. Be that as it will, it would ſeem very ſtrange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army ſhould ſay, by way of excuſe for not diſcharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was aſleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. *Octavianus*, however, did, in ſome degree, juſtice to

Pompey *intirely defeated.* Year after the flood, 2968. Before Chriſt, 31. Of Rome, 717

Octavianus *reproached with cowardice.*

[a] LIV. VELL. PATERCUL. SUET. APPIAN. DIO. OROS. ibid. FLOR. l. iv. c. 18.

the valour of *Agrippa*, honouring him with a blue ſtandard, and a roſtral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower work repreſented the beaks of galleys. He deſerved indeed a more ſubſtantial reward, having utterly deſtroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loſs of three ſhips only of his own; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſed to the greateſt honours of the ſtate, and diſtinguiſhed by *Octavianus*, when abſolute maſter of *Rome*, above all the ſubjects of the *Roman* empire. As for the unhappy *Pompey*, inſtead of repairing to his land-forces, and encouraging them with his preſence, he left them at the diſcretion of the conqueror, and taking on board his daughter and ſome of his friends who were in *Meſſana*, together with the treaſures he had lodged in that city, he paſſed the ſtraights in the night, and ſteered his courſe towards *Aſia* with ſeventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. His deſign was to throw himſelf upon the mercy of *Antony*, whoſe mother *Julia* he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when ſhe abandoned *Rome*, during the war of *Peruſia*. Upon his retreat, *Tiſienus Gallus*, one of his lieutenants, immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror with all the forces under his command. As for *Plennius*, who commanded eight legions in *Lilybæum*, upon the firſt news of *Pompey*'s defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to *Meſſana*, and threw himſelf into the place, before *Octavianus* or *Agrippa* had any intelligence of his deſign. But ſeeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of *Octavianus*'s abſence to capitulate with *Lepidus*, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. *Agrippa*, whom *Octavianus* had left to carry on the ſiege with *Lepidus*, exclaimed againſt this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his collegue, which at fartheſt would be, he ſaid, next morning. But *Lepidus*, without hearkening either to his remonſtrances or intreaties, received *Plennius* into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers. *Octavianus*, arriving at break of day, ſent ſome of his friends to his collegue's camp to complain in his name of theſe proceedings. *Lepidus*, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, anſwered with great haughtineſs, that he would not ſuffer *Octavianus* to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply *Octavianus*, having firſt gained over by his emiſſaries the greateſt part of *Lepidus*'s officers, repaired to his camp attended with a ſtrong body of horſe, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He no ſooner appeared, than *Plennius*'s legions, whom he had already

Pompey's flight.

Meſſana and all Sicily ſubmit to the conqueror.

Miſunderſtanding between Octavianus and Lepidus.

ready found means to debauch, flocked to him, offering him their ſervice *Lepidus*, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon *Octavianus* at the head of his guards, killed his ſhield-bearer cloſe by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in ſome confuſion. However, the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to ſee himſelf abandoned by all his troops, who with their enſigns diſplayed marched out of their camp, in good order, to join his rival (P). The unhappy triumvir being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and putting on a mourning robe, after having remained ſome time unregarded in the throng of thoſe who made their ſubmiſſions to *Octavianus*, threw himſelf at the feet of his colegue, and with great meanneſs begged his life, which was granted him with his eſtate, *Octavianus* deſpiſing him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* is the only writer, who ſays, that *Octavianus* baniſhed him to *Circeii*, a ſmall town on the coaſt of *Latium*. That he attained to be one of the ſupreme governors of the *Roman* empire was intirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wiſdom, valour, or activity; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high ſtation, to which fortune had raiſed him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obſcurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them, the former having all the eaſt from the borders of *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* gulph, and the latter all the reſt [b].

Lepidus abandoned by his ſoldiers, and depoſed.

No *Roman* general was ever at the head of ſo powerful an army as *Octavianus* was at this time in *Sicily*. He had under his command forty-five legions, twenty-five thouſand horſe, one hundred and ſixty thouſand light-armed foot, and beſides ſix hundred ſhips of war, without counting the ſmaller veſſels, which were without number. His power was now almoſt equal to his ambition; but they were both checked by the inſolence of his ſoldiers, who ſcarce ever failed to allay

Octavianus's ſoldiers mutiny.

[b] APPIAN. l. v. p. 741. DIO. l. xlix. p. 398. SUETONIUS in Octavio.

(P) *Appian* tells us, that *Octavianus* went alone to the camp of *Lepidus*, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, *Pompey*'s ſoldiers looking upon him with reſpect and drawing round him. Hereupon *Lepidus* ordered his guards to diſperſe them, and fall upon *Octavianus*, who, notwithſtanding the wound he received, went to the place, where the eagles of the legions were kept, and taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him, which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

the

the joy which his victories gave him, and to put a ſtop to his further conqueſts. The war in *Sicily* being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and ſtrength, began to mutiny, and demand in a tumultuous manner their diſcharge, and the ſame rewards which had been beſtowed on thoſe who had overcome *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in the plains of *Philippi*. *Octavianus* endeavoured to appeaſe the mutineers, by telling them that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of *Antony* from the eaſt: adding, that the *Illyrians*, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing elſe could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refuſed to march, till he had ſatisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loſs what to do, cauſed ſeveral crowns, bracelets, ſpears, *&c.* to be brought out for ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war, and ſcarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name *Oſilius* told him with a great deal of inſolence, *That he might keep thoſe bawbles for children; but as for his ſoldiers, nothing would ſatisfy them but money or land.* At theſe words the whole army ſhouted, and *Octavianus* in a great paſſion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune diſappeared that night, and was never after ſeen or heard of, no-body doubting, but he had been privately diſpatched by *Octavianus*'s orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for whenever *Octavianus* appeared, they cried out all with one voice, *Money, or our diſcharge*; inſomuch, that he was at length obliged to diſmiſs thoſe, whoſe time of ſervice was expired, to the number of twenty thouſand. The others he pacified with large promiſes, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the *Sicilians*. After this, having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: the ſenate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, according to cuſtom, in the temple of *Bellona*, where in a ſtudied ſpeech, which he cauſed afterwards to be publiſhed, he gave the conſcript fathers an account of his expedition, and aſſured them, that he had undergone ſo many toils and dangers with no other view, but to reſtore peace and tranquillity to *Rome*. When he had ended his ſpeech, he withdrew; and the ſenators, who were no more ſwayed with the love of liberty, but a ſpirit of ſlavery, and the meaneſt flattery, decreed him ſuch honours as he

He diſcharges ſome, and pacifies the others.

he himſelf was aſhamed to aſſume. However, he gave them leave to erect a ſtatue of gold to his honour in the forum with this inſcription; *To* Cæſar, *for having reſtored peace by ſea and land*, and to appoint an annual feaſt to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he was ſatisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of *November* [c]. After his ovation, he aſſembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had beſtowed on him, he leſſened the taxes, and forgave thoſe who had hired houſes of the public all the rents they owed to the treaſury. Thus he began to court the favour of the people at the expence of the public, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered of cruſhing *Antony*, as he had done *Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and aſſuming the whole power to himſelf. As the city, as well as the country, had been greatly infeſted, during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers, he charged *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to purſue them with fire and ſword, and eſtabliſhed at *Rome* ſeveral companies for the guard of the city under the command of an officer, whom he ſtyled *præfectus vigilum*. By this means peace and tranquility were reſtored, not to *Rome* only, but to all *Italy*; which, together with the plenty he procured, being now maſter of *Sicily*, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that ſome cities went even ſo far as to erect altars to their benefactor, eſpecially after one generous action, which inſpired them with a high opinion of his prudence and good-nature. He had found among *Pompey*'s papers a great many letters to him from ſome of the chief men in the ſenate. Theſe he brought into the forum, and before all the people threw them unopened into the fire, proteſting that he ſacrificed his private reſentments to the good of the public. At the ſame time he ſolemnly declared, that his intention was to reſign his authority as ſoon as *Antony* ſhould return from the *Parthian* war. This declaration, however inſincere, abſolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiſcerning multitude, who immediately choſe him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneſhip, which rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable; but put off the ſuppreſſion of the triumvirate till the return of *Antony*, diſpatching in the mean time *Bibulus* to impart to him his reſolution. After this *Octavianus* left *Rome*, and marched at

Honours decreed to Octavianus *by the ſenate.*

He courts and gains the affections of the people.

He is choſen perpetual tribune of the people.

[c] APPIAN. l. v. p. 746. DIO. l. xlix. p. 400. SUET. ibid. c. 22. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

the

the head of his army againſt the *Illyrians*, who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke.

Pompey raiſes new troubles in Aſia.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, *Pompey* occaſioned great diſturbances in the eaſt. From *Sicily* he ſailed to the iſland of *Leſbos*, where he was informed of the bad ſucceſs which had attended *Antony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking *Antony*'s poſt in the eaſt, or at leaſt of ſharing with him the empire. With this view he ſent embaſſadors to the kings of *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Parthia*, ſoliciting their friendſhip, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the ſame time he drew together what troops he could, giving out that he had no other deſign but to aſſiſt *Antony*, and defend himſelf againſt *Octavianus*. *Antony*, informed of theſe proceedings, commanded *Marcus Titius* to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in *Syria*, and watch the motions of *Pompey*. *Titius* was ordered to receive him with all poſſible marks of honour, if he yielded up himſelf and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces if he refuſed to ſubmit. But *Pompey*, before the arrival of *Titius*, had pulled off the maſk, and taken ſeveral cities of *Aſia Minor*, among the reſt, *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*. Hereupon *Titius*, taking with him *Furnius*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Aſia*, marched againſt him, and, having defeated his ſmall army,

But is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death.

obliged him to ſurrender at diſcretion. As ſoon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death; but, ſoon after, changing his mind, he ſent a ſecond letter, ordering his lieutenant to ſave him. But the ſecond meſſenger arriving before the firſt, *Titius* perverſly interpreting the laſt order he received to be the laſt that was ſent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had formerly ſerved under him, but abandoned him to ſide with *Antony*, leſt he ſhould be once in a condition, if his life were ſpared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered *Titius* ſo odious to the *Roman* people, who ſtill retained a great regard for *Pompey* and his family, that they could never after bear the ſight of him, but drove him out of the circus with hiſſes and curſes, even while he was exhibiting to them games and ſhows at his own expence[d].

It was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil wars. But the unbounded ambition of *Octavianus* and *Antony* ſoon involved the *Roman* ſtate in new troubles. The paſſion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagan

[d] Appian. p. 747. Dio. p. 402. Strabo, l. iii. p. 141. Liv. epit. l. cxxxii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 82, & 97.

travagant preſents of whole provinces, which he beſtowed on her, ſerved *Octavianus* for a ſpecious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was to get rid of a competitor ſo formidable, both for his valour, and the high reputation he had gained among the ſoldiery. *Antony* had left *Octavia* in *Italy*, as we have related above, and paſſed into *Syria*, whither he invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. Theſe profuſe gifts much diſpleaſed the *Roman* people, who daily publiſhed ſcurrilous lampoons, cenſuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule, on account of the ſcandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after he marched againſt the *Parthians* with thirteen legions, ten thouſand *Gauliſh* or *Spaniſh* horſe, and above thirty thouſand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the eaſt tremble, ſerved only to render his retreat more ſhameful, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Parthians*[e]. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his paſſion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper meaſures, to follow thoſe only, which might haſten his return to that bewitching woman, the *Romans* were highly incenſed againſt him. But what moſt of all provoked them was his taking *Artabazes*, king of *Armenia*, in a moſt treacherous manner, as we have related elſewhere[f], and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*, the *Romans* looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city. *Octavianus* took advantage of *Antony*'s impolitic conduct, to eſtrange more and more the minds of the people from him; and when he found their ſpirits ſufficiently exaſperated, he reſolved to ſend his ſiſter *Octavia* to her huſband, that he might have a plauſible pretence to declare war, if he ſhould offer her the affront of ſending her back without ſeeing her. *Antony* was then returned from his *Parthian* expedition, and waiting at *Leucopolis*, or, as *Plutarch* calls it, *Leucocome*, for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, whom he had ſent for. The queen arrived at laſt, bringing with her cloaths for the ſoldiers, and vaſt ſums of money to be diſtributed among them. Almoſt at the ſame time *Niger*, one of *Antony*'s particular friends, arrived from *Octavia*, who was already come as far as *Athens*, with letters from her to her huſband; wherein ſhe acquainted him, that ſhe had brought with her cloaths for his ſoldiers, a great many horſes, and rich preſents for his friends and officers, with two thouſand choſen men,

Antony's *prodigality offends the* Roman *people.*

Octavianus *ſtirs up the people againſt him.*

[e] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 536, & ſeq. [f] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p. 211.

Cleopatra *prevails upon* Antony *to ſend back* Octavia.

well armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts. This was very unwelcome news to the queen, who, knowing *Octavia* came only to diſpute with her, and lay in her claim to, *Antony*'s affections, and dreading the preſence of ſo virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love of him. When ſhe was near him, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing eyes and a deſpairing countenance, like one beſide herſelf with love. She let fall tears in his preſence, and at the ſame time pretended to dry them up in haſte, and unobſerved, as if ſhe were aſhamed to have him a witneſs of her weakneſs. By theſe artifices the crafty queen gained the aſcendant over *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to ſend word to *Octavia*, that ſhe ſhould not purſue her journey into *Syria*, but to return to *Rome*. After this he waited on *Cleopatra* back to *Alexandria*; where he paſſed the winter with that lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs.

The virtuous behaviour of Octavia.

Octavia being returned to *Rome*, her brother ordered her to quit her huſband's houſe, ſince he had treated her ſo contemptuouſly: but the virtuous *Octavia* refuſed to obey him, ſaying, that though ſhe had a great reſpect for her brother, yet ſhe could not prevail upon herſelf to comply with his orders; and therefore conjured him not to force her to leave the houſe of a perſon, whom ſhe would always honour as her huſband in ſpite of his inconſtancy: ſhe intreated him to abandon her intereſt, and not make war upon *Antony* for an affront, which regarded her alone, ſince it would be a ſhameful thing to have it reported, that two of the greateſt commanders in the world had involved the *Roman* people in a war, the one to juſtify his miſtreſs, the other in reſentment for his ſiſter's ill uſage. *Octavianus* could not help indulging her virtuous inclinations; he allowed her to continue in her huſband's houſe, where ſhe brought up his children with extraordinary care, without making any diſtinction between her own and thoſe he had by *Fulvia*. She took under her protection all thoſe whom her huſband ſent to *Rome* to ſue for offices, aſſiſted their pretenſions with the authority her virtue gave her, and never left importuning her brother, till ſhe had obtained for them what they deſired. But nothing proved more prejudicial to *Antony*'s intereſt than this deportment of *Octavia*; his injurious treatment of a woman of her rank, merit, and virtue, drew on him the reſentment of all the *Romans*, who were ſtill more provoked at what he did about this time at *Alexandria*. For having feaſted the whole people of that great metropolis, he aſſembled them in the gymnaſium, and cauſing a throne of ſilver to be erected there

Antony *gives new occaſion of offence to the* Roman *people.*

there with two ſeats of gold, the one for himſelf, the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower ſeats at their feet for his children; he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, and joined with her as her collegue *Cæſarion*, whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*. As for his own children by *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the reſt of the eaſtern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Leſſer Aſia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *king of kings*. What ſeemed moſt remarkable in this ſolemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared dreſt like the goddeſs *Iſis*, and *Antony* like the god *Oſiris*; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to thoſe deities [p]. *Octavianus*, taking advantage of the general reſentment againſt *Antony*, which this diviſion of provinces occaſioned at *Rome*, accuſed him before the ſenate and people of this and ſeveral other attempts highly injurious to the majeſty of the *Roman* empire; which *Antony* being informed of, he ſent ſome of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cauſe, and accuſe *Octavianus* in his turn. The chief articles he preferred againſt him were, 1. That he had not ſhared with him the iſland of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*. 2. That he had not made reſtitution of the ſhips he had lent him. 3. That having abrogated the power of *Lepidus* his collegue, he had appropriated to himſelf his army, his government, and his revenues. Laſtly, that he had divided almoſt all *Italy* among his own ſoldiers, and reſerved nothing for his. To theſe accuſations *Octavianus* anſwered, that he had not diſmiſſed *Lepidus* from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern; that as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with *Antony*, when he gave him his ſhare of *Armenia*; and as for *Antony*'s ſoldiers, they could not ſurely value or claim a few acres of land in *Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media*, and reduced the wealthy empire of the *Parthians* by the mighty exploits they had performed, under the conduct of their invincible general. *Antony* was ſo provoked at this biting jeſt, that though he had already marched as far as the river *Araxes* with a deſign to invade *Parthia*, he dropt that expedition, and ordered *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith at the head

Octavianus accuſes him before the ſenate.

Articles preferred againſt Octavianus by Antony.

[p] PLUT. in Anton. DIO. l. xlix. p. 415, 416. & lib. l. p. 421.

of ſixteen legions down to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, and there keep himſelf in a readineſs to paſs over into *Europe* at a day's warning. As for *Antony* himſelf, he haſtened with *Cleopatra* to *Epheſus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred veſſels, of which the queen furniſhed two hundred with twenty thouſand talents and proviſions for the whole army. *Antony* was adviſed by his friends to ſend back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the war; but ſhe, dreading a peace might be made in her abſence, upon condition of *Antony*'s receiving again *Octavia* and excluding her, prevailed upon *Canidius* with a large ſum of money to repreſent to *Antony*, that it was not juſt to drive away a princeſs with diſgrace, who bore ſo great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to diſoblige the *Egyptians*, who made up ſo conſiderable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good ſenſe, as was manifeſt from her governing ſo mighty a kingdom by herſelf. It was owing to *Octavianus*'s good fortune and *Antony*'s evil deſtiny, that this counſel took place. *Cleopatra* was allowed to ſtay, and they both left *Epheſus*, and ſet ſail for *Samos*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* ſea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to ſend men, arms, and proviſions. It was at the ſame time proclaimed, that all ſtage-players, dancers, ſingers, buffoons, *&c.* ſhould repair to the ſame iſland; ſo that ſometimes a ſhip, which was thought to be laden with ſoldiers and warlike ſtores, proved fraught with ſcenes, machines for the ſtage, muſicians, and players. Thus, while the reſt of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kind of pleaſures reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reſide there. Thither each city, within the limits of *Antony*'s government, was ordered to ſend an ox to be offered in ſacrifice; and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual diſpute, who ſhould make the moſt magnificent feaſts: inſomuch, that it became a common queſtion among the ſpectators, *What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, ſince they make ſuch rejoicings at the opening of a dangerous war* [q]?

Antony *reſolves upon a war with* Octavianus.

How he ſpent his time at Samos.

And Athens.

From *Samos*, *Antony* ſailed for *Athens*, where he lived after his uſual manner, ſpending his whole time in luxury and voluptuouſneſs. *Cleopatra*, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours *Octavia* had received at *Athens*, inſinuated her-

[q] Plut. ibid.

ſelf,

ſelf, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the *Athenians*, who in requital decreed her honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed ſeveral of the citizens to wait upon her at her houſe with the decree. At the head of this deputation was *Antony* himſelf, he being free of *Athens*: and, as he was choſen their ſpeaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people. While he was at *Athens*, *C. Soſius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the conſuls of this year, were obliged to leave *Rome*, not thinking themſelves ſafe there, after they had taken upon them to defend *Antony*. They both took refuge in *Athens*, and incenſed *Antony* to ſuch a degree againſt *Octavianus*, that he ſolemnly divorced *Octavia*, and ſent proper officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his houſe. The virtuous *Octavia* obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own houſe with all his children, except *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in ſeeing herſelf looked upon as one of the cauſes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cauſe of the preſent breach, viz. *Octavianus*'s unbounded ambition, which, not ſatisfied with one half of the *Roman* empire, aſpired at the whole. But he had certainly been diſappointed, had not *Antony*, according to his cuſtom, ſpent ſo much time in idleneſs and debauchery, at *Samos* and *Athens*, with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occaſion of his ruin. Had *Antony* come immediately to a final deciſion, he muſt unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet and a numerous army, whereas his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and beſides all *Italy* was in a ferment, on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums: inſomuch that it was looked upon as one of the greateſt of *Antony*'s overſights, that he put off the war till the next ſummer, by which time *Octavianus*, having quieted the people, put himſelf in a condition of diſputing the empire, with forces equal to thoſe of his enemy [r].

He divorces Octavia.

DURING *Antony*'s ſtay at *Athens*, many of his friends, being ill uſed by *Cleopatra* for oppoſing her deſign of attending *Antony* in the war, abandoned him, and came over to *Octavianus*, among the reſt *Plancus*, and *Titius* his nephew. *Plancus* on his arrival at *Rome* accuſed *Antony* before the ſenate of ſeveral crimes, with ſo much venom and bitterneſs, that *Coponius* could not forbear ſaying to him, *Surely you remember what you now lay to* Antony's *charge till the*

Antony *is forſaken by ſeveral of his friends.*

[r] PLUT. ibid.

evening

evening before your departure, reproaching him thereby either with baſeneſs, in enduring thoſe crimes ſo long, or with ſtupidity, in not finding them out ſooner (Q). *Pollio*'s conduct was as generous, as *Plancus*'s was infamous. *Pollio* had abandoned *Antony*, and led a private life in *Italy*, ever ſince his firſt intrigues with *Cleopatra*; but yet, when *Octavianus* preſſed him to ſerve under him in this war, he anſwered frankly, *I have ſerved* Antony *better perhaps than he has rewarded me; however, as the favours I have received at his hands are more known than the ſervices I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms againſt him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the diſcretion of the conqueror.* *Antony* had made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, and highly injurious and diſhonourable to the *Roman* people, and lodged it with the veſtals at *Rome*. *Plancus* and *Titius*, who had been privy to all his ſecret counſels and deſigns, gave notice of it to *Octavianus*, who immediately demanded it. The religious veſtals anſwered, that they could not deliver it up, without a ſacrilegious breach of the truſt repoſed in them; but that *Octavianus* might, if he thought fit, come and ſeize it himſelf; which he did accordingly; and having firſt read it over in private, and made marks upon thoſe places which he thought moſt for his purpoſe, he called the ſenate, and cauſed it to be read to them. In this will *Antony* declared, that *Cæſarion*, *Cæſar*'s ſon by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of *Julius Cæſar*. This was diſpoſſeſſing *Octavia-*

Octavianus makes uſe of Antony's will to ſtir up the people againſt him.

(Q) *Plancus* was one of *Cleopatra*'s moſt ſervile flatterers, and had been privy to all *Antony*'s intrigues, debaſing himſelf to the meaneſt employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen and to other women. Though he had been conſul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not aſhamed to appear at the *Egyptian* court among common actors, buffoons, and ſtage-players, all wretches, whoſe birth was as mean as their profeſſion. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to perſonate *Glaucus*, and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of a huge fiſh. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the *Egyptians* themſelves. Beſides, *Antony* abuſed and reproached him for ſome extortions, whereof he had been accuſed; which, as he was already deſpiſed by the *Egyptians*, he took ſo much amiſs, that he laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to abandon *Antony*, and join *Octavianus*, who received him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip and affection.

nius

xus of the inheritance which he held, only as the adopted ſon of the dictator. By the ſame will he bequeathed moſt of the *Roman* territories, which were under his command, to *Cleopatra* and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he ſhould die, though at *Rome* itſelf, to be ſent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried, as ſhe ſhould direct. *Octavianus* inſiſted more eſpecially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the *Roman* people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princeſs, who was an enemy to *Rome*. As theſe charges were undeniably made good from an authentic inſtrument, they eſtranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded his cauſe with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding to puniſh a man in his life-time, for what was not to be put in execution till after his death. Hereupon *Caius Calviſius* accuſed him of ſeveral other crimes, *viz.* that he had made a preſent to *Cleopatra* of the famous library of the kings of *Pergamus*, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand volumes; that he had ſuffered the *Epheſians* to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received love-letters from *Cleopatra*, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when *Furnius*, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cauſe to follow *Cleopatra*, who happened to paſs by in her chair; that at a ſolemn feaſt he had riſen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the gueſts looked upon as the ſignal of a private meeting, *&c.* The heads of this accuſation, however ridiculous they may ſeem at preſent, were ſeriouſly propoſed by *Calviſius*, and appeared of ſuch moment and weight to *Antony*'s friends, that they ſent one *Geminius* to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumſpect, and that, unleſs he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of conſul, to which he had been named for the year enſuing, of being ſtripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the *Roman* people. The arrival of *Geminius* alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as one of *Octavia*'s ſpies, ridiculed him, and made him the conſtant jeſt of the table, where ſhe took care to have him always placed at the lower end. *Geminius* bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But he, inſtead of giving him a private audience, aſked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to *Athens?*

He is accuſed of ſeveral crimes by C Calviſius

Athens? The buſineſs I come upon, ſaid he, *well deſerves a ſerious conſideration, and is not to be talked of over a bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as ſober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you ſend back* Cleopatra *into* Egypt. *You have done very wiſely,* Geminius, anſwered the queen in a great paſſion, *to tell us this important ſecret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack.* A few days after *Geminius*, dreading the effects of *Cleopatra*'s diſpleaſure, made his eſcape and returned to *Rome*, whither he was followed by many of *Antony*'s friends, no longer able to bear with the ill uſage they received from the imperious queen. Among theſe were *Marcus Syllanus* and *Dellius* the hiſtorian. The latter had ſaid at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that *Antony*'s friends drank vinegar, while at *Rome Sarmentus* was ſerved with *Falernian* wine. This *Sarmentus* is mentioned by *Horace* [r], and was one of *Octavianus*'s buffoons. *Cleopatra* took this raillery ſo ill, that ſhe ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted, by one *Glaucus* a phyſician, of her deſign, ſaved himſelf by flight and retired to *Rome* [s].

The imperious behaviour of Cleopatra *obliges ſeveral of* Antony's *friends to forſake him.*

War declared againſt Cleopatra.

And now *Octavianus*, finding himſelf in a condition to encounter *Antony* with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Antony*'s friends, who were ſtill very numerous and powerful. However, *Antony* was deprived of the conſulate, and his government was taken from him, for ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied beſides, that *Cleopatra* had ſo bewitched *Antony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his ſenſes; and that *Antony* was not to manage the war againſt the *Romans*, but *Mardion* the eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, *Cleopatra*'s waiting-woman, and *Charmion*, another of her maids, who were become *Antony*'s counſellors and prime miniſters of ſtate [u]. It is ſaid, that this war was preceded by many ſigns and prodigies (R), which were all interpreted very juſtly, but

[r] Horat. l. i. ſatyr. 5. [s] Plut. ibid. Dio. lib. l. p. 420
[u] Plut. ibid. Dio. p. 421, 422.

(R) The city of *Piſaurum*, where *Antony* had ſettled a colony, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake: a marble ſtatue of *Antony* at *Alba* was obſerved to ſweat for many days together. While he himſelf was in the city of *Patræ*, the temple of *Hercules* was deſtroyed by lightning, and at *Athens* the ſtatue of *Bacchus* was by a violent

but not before *Antony*'s defeat. The forces of the contending parties were anſwerable to the empire they ſhared between them. *Antony* had under his command all the provinces from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* to the *Ionian* ſea and *Illyricum*, and from *Cyrene* to *Æthiopia*. *Octavianus*'s government extended from *Illyricum* to the ocean, and comprehended all the coaſt of *Africa* that was oppoſite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. Many kings followed *Antony*'s fortune, and attended him in this war; namely *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, *Tarcondemus* or *Tarcondimotus* of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagene*, *Adallas* of *Thrace*. Theſe attended him in perſon: but *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, *Herod* king of *Judæa*, *Amyntas* king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, only ſent their quotas of forces. All theſe together made up an army of a hundred thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. His navy conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war, ſome whereof had eight, and ſome ten banks of oars. As for *Octavianus*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thouſand foot, but was as ſtrong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ſhips, but thoſe light, and well manned with ſailors, rowers, and ſoldiers; whereas *Antony*'s ſeemed built for oſtentation, and, beſides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to preſs in *Greece*, which had been exhauſted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and for all this his veſſels had not their full complement[w]. *The forces of* Octavinus *and* Antony.

[w] PLUT. ibid. DIO. p. 422, 423.

a violent wind blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and carried into the theatre. The *Gigantomachia* was a public edifice at *Athens*, where the battle of the gods with the giants was repreſented in painting. Theſe two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for *Antony*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a profeſſion of imitating *Bacchus*, cauſing himſelf for that reaſon to be called *young Bacchus*. The ſame ſtorm falling at *Athens* upon the ſtatues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which had been dedicated to *Antony*, and were called *Antonii*, overturned them without hurting others, that ſtood equally expoſed. Some ſwallows built their neſt in the ſtern of *Cleopatra*'s admiral galley, called *Antonias*; but others drove them away and deſtroyed their neſts (91).

(91) *Plut. in Antonio.*

They write ſharp letters to each other.

Before theſe two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occaſion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very ſharp and reflecting letters to each other. *Octavianus* reproached *Antony* with the prodigality of his entertainments and his intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, put *Octavianus* in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he preſided dreſt like *Apollo*, while the other gueſts, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddeſſes, and paſſed the night in the moſt infamous debaucheries (S). To this he added his haſty marriage with *Livia* againſt all rules of decency; his divorcing *Scribonia*, becauſe ſhe would not bear with the capricious humour of that new miſtreſs; and on this occaſion all the *Roman* ladies, with whom *Octavianus* had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the ſtage. *Antony* in one of his letters reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed, in all the engagements at which he had been preſent, mentioning thoſe ſhameful circumſtances of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon *Octavianus* wrote to him, that it was childiſh to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he ſhould be ſuffered to land in *Italy* without moleſtation, that his fleet ſhould have ſafe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to incamp on and put themſelves in order of battle. In return to theſe bravadoes, *Antony* challenged his rival to a ſingle combat, though he was much older; and ſent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of *Pharſalia*, where *Cæſar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their quarrel. However nothing was done this year; *Octavianus* aſſembled both his fleet and army at *Brundiſium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but, the ſummer being far ſpent and the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year approaching, they both retired and put their armies into winter-quarters *.

* Plut. & Dio. ibid.

(S) This feaſt, which was called the *dodecatheon*, becauſe the gueſts perſonated *twelve gods* and *goddeſſes* had made a great noiſe at *Rome*, and had been the ſubject of many ſatirical epigrams. *Antony* had never been guilty of more infamous and ſcandalous debaucheries, than *Octavianus* was on this occaſion.

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In the mean time, the conſular year expiring, *Octavianus* caused himſelf to be declared conſul for the third time, and took *M. Valerius Meſſala* for his collegue in the room of *Antony*, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and *Pompey*, of which we have ſpoken above. *Meſſala* reſigned the faſces on the kalends of *May* to *M. Titius*, who had abandoned *Antony* together with *Plancus*, and *Titius* on the kalends of *October* yielded his office to one *Cn. Pompeius*, of whoſe deſcent or ſervices no mention is made in hiſtory. Octavianus's *third conſulate.*

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. *Antony*'s fleet ſailed into the *Ambracian* gulph, between the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalonia*, and his army incamped at *Actium* near his fleet. *Actium* was a ſmall city on the ſouth-ſide of the mouth of the gulph in *Acarnania*. While *Antony*'s fleet was at anchor there, *Octavianus*, croſſing the *Ionian* ſea, ſurpriſed *Toryne*, a ſmall city near *Actium*. This unexpected attempt occaſioned great confuſion in *Antony*'s camp, by reaſon only a few legions were yet arrived, and they had no news of the reſt. But *Cleopatra*, to calm their fears, turned it into a jeſt; *Indeed*, ſaid ſhe, *we ought to tremble, now that* Cæſar *has taken* Toryne (T), alluding to the word *Toryne*, which in the language of that country ſignifies *a ladle*. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, *Octavianus* appeared off *Actium* with his ſhips in order of battle. As *Antony*'s legions were not yet arrived, he had but a ſmall number of ſoldiers on board his fleet, and conſequently muſt unavoidably have been defeated, had *Octavianus* attacked him. To divert him therefore for the preſent from engaging, which he knew was no difficult matter in the abſence of *Agrippa*, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and ſailed up into the mouth of the gulph, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; which *Octavianus* no ſooner obſerved, than he retreated, as *Antony* had expected. *Octavianus*'s land-forces were incamped on the other ſide of the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, at a place where *Octavianus* afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*. While he lay there, *Antony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to Antony *incamps at* Actium *near his fleet.* *And* Octavianus *on the oppoſite ſide of the* Ambracian *gulph.*

(T) 'Tis impoſſible to preſerve the beauty of this alluſion in our language. *Toryne*, which in this place is made uſe of as the name of a town, ſignifies likewiſe *a ladle*; and the witticiſm lies there, as if *Cleopatra* had ſaid, *We ought indeed to tremble now that* Octavianus *has taken a ladle from us.*

The exploits of Agrippa.

cut off the water from his camp, which much diſtreſſed his army [r]. In the mean time the brave *Agrippa*, with a ſquadron and a conſiderable body of land-forces, ravaged the coaſts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Antony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Aſia*, and, making deſcents, ſtormed ſeveral cities, among the reſt *Methone* in *Peloponneſus*, where *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, who had ſided with *Antony*, and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous gariſon cut in pieces. From *Methone Agrippa* ſailed for *Leucas*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Actium*, and in the ſight of *Antony* made himſelf maſter of that iſland and the ſhips he found there. The cities of *Patræ* and *Corinth* were likewiſe forced to ſubmit to him, after he had defeated *Q. Naſidius*, whom *Antony* had ſent to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. As he was returning from the coaſts of *Greece* to join *Octavianus*, he fell in with *Soſius*, one of *Antony*'s admirals, who had juſt put to flight *L. Taureſius*, whom *Octavianus* had ſent out with a numerous ſquadron to watch the enemy's motions. *Agrippa* attacked him with his uſual bravery, took ſome of his ſhips, ſunk others, and diſperſed the reſt. In this engagement *Soſius* himſelf periſhed, and with him *Tarcondimotus* king of *Cilicia*. At the ſame time, a great body of *Antony*'s cavalry, commanded by himſelf, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavianus*'s cavalry under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. Theſe advantages, and the arrival of *Agrippa* with his victorious ſquadron, induced *Antony* to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over-againſt the enemy's, and retire to *Actium* on the other ſide of the *Ambracian* gulph, where the greateſt part of his army lay. While he continued at *Actium*, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, ſeeing his fleet ſo unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himſelf ſpending his whole time with *Cleopatra*, abandoned him, and went over to *Octavianus*. Among theſe were the kings *Amyntas* and *Dejotarus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the laſt year's conſul, who, notwithſtanding his affection to *Antony*, could no longer bear with the haughty and inſolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The unexpected deſertion of *Domitius*, whom *Antony* looked upon as one of his beſt friends, ſtung him to the heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much againſt the will of *Cleopatra*; for he ſent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and ſervants; which ſo ſenſibly touched *Domitius*, who was ſick of a fever when he fled, that he ſoon after died, his diſtemper being increaſed by the grief of aban-

Several perſons of diſtinction go over to Octavianus.

[r] Plut. ibid.

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doning a man, who by kindneſs requited his infidelity and deſertion. The flight of *Domitius* proved extremely prejudicial to *Antony*'s intereſt, moſt men believing, that a perſon of his underſtanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. *Antony* now began to diſtruſt even his beſt friends, and cauſed ſome of them upon bare ſuſpicions to be put to death; namely *Jamblichus*, a petty king of *Arabia*, who expired upon the rack, and *Q. Poſthumius*, a ſenator of diſtinction [z].

Canidius *adviſes* Antony *to diſmiſs* Cleopatra *and retire.*

AT length *Canidius*, commander in chief of *Antony*'s forces, arrived with the reſt of the legions, and ſoon after his arrival, as he ſaw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*. He adviſed *Antony* by all means to ſend her back, and retire himſelf into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, becauſe *Dicomes*, king of the *Getæ*, was ready to join him with a great army. *It will not*, ſaid he to *Antony*, *be any diſparagement to you to quit the ſea, and leave* Octavianus *maſter of it, who in his wars with* Pompey *has gained ſo great experience in maritime affairs. But it will be renouncing both ſenſe and reaſon for you, who are one of the moſt experienced land-officers in the world, to make no other uſe of your well diſciplined and ſtout troops, than to diſperſe them on board ſeveral ſhips, and render them uſeleſs in the defence of a navy. What can be more ridiculous, more abſurd, than to depend upon the ſea and winds for a victory, which the valour and experience of your ſoldiers, whom you have tried in ſo many dangers, leave you no room to doubt of by land?* *Antony* was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but *Cleopatra*, whoſe words were oracles with him, biaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life in a ſea-fight. The perfidious and cowardly queen already entertained thoughts of flying, as *Plutarch* informs us, and was deliberating, not how to be aſſiſting to *Antony* in obtaining the victory, but how ſhe might, when all was loſt, make her eſcape with greateſt ſafety [a]. *Antony*, being now determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement by ſea, went often from his camp to the place where his fleet rid at anchor, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes attended only by ſome of his particular friends, as ſuſpecting no danger. One of *Octavianus*'s ſlaves having by chance obſerved him, ran

But Antony *reſolves upon a fight at ſea.*

[z] PLUT. ibid. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 84. DIO. lib. l. p. 427, 428. [a] PLUT. DIO. ibid.

immediately

immediately to his maſter, and told him, that he had ſeen *Antony* walking, without any diſtruſt, and ſlenderly attended, from his camp to the ſea-ſide. Hereupon *Octavianus* the ſame night ordered a party of choſen men to croſs the gulph, which at the entrance was but a mile over, and lie in wait for *Antony* on the narrow neck of land which led from his camp to the ſea. His orders were put in execution with ſuch ſecrecy, and the whole affair ſo well conducted, that had it not been for the impatience of ſome ſoldiers, who ſtarted up too ſoon, they had ſeized on *Antony*, and put an end to the war without ſhedding a drop of blood; for they took the officer who juſt walked before him, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Antony* himſelf got off [b].

Antony in danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

And now *Antony* being determined, out of a ſhameful complaiſance for *Cleopatra*, and againſt his own opinion as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by ſea, began to make the neceſſary preparations for an action, on the ſucceſs whereof depended the empire of the *Roman* world. As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, he was afraid they would turn their backs as ſoon as the fight began; and therefore he ſet fire to all their ſhips except ſixty, which he ſpared, that they might ſerve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other ſquadrons from *Syria*, *Greece*, *Cilicia*, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Phœnice*, he choſe the beſt gallies from three ranks of oars to ten. The reſt he condemned to the flames for want of mariners. While he was reviewing the troops that were to imbarque, an old experienced officer, who had fought often under him, and had his body covered all over with ſcars, called to him aloud, and addreſſed him thus: *O my noble general, why do you miſtruſt theſe wounds and this ſword, ſo as to put your confidence in rotten wood? Leave the water to the* Egyptians *and* Phœnicians, *men born and nurſed up in that element; but give us* Romans *the land, where we are accuſtomed to brave death, and make our enemies fly before us. Antony* returned no anſwer; only by his looks, and the motion of his hand, he ſeemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himſelf was far from being ſatisfied with the poſture of his affairs, as manifeſtly appeared from his behaviour towards the pilots, who were for leaving their ſails behind; but *Antony* obliged them to take them with them, ſaying, *We muſt not let one enemy eſcape*; which was putting a good face upon a bad cauſe [c].

And now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent ſtorm, which continued for four days together, prevented

[b] Plut. ibid. [c] Plut. ibid. Dio. p. 428.

them.

them. On the fifth, the ſea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded *Antony*'s right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Juſteius* the main body. On *Octavianus*'s ſide, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right, and *Aruntius* on his left. As for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, they were both, according to ſome writers, in the right wing of their reſpective fleets; according to others, they choſe no particular place for themſelves; but went each in a light veſſel from one diviſion to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories (U). *This day*, ſaid *Antony* to his men before the engagement, *I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promiſe you rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a conqueſt.* *Octavianus* gave no leſs hopes to his men, and with more confidence, having been animated by a happy omen, which he cauſed to be publiſhed throughout the fleet (W). *Antony* ordered *The diſpoſition of the two fleets.*

(U) According to *Plutarch*, *Antony* commanded the right wing in conjunction with *Publicola*. The ſame writer places *Octavianus* in his right wing, *Agrippa* in the left, and *Aruntius* in the centre (95). *The right wing of the* Julian *ſhips*, ſays *Velleius Paterculus* (96), *was committed to* M. Larius, *the left to* Aruntius, *and to* Agrippa *the charge of the whole.* Cæſar *was preſent every-where. The command of* Antony's *fleet was committed to* Publicola *and* Soſius. As to the land-forces it is agreed on all hands, that *Taurus* commanded in chief on the ſide of *Octavianus*, and *Canidius* on *Antony*'s. *Antony* had on board his fleet twenty thouſand legionaries, and two thouſand archers (97); *Octavianus* eight legions, and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ſhips *Florus* tells us, that *Octavianus*'s fleet conſiſted of four hundred ſail, and *Antony*'s only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all *Antony*'s ſhips had from ſix to nine ranks of oars; and beſides *they were ſo raiſed with turrets and decks, that they reſembled caſtles and cities, making the ſea groan under them, and the wind out of breath to move them* (98). But as to the number of *Antony*'s ſhips, *Florus* is contradicted by *Octavianus* himſelf, who left written in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch*, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ſhips (99).

(W) We are told, that, as *Octavianus* was going out of his tent at break of day, to viſit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an aſs. Being moved with curioſity, or rather ſuperſtition, he aſked the man's name, *My name*, replied he, *is* Eutyches, *and my aſs is called* Nicon. The firſt of theſe names in *Greek* ſignifies *happy*, and

(95) *Appian. ibid.* (96) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 85. (97) *Plut. ibid.* (98) *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 11. (99) *Plut. ibid.*

dered the commanders of his ſhips to receive the enemy without ſtirring, but lying ſtill as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulph. *Agrippa* was not for attacking him in that poſture; and therefore kept about eight furlongs diſtant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale ſpringing up, *Antony*'s men, impatient of further delays, and truſting to the bulk and height of their ſhips, put their left wing in motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great ſatisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpoſe to draw the enemy as far out of the ſtraights as poſſible, that his galleys, which were light and nimble ſailors, might have an opportunity of ſurrounding *Antony*'s heavy ſhips, whoſe bulk, and want of hands in proportion to their rates, made them unwieldy and unfit for ſervice. On this ſide the action began; but in a different manner from what was then uſed in ſea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ſhip againſt another, *Antony*'s veſſels being, on account of their ſize, incapable of a violent motion, and, on the other hand, *Octavianus*'s ſhips not daring to approach them for fear of ſplitting againſt their ſides, which were armed with ſtrong ſquare pieces of wood faſtened together with maſſy pins of iron; ſo that this engagement reſembled a land-fight, or rather the attack of ſome ſtrong place. *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers attacked the enemy with pikes, javelins, darts, and ſeveral inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while *Antony*'s men defended themſelves with ſhowers of darts and arrows, which they diſcharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time *Agrippa* ordered *Aruntius* to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made *Publicola* advance to prevent it: but as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore in upon it, and put it in diſorder. However, the victory ſtill remained doubtful, *Antony*'s ſoldiers, who were all choſen men, defending themſelves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight laſted ſeveral hours with as fair a proſpect of ſucceſs for *Antony* as for *Octavianus*, the mariners

The battle of Actium. Year after the flood, 2973. Before Chriſt, 26. Of *Rome* 722.

and the other *conqueror*. This ſeemed ſo lucky an omen to *Octavianus*, that he no longer doubted of victory; and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place, with the beaks of the ſhips he had taken, he cauſed two ſtatues of braſs to be erected, one repreſenting the man, and the other his aſs (100). *Pliny* adds (1), that as *Octavianus* was ſacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(100) *Idem ibid. Suet. in Octav. c.* 96. (1) *Plin. l.* xi. *c.* 37.

riners and ſoldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the ſhouts of their reſpective armies, who waited the event of the engagement, drawn up in battle array, the one on the north ſide, and the other on the ſouth ſide, of the *Ambracian* gulph. While the two parties were thus contending, with great fury and obſtinacy, for victory, *Cleopatra*'s ſixty galleys, crouding all their ſails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This ſudden motion equally ſurpriſed both navies. *Antony*, whoſe centre was already in diſorder, expected ſome gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the preſent danger. He was therefore ſtruck with amazement, when he ſaw the whole *Egyptian* ſquadron, inſtead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and, with a fair wind, ſteer their courſe towards *Peloponneſus*. Thus hiſtorians relate the flight and deſertion of the *Egyptians*, without giving any other reaſon for their abandoning, in ſo baſe and ſhameful a manner, the party they had embraced, than the timorouſneſs of their queen, who could no longer bear the noiſe and terror of the battle. What they add is ſtill more ſurpriſing. *Antony* had given too many proofs of his courage ever to be ſuſpected of cowardice; and, on this occaſion, not only the empire of the world, but his life was at ſtake: neither had he any reaſon to deſpair of ſucceſs; but, on the contrary, the intrepidity and reſolution with which his men maintained the combat ſeemed to promiſe him certain victory; for though his centre had been put into ſome diſorder by *Agrippa*, yet that brave and experienced commander, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, could not gain the leaſt advantage over them, each of *Antony*'s great ſhips defending themſelves againſt many of his, and keeping them at a diſtance with inceſſant ſhowers of darts, arrows, ſtones, *&c.* which did great execution. But here *Antony* betrayed a weakneſs hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the antient ſaying, that *a lover's ſoul lives in another body*; for love getting the better of his ambition, and of all other regards, he no ſooner ſaw the queen's ſhip under ſail, than forgetting the duty of a general, and renouncing the empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her abſence, he threw himſelf into a galley of five ranks of oars, and attended only by two domeſtics, *Scellius* and *Alexander* the *Syrian*, he abandoned his men, who were generouſly ſacrificing their lives in his ſervice, to follow a baſe woman, who had long ſince begun, and was now accompliſhing his deſtruction. As ſoon as he came up with *Cleopatra*'s galley, he was taken on board; but, without ſo much as ſeeing her, he placed himſelf at the ſtern, and there,

The flight of Cleopatra.

Who is followed by Antony.

leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and ſhame for his ill conduct, he continued a good while in that melancholy poſture [d].

The gallant behaviour of Antony's *troops.*

THE gallant behaviour of *Antony*'s troops, on this occaſion, cannot be ſufficiently admired and commended; for though their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was ſpread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the ſame ardour and intrepidity as if he had been preſent, and would in all likelihood have gained the victory, which they diſputed till late at night, if a ſtiff gale, which blew hard a-ſtern, had not diſperſed their veſſels, and given the enemy an opportunity of falling upon them while in diſorder, and deſtitute of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ſhips yielded to the conqueror; but there were not above five thouſand of the enemy ſlain in the whole action, as *Octavianus* himſelf left recorded in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch* [e] (X). *Antony*'s land-forces ſhewed no leſs fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire, and twelve thouſand horſe, could baſely deſert them, and *Antony*, above all, who had ſo often ſeen fortune in all her ſhapes, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, and been ſo accuſtomed to changes. They therefore expected he would ſoon appear from ſome part or other, and, putting himſelf at their head, give them an opportunity of ſhewing their fidelity and zeal for his intereſt and ſervice. When they were at laſt thoroughly perſuaded that he was fled and had deſerted them, they nevertheleſs kept in a body, tho' quite ſurrounded both by ſea and land, for ſeven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by *Octavianus*. At length, being abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, who privately made their eſcape, they liſtened to the conditions which *Octavianus* offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous ſea-fight of *Actium*, ſo much

His fleet is overcome.

And his land-forces ſubmit.

[d] Plut. ibid. Dio. lib. l. p. 439, 440. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 85. [e] Plut. in Anton.

(X) And yet *Oroſius* writes, that, on *Antony*'s ſide, twelve thouſand men were killed, and ſix or ſeven thouſand wounded, of whom one thouſand died of their wounds (2).

(2) *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 19.

ſpoken

ſpoken of by the antients, eſpecially the poets of that time [f]. It was fought on the ſecond day of *September* of the year 722 of *Rome*, *Cæſar Octavianus* and *Meſſala Corvinus* being conſuls. As *Octavianus*, by this ever memorable victory, became ſole maſter of the whole *Roman* empire, *Dion* [g], *Suetonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*, reckon from this time the years of *Octavianus*'s empire or reign.

Octavianus's conduct towards the conquered.

AFTER this defeat the auxiliaries, who had ſerved under *Antony*, retired to their reſpective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror on the beſt terms they could. Some of the princes he depoſed, others he continued in their former ſtate; but impoſed upon them, as well as upon all the free ſtates which had ſided with *Antony*, heavy fines, whereby thoſe unhappy countries were reduced to a moſt deplorable condition. As for the *Romans*, *Octavianus* pardoned ſome at the earneſt intreaties of his friends and his mother *Mucia*; others he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, following therein the natural biaſs of his temper. Among the latter was the ſon of the famous *Curio*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the moſt zealous partizans of *Cæſar* the dictator, and had loſt his life in maintaining his intereſt in *Africa*, as we have related above. His ſon followed the fortune of *Antony*, and therefore, being taken priſoner at *Actium*, *Octavianus*, without any regard to the important ſervices of his father, cauſed him to be put to death [h].

Antony purſued.

As to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus*, the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a ſquadron of light galleys in purſuit of them; which *Antony* no ſooner ſaw rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about and face them. Hereupon they all gave back, except one commanded by *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who, making up to *Antony*'s veſſel with great fierceneſs and intrepidity, from off the deck ſhook his lance at him in a threatening manner, *Who art thou*, cried *Antony*, from the ſtern, *who haſt the boldneſs to purſue me thus? I am*, anſwered he, Eurycles *the ſon of* Lachares, *brought hither by* Cæſar's *fortune to revenge my father*'s *death*. This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery. However, the *Lacedæmonian*, not caring to engage ſo renowned a commander, attacked another galley, and took her, with a ſhip, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. *Eurycles* retired, well ſatisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat *Antony* returned

[f] Vide VIRGIL. l. viii. Æneid. OVID. Metamorph. l. xv. HORAT. epod. 9. & PROPERT. l. iv. eleg. 6. [g] Dio. l. lv. p. 590, & l. li, in init. [h] Dio. l. li. p. 443, 444.

to his former melancholy poſture, and continued ſo three days without ſeeing the queen till he reached *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. There *Cleopatra*'s women brought them to ſee each other, and converſe as formerly, *Antony* ſhewing himſelf as fond of her as ever, even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to deteſt and abhor her, as the only cauſe of his ruin. At *Tænarus* he had an account of the total defeat of his fleet; but, believing his legions ſtill held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Aſia*, propoſing to renew the war there. As he was himſelf determined to retire into *Africa*, he gave one of his largeſt ſhips, laden with vaſt ſums of money, and gold and ſilver veſſels of an ineſtimable value, to his friends, deſiring them to ſhare it among them, and provide for their own ſafety; but they refuſing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodneſs imaginable, complaining of his cruel deſtiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them ſuch tokens of his acknowledgment and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greateſt injury, ſuffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he abſolutely commanded them to abandon him to his evil deſtiny, and conſult their own ſafety. He wrote to *Theophilus*, governor of *Corinth*, deſiring him to provide for their ſecurity, and keep them concealed, till ſuch time as they could make their peace with *Octavianus*. After this, *Antony* retired to *Africa*, whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and ſoon after followed her thither. But of the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavianus*, of the unhappy end of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and the affecting circumſtances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Egypt* [i], to which we refer our readers. All *Antony*'s ſtatues were thrown down and intirely demoliſhed, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*. His memory was declared infamous by the ſervile ſenate, and a decree was paſſed, enacting, that none of his family ſhould ever after bear the name of *Marcus*. He died in the fifty-third, or, as ſome write, fity-ſixth, year of his age, leaving behind him ſeven children by his three wives, *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, and *Cleopatra*; for he married the queen after his divorce with *Octavia*. What became of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his ſons by *Cleopatra*, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter *Cleopatra*, the virtuous *Octavia* brought her

He continues his fondneſs for Cleopatra.

His generoſity towards his friends.

The poſterity of Antony.

[i] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p. 170, & ſeq.

up

up with her own children, and married her to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, one of the moſt learned and virtuous princes of his age. *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, was betrayed by his governor *Theodorus* to *Octavianus*'s ſoldiers, who by his orders put him to death. *Julius Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the ſame mother, became one of *Octavianus*'s chief favourites, *Octavia*, whoſe generoſity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having beſtowed on him *Marcella*, one of her daughters by her firſt huſband; but he afterwards indiſcreetly engaged in a ſcandalous intrigue with *Julia*, *Octavianus*'s only daughter, which coſt him his life. *Octavia* had by *Antony* only two daughters, of whom the elder was called *Antonia Major*, and the younger *Antonia Minor*. The former married *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom ſhe had *Cneius Domitius*, who by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, was the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Antonia Minor*, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and ſon-in-law to *Octavianus*. From this marriage came *Germanicus*, who was deſervedly eſteemed the greateſt general of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed perſon among the *Romans*, and *Claudius*, who reigned before *Nero*. *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, the ſon of *Germanicus*, did likewiſe govern the *Roman* empire; ſo that *Antony*'s family, in ſpite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to *Rome*; whereas none of *Octavianus*'s poſterity ever enjoyed that ſovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiouſly trod under foot the moſt ſacred laws of his country, and, by a thouſand acts of cruelty and injuſtice, laid waſte the *Roman* world.

Octavianus ſettles the affairs of Egypt, Aſia Minor, *&c.*

BUT to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Octavianus* having reduced *Egypt*, and ſettled the affairs of that kingdom, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of *September* of the preſent year of *Rome* 723, with a deſign to return, through *Syria*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Greece*, to *Italy*. On his arrival at *Antioch*, he found there *Tiridates*, who had been raiſed to the throne of *Parthia* in oppoſition to *Phrahates*, and likewiſe embaſſadors from *Phrahates*, who were all come on the ſame errand, *viz.* to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt each other. *Octavianus* gave a friendly anſwer both to *Tiridates* and the embaſſadors of *Phrahates*, without intending to help either; but rather with a deſign to animate the one againſt the other, and by that means to weaken both, ſo far as to render the *Parthian* name no longer formidable to *Rome*. After this, having appointed *Meſſala Corvinus* governor of *Syria*, he marched into the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called, and there took up his

his winter-quarters [k]. In the beginning of the next year, *Octavianus* entered his fifth conſulate, and had the following colleagues, *Licinius Craſſus* to the kalends of *July*, *C. Antiſtius* to the ides of *September*, and *M. Tullius*, the ſon of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He ſpent the whole winter in ſettling the affairs of the ſeveral provinces of *Aſia Minor* and the adjacent iſlands, and early in the ſpring paſſed into *Greece*, whence he ſet out for *Rome*, which he entered in the month *Sextilis*, afterwards called *Auguſt*, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together. The firſt triumph was for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and ſome *German* and *Gauliſh* nations, whom he had conquered before his war with *Antony*. The ſecond was for his naval victory at *Actium*; and the third for the reduction of *Egypt*. In the laſt, which was the moſt magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, whom *Antony* had by the queen, and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of ſtate, with an aſp hanging at her arm. *Rome* was ſo much enriched with the immenſe treaſures brought by *Octavianus* and his ſoldiers out of *Egypt*, that the value of money fell from ten to four *per cent*, and the prices of every thing elſe roſe in proportion [l]. After his triumph, the name of *emperor* was conferred upon him, not in the common ſenſe, as it imported only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a ſovereign power and an uncontrouled authority [m].

He returns to Rome.

His triumphs.

And now *Octavianus* was at the height of his wiſhes, ſole ſovereign, ſole maſter, of the whole *Roman* empire. But, on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an uſurped power, appearing to him in a ſtronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thouſand perplexing thoughts. The natural averſion of the *Romans* to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of *March*, when his father *Julius* was murdered in full ſenate, by thoſe very men, whom he thought the moſt devoted to his perſon, made him fear there might ariſe another *Brutus*, who, to reſtore liberty to his country, might aſſaſſinate him on his very throne. This he knew had happened to *Julius Cæſar*; whereas *Sylla*, after having laid down the authority he had uſurped, died peaceably in his bed in the midſt of his enemies. The paſſion of fear, which was ſo natural to him, outweighed in his ſoul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow the example of *Sylla*. He was indeed very unwilling to part with his authority; but

Octavianus' entertains thoughts of reſigning his authority.

[k] Dio, l. li. p. 447. [l] Dio. l. li. p. 458, 459 Suet. in Octav. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [m] Dio. l. lii. p. 493, 494.

fear

fear began to get the better of his ambition. However, before he came to any reſolution, he thought it adviſeable to conſult his two moſt intimate and truſty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, the former no leſs famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally eſteemed the moſt refined politician of his age. *Agrippa*, ſenſible only of that ſort of glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly declared for a generous reſignation. He inlarged on the many, and almoſt inevitable, dangers which attend monarchy, inſupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth. He did not forget the examples of *Sylla* and *Cæſar*, and cloſed his ſpeech with exhorting *Octavianus* to convince the world by reſtoring liberty to his country; that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death. *Mæcenas*, on the other hand, remonſtrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after ſo much bloodſhed, there could be no ſafety for him but on the throne; that, if he diveſted himſelf of the ſovereign power, he would be immediately proſecuted by the children and friends of the many illuſtrious perſons, whom the misfortune of the times had forced him to ſacrifice to his ſafety; that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the welfare and tranquility of the republic, that the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one perſon, and not divided among many, *&c.* *Octavianus* thanked them both for their friendly advice, but ſhewed himſelf inclined to follow the opinion of *Mæcenas*; whereupon that able miniſter gave him many wiſe inſtructions and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Caſſius* [n], and will ever be looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in hiſtory after his death, if he never deviated from this rule, *viz.* to govern others as he would wiſh to be governed himſelf, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the ſovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name ſo odious in a commonwealth, he might content himſelf with the title of *Cæſar* or *Imperator*, and under that name, which was well known to the *Romans*, enjoy all the authority of a king. This advice *Octavianus* followed, and from that time laid aſide all thoughts of abdicating the ſovereign power; but to deceive the people into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magiſtrates, with the ſame name,

But is diſſuaded from it by Mecænas.

He continues the old magiſtrates.

[n] Dio. l. lii. p. 464, &c.

name, pomp, and ornaments, but with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old juriſdiction of deciding finally all cauſes, except ſuch as were capital; and tho' ſome of theſe laſt were left to the governor of *Rome*, yet the chief he reſerved for himſelf. He paid great court to the people: the very name that covered his uſurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneſhip, tho' he acted as abſolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewiſe won the hearts of the populace by cheapneſs of proviſions and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with ſhows and ſports, and by theſe means kept them in good humour, and made them forget uſurpation, ſlavery, and every public evil; people in eaſe and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or reſenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel. As for the ſenate, he filled it with his own creatures, raiſing the number of the conſcript fathers to a thouſand. He ſupplied ſeveral poor ſenators with money out of the treaſury to diſcharge the public offices, and on all occaſions affected a high regard for that venerable body; but at the ſame time diveſted them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raiſing new diſturbances in the diſtant provinces, he iſſued an edict, forbidding any ſenator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except ſuch as had lands in *Sicily* or *Narbonne Gaul*, which at that time comprehended *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*. To theſe provinces, which were near *Italy* and in a perfect ſtate of tranquility, they had full liberty to retire when they pleaſed, and live there upon their eſtates. Before he ended his ſixth conſulſhip, he took a cenſus of the people, which was forty one years after the laſt; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred ſixty-three thouſand, the greateſt that had ever been found before [o] (Y).

He courts the people.

And the ſenate, but diveſts them of all power.

[o] Dio. l. liii. p. 496. & Marmor. Capuana, Tom. III. Annal. Pighii, p. 495.

(Y) Mention is made of this cenſus in the marble tables of *Capua* in theſe words: *In my ſixth conſulſhip with my collegue* M. Agrippa, *I numbered the people, and made a cenſus after forty one years*, (that is, from the cenſorſhip of *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Gellius*) *in which four hundred ſixty-three thouſand citizens were numbered.* Inſtead of this number, *Euſebius*, whom ſeveral modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand.

He

He likewiſe celebrated the games which had been decreed by the ſenate for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered, that they ſhould be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of prieſts being appointed to take care of them, *viz.* the pontifices, the augurs, the ſeptemvirs, and quindecemvirs [p]. The more to gain the affections of the people, he diſannulled by one edict the many ſevere and unjuſt laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many ſtately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to ſome ancient writers, about fifty miles in compaſs, and contained near four millions of ſouls, reckoning men, women, children, and ſlaves. He attended buſineſs, reformed abuſes, ſhewed great regard for the *Roman* name, procured public abundance, pleaſure, and jollity, often appearing in perſon at the public diverſions, and in all things ſtudying to render himſelf dear to the populace [q]. *He adorns the city.*

AND now *Octavianus*, entering upon his ſeventh conſulſhip with *M. Agrippa* the third time conſul, and finding all things ripe for his deſign, the people being highly pleaſed with his mild government, and the ſenate filled with his creatures, whoſe fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had uſurped, went, by the advice of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, to the ſenate-houſe, and there in a ſtudied ſpeech offered to reſign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people under the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well appriſed, that the greater part of the conſcript fathers, whoſe intereſts were interwoven with his, would unanimouſly preſs him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not often only interrupted him while he was ſpeaking, but, after he had done, unanimouſly beſought him to take upon him alone the whole government of the *Roman* empire. He, with a ſeeming reluctancy, yielded at laſt to their requeſt, as if he had been compelled to accept of the ſovereignty. By this artifice he compaſſed his deſign, which was to get the power and authority, which he had uſurped, confirmed to him by the ſenate and people for the ſpace of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending, he ſhould in that time be able to ſettle all things in ſuch peace and order, that there would be no further need of his authority; but that he might then eaſe himſelf of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the ſenate and people. This method he took to render the yoke leſs heavy; but with a deſign to renew his leaſe, if we may be allowed the *He makes a feint to abdicate his power.* *But is compelled by the ſenate to retain it.*

[p] Dio. ibid. p. 496. [q] Idem ibid.

expreſſion, as ſoon as the ten years were expired; which he did accordingly, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole *Roman* empire with an abſolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the ſenate reſolved to diſtinguiſh him with a new name. Some of the conſcript fathers propoſed the name of *Romulus*, thereby to import, that he was another founder of *Rome*; others offered other titles; but the venerable name of *Auguſtus*, propoſed by *Munatius Plancus*, ſeemed preferable to all the reſt, as it expreſſed more dignity and reverence than authority, the moſt ſacred things, ſuch as temples and places conſecrated by augurs, being termed by the *Romans Auguſta* (Z). *Octavianus* himſelf was inclined to aſſume the name of *Romulus*; but fearing he ſhould be ſuſpected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of *Auguſtus* [r], by which we ſhall henceforth diſtinguiſh him in the ſequel of our hiſtory. Though the whole power of the ſenate and people was now veſted in *Auguſtus*, yet, that he might ſeem to ſhare it with the conſcript fathers, he refuſed to govern all the provinces, aſſigning to the ſenate ſuch as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himſelf thoſe that, bordering upon the barbarous nations, were moſt expoſed to troubles and wars, ſaying, He deſired the fathers might enjoy their power with eaſe and ſafety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but by this politic conduct he ſecured all the military power to himſelf, the troops lying in the provinces he had choſen, and the others, which were governed by the ſenate, being quite deſtitute of forces. The latter were called *ſenatorial*, and the former *imperial*, provinces. The ſenatorial were, *Africa*, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Aſia* properly ſo called, or the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, *Greece*, ſtyled by moſt hiſtorians *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the iſland of *Crete*, *Libya*, *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the reſt

The title of Auguſtus *conferred upon him. His policy in dividing the provinces with the ſenate.*

[r] Dio, ibid. p. 597. Flor. l. iv. Liv. l. cxxxiv.

(Z) So *Ovid* in the firſt book of his *faſti*:

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:
Hic ſocium ſummo cum Jove numen habet.
Sancta vocant Auguſta patres: Auguſta vocantur
Templa ſacerdotum rite dicata manu
Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi:
Et quodcunque ſua Jupiter auget ope, &c.

of *Spain*, comprehending the provinces of *Tarracon* and *Luſitania*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Cilicia*, the iſland of *Cyprus*, and the kingdom of *Egypt*. Over the provinces of both ſorts were ſet men of diſtinction, *viz.* ſuch as had been conſuls or prætors, with the title of *proconſul* and *proprætor*; but the government of *Egypt* was committed to a private knight, *Auguſtus* fearing leſt a perſon of rank, depending upon the wealth and ſituation of that country, might raiſe new diſturbances in the empire [r]. All theſe governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their ſucceſſors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at *Rome* within three months at the fartheſt [s]. This diviſion of the provinces was made, according to *Ovid*, on the ides of *January* (A); whereas he was veſted by the ſenate and people with the ſovereign power on the ſeventh of the ides of the ſame month, as is manifeſt from the *Narbonne* marbles [u]; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended the greateſt commonwealth, and at the ſame time began the greateſt monarchy, that had ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent, and continuance, all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it; for it comprehended the greateſt, and by far the beſt, part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, being near four thouſand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modeſt computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the *Romans* themſelves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; thoſe who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raiſe and depoſe great kings, to beſtow or take away great empires, were ſo ſunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and ſhoes, their ambition went no higher. The no-

The end of the commonwealth Year after the Flood, 2977. Before Chriſt, 22. *Of* Rome, 726.

[r] Dio. ibid. p. 504, 505. TACIT. annal. l. i. p. 35. [s] Idem ibid. p. 506. [u] Vide inſcript. Grut. p. 229.

(A) *Ovid*, ſpeaking of this diſtribution of the provinces, addreſſes *Cæſar Germanicus* thus:

Idibus in magni caſtus Jovis æde ſacerdos
Seminavis flammis viſcera libat ovis;
Redditaque eſt omnis populo provincia noſtro
Et tuus Auguſto nomine dictus avus (3).

(3) *Ovid faſt l. i.*

bility were indeed more polite than in former times, but at the ſame time idle, venal, vicious, inſenſible of private virtue, utter ſtrangers to public glory or diſgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and ſolely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready ſubmiſſion, acquieſcence, and flattery. No wonder therefore, that they loſt their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The history of Rome, *from the perfect settlement of the* Roman *empire to the death of* Nero, *the last of the family of the* Cæsars.

THE first and chief care of *Augustus*, now absolute master of the whole *Roman* empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more and more to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over *Italy* in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, seventeen of which were in *Europe*, *viz.* eight on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were sent into *Asia* and *Africa*, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and in *Syria*, two in *Egypt*, and two in the province of *Africa*, that is, in the antient dominions of *Carthage*. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by *Augustus*, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called *cohortes prætoriæ*, or *prætorian cohorts*, and the other three *cohortes urbanæ*, or *city cohorts*. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who dismissed them all in the year 312 of the christian æra.

The forces of the empire.

BESIDES

Besides these numerous and well disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets, the one riding at anchor near *Ravenna* in the *Upper* or *Adriatic* sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the *Lower* or *Mediterranean* sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to *Rome* the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions, necessary for the subsistence and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the antient laws and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing, without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held as formerly in the field of *Mars*; but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Augustus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. In short, the same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments, were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power [w]. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that they honoured him with the title of *Pater patriæ*, or *Father of his country*. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus*, having settled affairs in the capital, left *Italy*, and passed into *Gaul*, with a design to attempt the reduction of the *British* islands; but being informed, on his arrival at *Narbonne*, that the *Salassi* at the foot of the *Alps*, and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* in *Spain*, had shaken off the yoke, he sent *Terentius Varro* against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his collegue *Titus Statilius Taurus*, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left *Gaul*, he took a census of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of *Italy* [x]. On his arrival in *Spain*, he defeated the *Cantabri* in a pitched battle near *Vellica*, at a small distance from the *Iberus*, and obliged them to retire with their wives and children to one of their highest mountains, called by the antients *Vindius*, and by the moderns the mountain of *Asturias*. But, in the mean time, *Augustus* falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to *C. Antistius*; who having defeated the united forces of the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain,

The policy of Augustus.

He is styled Pater patriæ.

The first census out of Italy.

The Cantabrians *and* Asturians *defeated.*

[w] Dio. ibid p. 511. Suet. in Octavio. [x] Dio. l. liv. p. 525. Tacit. annal. i c. 39. Suet. l. ii c. 26.

which

which he ſurrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compaſs, and fortified at proper diſtances with caſtles and turrets. By this means, all the avenues and paſſages being ſhut up, thoſe unhappy people were reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions; yet ſo great was their love of liberty, that, inſtead of yielding, they endured for a long time miſeries hardly to be expreſſed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to ſupport the neceſſities of nature. After many unſucceſsful attempts to force the *Roman* intrenchments, the *Aſturians* were at length for throwing themſelves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were therein oppoſed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, die ſword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried ſo far, that, after a ſharp conflict, in which many fell on both ſides, the *Aſturians*, to the number of ten thouſaud, were driven to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, whom they begged in a moving manner to receive them upon what terms they pleaſed. But *Tiberius*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, refuſing to admit them into the camp, ſome of thoſe unhappy wretches fell upon their own ſwords; others lighting great fires, threw themſelves into them, and periſhed in the flames; and ſome put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the foreſt they poſſeſſed *.

They fall out among themſelves.

Great numbers of the Aſturians *periſh with famine.*

IN the mean time, the conſular year being expired, *Auguſtus*, who ſtill reſided at *Tarracon*, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth conſulſhip, and choſe for his collegue *M. Junius Silanus* Y. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of *Spain*, after it had, for the ſpace of two hundred years, and upwards, given the *Romans* conſtant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The *Cantabrians*, whom *Antiſtius* kept cloſely inveſted, were at length forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, to the number of twenty-three thouſand. Of theſe ten thouſand were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries to be employed againſt the *Aſturians*, the reſt were diſarmed, and ſold to the beſt bidder; but moſt of them laid violent hands on themſelves, deſpiſing their lives, after the loſs of their liberty and arms [a]. *Cantabria*, now *Biſcay*, being thus intirely reduced, *Auguſtus* divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of *Titus*

The Cantabrians *utterly ſubdued.*

* OROS. l vi. c. 22. Y SUET in Octav. c. 26. [a] OROS. ibid. DIO. l. liii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii.

Cariſius

And alſo the Aſturians.

Cariſius, into *Luſitania*, whither ſome of the *Aſturians* had retired, and the other he led himſelf into their country. The *Aſturians* in *Luſitania* were in a battle, which laſted two days, and was one of the moſt bloody that had ever been fought, intirely defeated by *Cariſius*, who could not help owning, that the *Aſturians* equalled in valour the *Romans* themſelves. On the other hand, *Auguſtus* and *Antiſtius* entering the country of thoſe brave, but unfortunate, people, cut moſt of them in pieces, and made themſelves maſters of all their cities and ſtrong-holds. Thus were the two moſt warlike nations of *Spain* forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their ancient liberty. *Auguſtus*, before he left the country, built ſeveral cities to keep the rebellious *Spaniards* in awe, among the reſt *Cæſar Auguſta*, now *Saragoſa*, and *Auguſta Emerita*, now *Merida*, ſo called becauſe it was founded by *Auguſtus*, and peopled by his veterans, called in *Latin Emeriti* [b]. He likewiſe built a ſtone-bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops from one province to another.

The Salaſſi *ſubdued.*

THIS year ſeveral wars were carried on with equal ſucceſs in other parts. *Marcus Craſſus*, one of *Auguſtus*'s lieutenants, overcame the *Mœſians*, a fierce and ſavage people beyond the *Danube*. *M. Vincius* gained conſiderable advantages over ſome nations of *Germany*, for which the title of *Imperator* was conferred upon *Auguſtus*, under whoſe auſpices *Vincius* had fought. *Terentius Varro*, ſurnamed *Muræna*, reduced the *Salaſſi*, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he thought proper to impoſe upon them. After they had delivered up their arms, *Varro* ſent forty thouſand of their youth to *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, where they were condemned to ſlavery for the term of twenty years. *Auguſtus* divided their lands among the ſoldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called *Auguſta Prætoria*, now known by the name of *Aoſta* [c]. The whole glory of this expedition was aſcribed to *Auguſtus*, tho' he was then in *Spain*, and a ſtately monument erected by a decree of the ſenate to his honour in the midſt of the *Alps*, on which were engraved the names of forty three nations, inhabiting thoſe mountains, who were ſaid to have been ſubdued by him, and brought under the *Roman* yoke [d].

Cornelius Gallus *baniſhed.*

WHILE *Auguſtus* was waging war with the rebellious *Spaniards*, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inſcribed his tenth and laſt eclogue, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment by

[b] SUET. in Octav. DIO. ibid p. 514. OROS. ibid. [c] DIO. SUET. ibid. Epit. LIV. [d] DIO. p. 513, 514. PLIN l. iii. the c. 20.

the ſenate, for having ſpoken with too much liberty of *Auguſtus*. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and eſteemed him on account of his fine genius, the firſt governor of *Egypt*, which he oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſtripping the moſt wealthy cities of the country, paticularly the famous city of *Thebes*, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an abſolute monarch, than a ſubordinate magiſtrate, erecting ſtatues to himſelf in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inſcribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged *Auguſtus* to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his houſe and the provinces under his command. Hereupon *Gallus* uttered many diſreſpectful ſpeeches againſt the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other miſdemeanors, he was, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the ſenate, condemned to baniſhment; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence, by falling on his own ſword [c]. *Auguſtus*, whoſe favour he had gained by his military exploits and the elegance of his poetical compoſitions, is ſaid to have wept, when he received in *Spain* the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to ſet what bounds he pleaſed to his reſentment. However, he returned thanks to the ſenate for the zeal they had ſhewn on this occaſion, for the ſafety of his perſon and the glory of his name [f]. This year died *Amyntas* king of *Piſidia*. He had been ſecretary to old king *Dejotarus*, and raiſed by *Marc Antony*, whom he ſerved with great fidelity, to the throne, which *Auguſtus* ſuffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to tranſmit it to his poſterity; ſo that *Piſidia*, with *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, upon his death, were reduced to a *Roman* province, and firſt governed by *M. Lollius* in quality of proprætor [g].

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Piſidia, Galatia, *&c. become a* Roman *province.*

DURING *Auguſtus*'s ſtay in *Spain*, *Agrippa*, who had remained in *Rome*, was no leſs employed in adorning with magnificent ſtructures that ſtately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charges, the moſt remarkable were, the porch and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths, called *Thermæ Agrippæ*, and the *Pantheon*, a celebrated temple, ſo named, according to *Dion*, from the many images of the gods with which it was embelliſhed, or rather from its arched *The* Pantheon.

[c] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 819. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xvii, 66. DIO. ibid. [f] SUET. in Octav. [g] DIO. p. 514. EUTROP. l. vii. SEXT. RUF. in breviar. EUSEB. in chron.

roof, which reſembled the heavens. This wonderful ſtructure was finiſhed this year, in the ninth conſulſhip of *Auguſtus*, and is preſerved intire to this day. While *Auguſtus* continued at *Tarracon*, his health not allowing him yet to ſet out on his return to *Rome*, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the moſt remote nations of the north and the eaſt, that is, the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres* (B), courting his

The Sarmatians, Scythians, *&c. ſend embaſſadors to* Auguſtus.

(B) The *Seres*, the ſame people whom we now call the *Chineſe*, are thought to have been the firſt who made ſilk; whence *ſilk* was called *ſerica*, and *a ſilken garment ſericum*, by the *Greeks* as well as by the *Latins*. From the country of the *Seres*, that is, from *China*, ſilk was brought into *Perſia*, and from *Perſia* into *Greece* and *Italy*. It was firſt brought into *Greece* on *Alexander*'s conquering *Perſia*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flouriſhing times of the *Roman* empire. It was for a long time very dear in theſe weſtern parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the *Perſians*, to keep this manufacture to themſelves, would not allow the ſilk worms to be carried out of *Perſia*, or any one to paſs from thence into the weſt, who were ſkilled in the management of them. But the emperor *Juſtinian*, who died in the year of the chriſtian æra 565, looking upon it as a great hardſhip, that his ſubjects ſhould purchaſe this manufacture of the *Perſians* at ſo dear a rate, ſent two monks into *India*, to learn there how the ſilken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them on their return ſome ſilk worms, that he might ſet up the manufacture in his own dominions. Theſe monks on their return told him, that the ſilk-worms could not be brought ſo long a journey, but the emperor underſtanding from them that their eggs might, he ſent them back for them; and by this means great quantities of theſe eggs were brought to *Conſtantinople*. From theſe eggs have been propagated all the ſilk-worms and ſilk trade, which have been ſince that time in *Europe*. The ancients were ſo ignorant how ſilk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great inſtance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a ſilken garment. In the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, a law was made, *ne veſtis ſerica viros fœdaret*, that is, *that no man ſhould diſhonour himſelf by wearing a ſilken garment* (4); and *Lampridius* reckons it one of the moſt infamous parts of *Heliogabalus*'s character, that he was the firſt man who wore *holoſericum*, that is, *a garment which was all of ſilk* (5).

(4 *Tacit annal. l* ii. *c.* 33. (5 *Vide Prid. connect. & Voſſ. in etym ad vocem* Sericum, *& de idololat. l.* iv. *c* 90. *& Salmaſ. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad hiſt. Auguſt.*

friendſhip

friendſhip with embaſſies and rich preſents [h]. *Florus* tells us, that the *Seres* were four years on their journey, and that they preſented *Auguſtus* with pearls, precious ſtones, and elephants. The fame of *Cæſar*'s moderation in the midſt of his victories was what chiefly prompted thoſe diſtant nations, if we believe *Suetonius* [i], to ſolicit his friendſhip. This year ended with two marriages, *viz.* of *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Antony*, with *Juba* king of *Getulia*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s daughter by *Scribonia*, with *Marcellus*, his ſiſter *Octavia*'s ſon by her firſt huſband, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments, and already adopted by *Auguſtus*, who had no hopes of iſſue by his wife *Livia*, whom he paſſionately loved. As the emperor was ſtill kept in *Spain* by the bad ſtate of his health, the ceremonies uſed by the *Romans* on ſuch occaſions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by *Agrippa* [k].

THE enſuing year, *Auguſtus* entered upon his tenth conſulſhip, having *C. Norbanus Flaccus* for his collegue; but whether he was then in *Spain*, on his journey, or at *Rome*, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year or the beginning of this, the ſenate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of all laws, and impowering him to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleaſure. At the ſame time, by a ſolemn oath they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, tho' then not above ſixteen years of age, ſhould, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the ſenate among thoſe of the prætorian rank, and that he might ſtand for the conſulate, ten years ſooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewiſe ordained in favour of *Tiberius*, ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus*, that he might ſtand for the curule offices, five years ſooner than the uſual time. Theſe decrees were no ſooner paſſed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæſtor [l]. This year was remarkable for an expedition againſt the ſouthern *Arabs*, undertaken by *Ælius Gallus*, a *Roman* knight, and the third governor of *Egypt* under *Auguſtus*. The emperor being informed, that *South Arabia* abounded in gold, ſilver, and other riches, reſolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and ſo open a way for commerce with them, or by conqueſt to make them his ſubjects. He had alſo this

New honours conferred on Auguſtus.

The unſucceſsful expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia Felix.

[h] FLOR. l. iv. c. 12. SUET. ibid. c. 21. OROS. l. vi. c. 21. EUTROP. l. vii.
[i] SUET. ibid. [k] DIO. ibid. p. 515.
[l] Idem ibid.

farther view, *viz.* in caſe he ſhould, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himſelf an eaſy way for the ſubduing of the *Troglodites*, their country being ſeparated from *South Arabia* only by the narrow ſtraights, now called the ſtraights of *Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulph diſcharges itſelf into the ſouthern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, *Auguſtus* furniſhed *Gallus* with ten thouſand men; *Herod* king of *Judæa* ſent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and *Obodas* king of the *Nabathæan Arabs* a thouſand more, under the command of *Syllæus* his chief miniſter. *Syllæus* undertook to be *Gallus*'s guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miſcarry. *Gallus* had propoſed to march through the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence into *South Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*; but *Syllæus* falſly informing him, that there was no ſafe paſſage thither by land, he built an hundred and thirty tranſports at *Cleopatris*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulph or *Red* ſea, and, putting his army on board of them, ſailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans*, on the other ſide of that ſea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulph, and *Syllæus* conducted them the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt a great many ſhips. Upon his landing, his whole army was ſeized with a diſtemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive, at *Leucocome*, and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the ſummer and the following winter. Early next ſpring, he ſet out from *Leucocome*, and, after a moſt painful march of ſix months ſouthward, being led by the treacherous *Syllæus* through ways almoſt impaſſable, he arrived at length on the borders of *Arabia Felix*. Upon his approach, *Sabus*, king of the country, fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by *Strabo* the city of the *Agrans*, which *Gallus* took by aſſault. From thence he continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but *Gallus*, falling upon them, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then, without further oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Anneſus*, *Aſca*, *Maguſum*, *Tammacum*, *Labeccia*, *Mariaba*, a city ſix miles in compaſs, *Athrula*, where he left a gariſon, and *Caripeta*. From *Caripeta* he penetrated farther into the country, and, after ſome days march, came to *Marſiabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, who were governed by a petty prince named *Ilaſa-*

He is betrayed by Syllæus.

He defeats the Arabs, *and takes ſeveral cities.*

rus.

rus. He beſieged the place; but was obliged, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to drop that enterpriſe for want of water. In the mean time, his men being ſeized with various diſtempers, occaſioned by the heat of the climate and the unwholſomeneſs of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence purſue his rout into *Egypt*. Accordingly, having by this time diſcovered the treachery of *Syllæus*, he ſet out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides, and came in ſix days to *Anagrana*; whence, after having put to flight king *Sabus*, who attempted to harraſs him on his march, he purſued his journey to *Negra*, called alſo *Hygra*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæan* country, which he reached in ſixty days; whereas he had ſpent ſix months in marching from thence to the confines of *Arabia*. At *Negra* he imbarqued his troops, and having croſſed the *Arabian* gulph in eleven days, he landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* ſide; and from thence, by the way of *Coptus*, led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*, after having ſpent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes he had with the enemy, he loſt only ſeven men; but the far greater part of his forces periſhed, either by famine or diſeaſes [m]. Some of the medicinal compoſitions, which he invented againſt the diſtempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by *Galen*, and among the reſt treacle, which on his return he preſented to *Auguſtus*, telling him, that it had ſaved the lives of many of his ſoldiers [n]. The bad ſucceſs, that had attended *Ælius* in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts on that country; ſo that the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* in the eaſt, and the *Scots* in the north, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfal of the *Roman* empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

He drops the enterpriſe, and returns to Egypt.

WHILE *Ælius Gallus* was employed with part of the *Egyptian* army in this expedition, *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, invading the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* with a great army, ſurpriſed the cities of *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Phyllis*, carried the *Romans* who gariſoned them into captivity, overthrew *Auguſtus*'s ſtatues, and laid waſte the whole country.

Candace, *queen of* Ethiopia, *invades* Egypt.

[m] DIO. ibid. p. 516—524. STRABO, l. xvi. p 780. & l. ii. p. 118. & l. xvii. p. 820. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. [n] GALEN. de antidot. l. ij.

Hereupon

Hereupon *C. Petronius*, at that time governor of *Egypt*, having with all imaginable expedition got together a body of ten thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, marched againſt the warlike queen, and coming up with her in the neighbourhood of *Pſelcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the banks of the *Nile*, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, tho' thirty thouſand ſtrong, and made himſelf maſter of *Pſelcha*, the key of *Ethiopia* on the ſide of *Egypt*. From *Pſelcha Petronius* penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and after having paſſed thoſe deſerts, where the whole army of *Cambyſes* is ſaid to have been by a ſudden ſtorm buried in the ſand, he took, without oppoſition, the cities of *Premnis*, *Aboccis*, *Phturis*, *Cambyſes*, *Atteva*, and *Stadiſis*; which laſt place ſtood near the cataracts of the *Nile*. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, the *Roman* general advanced to *Napata*, which *Dion* calls *Tenape*, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took and deſtroyed, and from thence marched forward, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reaſon of the great deſerts, nor ſtay there any longer on account of the exceſſive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having therefore put a gariſon of four hundred men into *Premnis*, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of *Ethiopia*, and ſupplied it with proviſions for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying with him many thouſand captives, whom he ſold for ſlaves, except one thouſand, in which number were the chief commanders of *Candace*'s army; and thoſe he ſent as a preſent to *Auguſtus*. The queen of *Ethiopia*, upon the firſt notice of the departure of the *Romans*, having aſſembled new forces, attacked with great vigour the gariſon they had left at *Premnis*; but *Petronius* returning with a quickneſs and expedition hardly to be imagined, ſhe was obliged not only to raiſe the ſiege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the *Romans*. However, *Auguſtus* afterwards remitted the tribute, which ſhe was, purſuant to the treaty, to pay yearly to the *Roman* people, and reſtored to her all the cities which *Petronius* had ſeized [o].

But is defeated by Petronius, *who takes ſeveral of her cities.*

The queen concludes a peace with the Romans.

The Cantabrians *and* Aſturians *rebel, but are ſoon reduced.*

During theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, the *Aſturians* and *Cantabrians* attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having, by a ſtratagem, ſurpriſed a conſiderable body of *Romans*, put them all to the ſword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Auguſtus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, ſoon revenged their death, laying waſte the whole country with

[o] Strabo, l. xvii, p. 820. Dio, l. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. l. vi. c. 29.

fire

fire and ſword, and cruelly maſſacring moſt of their young men who were able to bear arms: by which means he reduced them in leſs than a month to an entire ſubjection [p].

THE following year *Auguſtus*, being in his eleventh conſulſhip with *Cneius Calpurnius Piſo*, fell into a dangerous diſtemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himſelf paſt recovery, he ſent for the curule magiſtrates, and the chief men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, who immediately came to attend him, not doubting but he deſigned to name in their preſence his ſucceſſor, and intail the empire on his family. They were therefore greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the dying emperor, without uttering a ſingle word, put into the hands of his collegue *Calpurnius Piſo* his laſt will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a diſtinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole *Roman* empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a ſucceſſor, and his delivering to the chief magiſtrate, in ſo critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his deſign was to put the commonwealth once more into the hands of the ſenate and people. His ring he delivered in the preſence of all to *Agrippa*, ſignifying thereby, as was then interpreted, that if they deſired to be governed by one man, they could not chuſe a perſon more fit for ſo great a truſt than *Agrippa*. As for *Marcellus*, his ſon-in-law, his nephew, and his ſon by adoption, whom every one expected he would name for his ſucceſſor, he ſeemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of *Auguſtus* at the point of death, when his ſincerity could not be reaſonably queſtioned, gained him the affections of the people, above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being ſolemnly deified, and ranked among the gods, in regard of the diſintereſted love he ſhewed for his country, than his father *Julius* on account of all his warlike exploits. But the apotheoſis of *Auguſtus* was put off for many years; for *Antonius Muſa*, a famous *Greek* phyſician, and brother to *Euphorbus*, phyſician to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, by cooling potions, and the uſe of the cold bath, reſtored him to his health, to the great real, or ſeeming, ſatisfaction of the ſenate and people, who immediately ordered a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to *Muſa* over-againſt that of *Æſculapius*, a diſtinction never before granted to any freed-man. He was

Auguſtus at the point of death.

His behaviour on that occaſion.

Antonius Muſa reſtores him to his health.

[p] Dio. p. 523, 524.

alſo

alſo allowed to wear a gold ring, and all perſons of his profeſſion were for ever, out of gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes [q]. The recovery of *Auguſtus* occaſioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were ſtruck, many of which have reached our times, and the moſt magnificent ſports exhibited that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. We are told that ſome fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to ſacrifice victims in their name by way of thankſgiving to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this inſcription, *The day of our death was the day of* Auguſtus's *recovery* [r]. The emperor, as ſoon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the ſenate-houſe, and, after having thanked the fathers in moſt obliging terms for the concern they had ſhewn during his illneſs, and the joy they had expreſſed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the aſſembly, in order to convince them, that he had appointed himſelf no ſucceſſor, but left them at full liberty either of re-eſtabliſhing the antient form of government, or chuſing for themſelves a ſovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means ſuffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpoſe, ſince they were, without any further proof, fully convinced of the ſincerity of his intentions, and his diſintereſted zeal for the public welfare [s].

Rejoicings at Rome *for his recovery.*

Miſunderſtanding between Marcellus *and* Agrippa.

The behaviour of *Auguſtus* during his illneſs occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former thinking himſelf injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of a mean deſcent, a mere ſoldier of fortune, expreſſed his reſentment, not againſt the emperor, but againſt his favourite, treating him on ſeveral occaſions with great contempt. On the other hand, *Agrippa* was not a man to bear with any ill uſage. The emperor therefore, to prevent the evil conſequences of their mutual jealouſies, thought it adviſeable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*, who immediately left *Rome*, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the iſland of *Leſbos*, whence he ſent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care [t].

And now *Auguſtus*, thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, reſigned the faſces, after having held them nine years together, to *P. Seſtius*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but a conſtant and faithful friend to *Brutus*, under

[q] Idem, p. 517, & ſeq. [r] Suet in Octavio. [s] Suet. & Dio. ibid. [t] Dio. l. liii. p. 518. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 91. Joseph. antiq. l. xi, c. 13. Suet. ibid. c. 66.

whom

whom he had ſerved in the battle of *Philippi* in quality of proquæſtor, and whoſe memory he ſtill reverenced, keeping his picture in his houſe, and commending on all occaſions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The ſenate was ſo affected with this impartial conduct of *Auguſtus*, in preferring a man of *Seſtius*'s character to many of his own friends, who aſpired at the ſame dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconſul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to aſſemble the ſenate when he pleaſed, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exerciſe the authority of the tribuneſhip, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the moſt diſtant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his perſon ſacred, and ſecured him againſt all outrages and inſults, whether in words or actions. His ſucceſſors never parted with this power; but, after the example of *Auguſtus*, cauſed it to be recorded in public regiſters in theſe terms; *Tribunitiæ poteſtatis primum, ſecundum, &c*[u]. Thus were the *Romans*, by raiſing the authority of their emperors, daily rivetting their own chains. In the conſulate of *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, and *L. Seſtius*, *Phrahates* king of *Parthia* being reſtored to the throne by the *Scythians*, *Tiridates*, whom the *Parthians* had choſe in his room, being obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, came to *Rome*, with the chief men of his party, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of *Auguſtus*, promiſing to hold the kingdom of him, in caſe he was reſtored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, *Phrahates*, hearing he had fled to *Rome*, ſent embaſſadors after him to defeat his deſigns, and to demand of *Auguſtus* the delivery of his rebellious ſlaves, as he ſtyled them, and the releaſe of his ſon, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands at *Antioch*, when he paſſed through that city on his return to *Italy* after the reduction of *Egypt*. *Auguſtus* introduced the embaſſadors of the contending parties to the ſenate; but, after they had pleaded the cauſe of their reſpective princes before the fathers, without conſulting them, he anſwered the embaſſadors himſelf in the ſame manner as he had done before at *Antioch*, *viz.* That he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrahates*, nor aſſiſt either of them againſt the other. However, to gratify both in ſomething, he gave *Tiridates* leave to live at *Rome*,

New honours heaped upon Auguſtus.

Tiridates at Rome.

Auguſtus's anſwer to his embaſſadors, and to thoſe of Phrahates.

[u] DIO. ibid. p. 518, 519. Vide NORIS de Cenotaph. Piſana, & L. Cæſ. p. 191. & ANTON. PAGI. critic. in annal. BARONII, p. 109.

ordering him out of the public treaſury an allowance ſuitable to his rank, and ſent back to *Phrahates* his ſon, on condition that he ſhould reſtore all the captives and enſigns taken from *Craſſus* and *Antony*. This *Phrahates* promiſed; but did not perform till three years after [x]. This year *Marcellus* was ſeized with a hectic fever, which *Antonius Muſa* undertook to cure; but the remedies he preſcribed, the ſame which had ſaved the life of *Auguſtus*, were commonly believed to have occaſioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpreſſible grief of *Auguſtus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whoſe hearts he had won by his extraordinary accompliſhments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modeſty. Though this year proved very ſickly, and many were carried off by the reigning diſtempers, yet the ambitious *Livia* was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom ſhe was believed to have diſpatched by means of *Antonius Muſa*, to make room for *Tiberius* and *Druſus* her own children. His funeral obſequies were performed with the utmoſt magnificence in the *campus Martius*, *Auguſtus* himſelf, who was his neareſt relation, pronouncing, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration [y].

The next year, *M. Claudius Marcellus Æſerninus* and *L. Arruntius* being conſuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the other cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the *Pantheon*, and there daſhed to pieces ſeveral ſtatues, *&c.* The populace imagining, that the gods viſited them with theſe, and threatened them with greater calamities, becauſe they had ſuffered *Auguſtus* to lay down the conſulate, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and threatened to ſet fire to it, unleſs the fathers immediately created him dictator. The conſcript fathers readily complied with their requeſt; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the houſe of *Auguſtus*, with twenty-four axes and faſces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorſhip; but he wiſely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on *Pompey the Great*, and took care to ſupply the city

Auguſtus wiſely declines the dictatorſhip, and the office of perpetual cenſor.

[x] Dio. ibid. Justin. l. xlii. c. 5. [y] Dio, p. 517, 519. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 93. Tacit. annal. 2. Virg. Æneid. l. vi.

with

with great plenty of proviſions, appointing annually two perſons for that purpoſe, who had diſcharged the prætorſhip two years before. As to the office of perpetual cenſor, he could by no means be prevailed to take it upon him; but named to that important employment *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proſcribed, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, formerly one of *Antony*'s moſt zealous partizans; but *Lepidus* dying ſoon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a moſt infamous character, being no ways qualified to cenſure the vices of others, *Auguſtus* took upon himſelf to perform the functions, tho' he declined the title, of that magiſtracy, and enacted many excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and eſteem of the whole city. He ſuppreſſed ſeveral private aſſemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he transferred the care of the public ſhows and ſports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the uſual ſports at their own charges, but obliged the people to contribute a ſmall ſum for their own diverſions, and paid the reſt out of the public treaſury. As the ædileſhip was the firſt ſtep to public honours, the young noblemen often ſpent their whole fortunes, and reduced themſelves to beggary, by the expenſive ſhows with which they entertained the people, in hopes of being raiſed by their ſuffrages to the ſuperior magiſtracies; and it was to obvate this abuſe, that *Auguſtus* committed the celebrating of the games to the prætors, and would have the charges attending them divided between the people and the public treaſury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguiſhing fires, allowing them for that ſervice ſix hundred ſlaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He likewiſe ordered by a particular edict, that none ſhould exhibit the ſhow of gladiators without leave from the ſenate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many perſons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debaſed themſelves to act and dance upon the ſtage, *Auguſtus* reſtrained ſuch ſcandalous practices, by forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order to appear on the ſtage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of ſenators [z]. In theſe regulations he exerted the power and authority of an abſolute prince and legiſlator; but in other things uſed great condeſcenſion, affecting to appear in courts of judicature like a private perſon, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them

Enacts ſeveral excellent laws.

[z] DIO. ibid. p. 521---524. SUET. ibid.

when cited before the prætors or other judges. This complaiſance often drew inſults upon him from the adverſe parties, as it happened in the caſe of one *M. Primus*, who was accuſed of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odryſians*, while he was governor of *Macedon*. *Primus* maintained, that he had been ordered by *Auguſtus* to make war upon the *Odryſians*; whereupon *Auguſtus*, appearing ſoon after in court, was aſked by the prætor, Whether *Primus*'s plea was true or no? The emperor anſwered, That *Primus* was certainly miſtaken, ſince he was very ſure he had given no ſuch orders. This open and poſitive declaration left no room for any reply; which ſo provoked *L. Muræna*, who pleaded for *Primus*, that he could not help aſking the emperor with great boldneſs and anger, *What buſineſs he had there? and what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted? The public good*, replied *Auguſtus*, with great calmneſs and moderation. This deportment gained him the eſteem of many; but others, who were enemies to *Auguſtus* in their hearts, and wiſhed to ſee the ancient form of government reſtored, laid hold of this opportunity to ſtir up *Muræna*, and to enter into a conſpiracy with him againſt the tyrant of *Rome*, as they ſtyled him. *Muræna* and *Fannius Cæpio*, the former a man of an unblemiſhed character, and the latter the greateſt debauchee in *Rome*, took upon them the whole management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place was already appointed. But, in the mean time, *Muræna* diſcloſed the whole to his ſiſter *Terentilla*, and ſhe to her huſband *Mæcenas*, who gave notice of it to the emperor, after having adviſed his brother-in-law and the other conſpirators to abſcond, till ſuch time as he ſhould obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. But *Auguſtus* would not hearken to the intreaties either of *Mæcenas* or *Proculeius*, who was brother to *Muræna*, and in ſuch favour with the emperor, that he had been long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould beſtow his daughter *Julia* on him or *Marcellus*. As *Auguſtus* proved inflexible, the conſpirators were ſummoned to take their trials, and not appearing, interdicted by a majority of ſuffrages fire and water, throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* was conveyed in the night-time by a faithful ſlave to the *Tiber* in a baſket, and put on board a ſmall veſſel which landed him at *Oſtia*. From *Oſtia* the ſlave conducted him ſafe to *Laurentum*, and from thence to *Cumæ*, where he was betrayed by another ſlave to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to *Rome*. *Muræna* was diſcovered in *Rome*, and aſſaſſinated by *Auguſtus*'s emiſſaries. As the conſpirators were abſolved by the votes of ſome of the judges, the

His moderation.

Conſpiracy againſt Auguſtus.

Is diſcovered and the conſpirators puniſhed.

the emperor, fearing ſuch criminals might for the future go unpuniſhed, enacted the two following laws, *viz.* That all guilty perſons who refuſed to appear, ſhould be condemned to the ſame puniſhments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that for the future the judges in criminal caſes ſhould deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly and by word of mouth. Leſt the ſeverity he ſhewed on this occaſion and the new laws he enacted, might eſtrange the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the odd behaviour of old *Cæpio*, who not only ſet at liberty the ſlave who had conveyed his ſon out of *Rome*, but ſentenced the other to be crucified, after having cauſed him to be led through all the ſtreets of *Rome* with a writing, which expreſſed the cauſe of his puniſhment. At this time, *Auguſtus*, out of complaiſance to the ſenate, whom his ſeverity towards two men of rank might have provoked, delivered up to the conſcript fathers the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which, from this time, began to be ranked among the proconſular provinces, and to be governed by magiſtrates ſent thither by the ſenate[a]. This ſame year, the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* revolted anew; but were ſoon brought under ſubjection by *C. Furnius*. Many of *Cantabrians*, finding they could not ſhake off the yoke, choſe rather to lay violent hands on themſelves than to bear it; ſo deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people[b]!

The provinces of Cyprus and Gaul delivered up to the ſenate.

AND now *Italy* and all the provinces in the weſt enjoying a profound tranquillity, *Auguſtus* reſolved to take a progreſs into the eaſt, and with this view ſet out for *Sicily* towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to chuſe for conſuls whom they pleaſed. At the time therefore appointed for the great elections the centuries met, and with one conſent raiſed to the conſulate *Auguſtus*, and gave him *M. Lollius* for his collegue; but he refuſing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a ſecond time, when ſuch diſorders were raiſed in the comitia, by the ambition of the two competitors, *L. Silanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, that the wiſer citizens thought it proper to acquaint *Auguſtus* therewith, and ſolicit him to return to *Rome*, and with his preſence put a ſtop to the contells and diviſions, which the oppoſite factions had raiſed in the city. *Auguſtus* heard the account of theſe diſturbances with a ſecret ſatisfaction, hoping they would convince the moſt zealous and obſtinate republicans, that they were no

Diſturbances in Rome on account of the elections.

[a] Dio. l. liv p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504. [b] Idem ibid.

longer

longer capable of governing themſelves as formerly. However, leſt the quarrels of two ſuch men, who had a great number of clients and were allied to moſt of the chief families in *Rome*, ſhould produce a civil war, he ſent for the candidates, reprimanded them ſeverely, and commanded them to keep at a diſtance from *Rome* till the election was over. But this did not reſtore tranquillity to the city; the friends of the two competitors ſupported their reſpective intereſts with the ſame warmth as if they had been preſent; but at length *Lepidus*'s party prevailed, and he was choſen conſul. However, *Auguſtus*, to prevent ſuch diſturbances for the future, as he could not be always at *Rome* himſelf, judged it neceſſary to create a new magiſtrate, whoſe province ſhould be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis.

Agrippa *made governor of* Rome.

Agrippa ſeemed to him the moſt proper perſon for ſo great a command. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to him, ordering him to quit the iſland of *Leſbos* and repair to him in *Sicily*. On his arrival, to procure him more reſpect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, tho' daughter to *Octavia* and *Auguſtus*'s niece, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. We are told that *Mæcenas* promoted this match, by ſuggeſting to *Auguſtus*, when he conſulted him about it, that ſince he had already made *Agrippa* ſo great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his intereſt by marrying him to his daughter [b]. This marraige was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and *Agrippa* immediately after took his leave of *Auguſtus*, and ſet out for *Rome*, where he diſcharged his new office with great applauſe, being equally beloved by the ſenate and people.

He marries Julia, Auguſtus's *daughter.*

In the mean time, *Auguſtus*, having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, paſſed over into *Greece*, where he ſhewed particular marks of his favour to the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom he beſtowed the iſland of *Cithera* and five other cities, as a reward for the kindneſs they had formerly ſhewn to *Livia*, when ſhe fled with her huſband and ſon out of *Italy*. The *Athenians* he puniſhed for having erected ſtatues to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and afterwards ſided with *Antony*. He took from them the iſland of *Egina* and the city of *Eretria*, forbidding them for the future to ſell the right of citizenſhip, which brought them in vaſt ſums, the *Romans* themſelves glorying in being free of *Athens* [c]. From *Greece Auguſtus* ſailed to *Samos*, and there wintered.

[b] Dio, ibid. p. 525. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 93. Suet. in Octavio. [c] Dio, ibid.

Early

EARLY in the ſpring, *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silvius Nerva* being conſuls, *Auguſtus* left *Samos*, and croſſed over into *Aſia*, ſettling the affairs of the provinces through which he paſſed, in as abſolute a manner as if they had belonged to himſelf and not to the ſenate. He deprived the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death ſome *Roman* citizens. The ſame puniſhment he inflicted on the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, judging this the moſt effectual method of putting an end to the factions, which reigned in theſe two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phrahates* king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was univerſally hated by his ſubjects, not only ſent back to him all the enſigns and captives taken by the *Parthians*, in their wars with *Craſſus* and *Antony*, but yielded to all the conditions which *Auguſtus* required, giving four of his ſons with their wives and children as hoſtages for the performance of them [d]; whereupon *Juſtin* obſerves, that *Auguſtus* did more by the greatneſs of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war [e]; but *Tacitus* tells us, that not the fear of *Auguſtus*, but the diffidence *Phrahates* had of his own people, induced him thereunto [f]; and with him agree *Strabo* [g] and *Joſephus* [h] (C). However, *Auguſtus*, no leſs proud of having thus

Auguſtus *paſſes into the eaſt.*

Phrahates *ſends back to him the* Roman *eagles and enſigns.*

[d] DIO. ibid. [e] JUSTIN l. xlii c. 5. [f] TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 1. [g] STRABO. l. vi. p. 288. [h] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(C) So far as we can gather from their writings, the whole matter ſeems to have paſſed in the following manner; A very beautiful *Italian* woman, named *Thermuſa*, having been formerly ſent by *Auguſtus* to *Phrahates* as apreſent, the king entertained her firſt as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a ſon, married her, and declared her queen. In this ſtation ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him, which ſhe made uſe of to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. With this view ſhe propoſed to *Phrahates* the putting of his other ſons, whoſe names were *Saroſpades*, *Ceroſpades*, *Phrahates*, and *Vonones*, into the hands of the *Romans*. *Phrahates*, not thinking himſelf ſafe againſt his ſubjects, ſo long as there were any of the race of *Arſaces* of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's propoſal; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and *Auguſtus*, and hoſtages demanded for the ſecuring of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four ſons into the hands of *Auguſtus*, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many years. As for *Thermuſa*'s ſon, who was named *Phrahatices*, he was bred up to ſucceed his father in the kingdom.

The

thus recovered the *Roman* eagles and captives, than if he had overcome the *Parthians* in battle, ſent orders to the ſenate to ſhut up the temple of *Janus*, which he had opened on his ſetting out for the eaſt, and to offer ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended him in this expedition. To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the moſt glorious of his whole reign, on his return to *Rome* he cauſed a temple to be built in the capitol to *Mars the Avenger*, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In this new temple were hung up the military enſigns, which the king of *Parthia* had reſtored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to *Auguſtus* [i]. At the ſame time *Auguſtus* ſettled the affairs of *Armenia*. *Artabazes*, king of that country, having been taken priſoner by *Antony* and carried to *Alexandria*, as we have related above, *Artaxias* his ſon, whom *Dion* calls *Artabazes*, ſucceeded him. But he having made himſelf obnoxious to his ſubjects by a moſt tyrannical and oppreſſive reign, they complained of him to *Auguſtus*, deſiring to have *Tigranes*, his younger brother, who was then at *Rome*, to reign over them in his ſtead.

Auguſtus *appoints* Tigranes *king of* Armenia.

Auguſtus complied with their requeſt, and ſent *Tiberius*, the ſon of *Livia*, who had attended him into the eaſt, with an army into *Armenia*, and drive out *Artaxias* and place *Tigranes* on the throne. But *Artaxias* being killed by his own ſubjects before the arrival of *Tiberius*, and *Tigranes* thereupon admitted, without oppoſition, to ſucceed him, the young *Roman* had no opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf by any military exploits.

Who receives the crown of Tiberius.

However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging *Tigranes* to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom [k]. *Velleius Paterculus*, the great

[i] Suet. ibid. Dio. p. 526. [k] Dio. ibid.

The *Parthians* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the race of *Arſaces*, that *Phrahates* well knew they would bear him, ſo long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be ſet up to reign in his room; and this was, according to *Strabo* and *Joſephus* (6), the reaſon why *Phrahates* ſo readily yielded up his ſons to the *Romans*; but at length his deſtruction came from what he thus projected for his ſafety, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Parthians* (7).

(6) *Vide Strab. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p.* 544.

flatterer

flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that, entering *Armenia* at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the *Armenians* to receive *Tigranes*, whom he calls *Artavaſdes*, for their king. He adds, that the *Parthians* were ſo terrified at his approach, and the fame of his name and exploits, that they ſent back to *Auguſtus* the *Roman* enſigns and captives [l]. But all other writers aſcribe the recovery of the enſigns to *Auguſtus*, and agree, that *Tiberius* performed nothing worth mentioning. This year *Julia*, who had had no children by her firſt huſband *Marcellus*, brought *Agrippa* a ſon, who was named *Caius*, and on whoſe birth-day a perpetual ſacrifice, with other ſolemnities, was decreed by way of thankſgiving to the gods [m]. Towards the end of the ſummer, *Auguſtus* left *Syria*, and being attended by *Herod*, king of *Judæa*, to the ſea ſide, he embarqued and ſailed for *Samos*, where he paſſed the enſuing winter. In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, *Auguſtus* was named conſul in the aſſembly of the people, and *C. Sentius Saturninus* given him for his collegue. But *Auguſtus* declining that office, the factions revived, and the *campus Martius* was turned into a field of battle, many perſons being killed in the fray; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus*, to put a ſtop to the diſorders that were raiſed on this occaſion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a collegue to *Sentius* of his own authority. The perſon he pitched upon was *Q. Lucretius Veſpillo*, who had been formerly proſcribed by the triumvirs, but at this time ſerved under *Auguſtus* in quality of lieutenant. Theſe two magiſtrates together with *Agrippa* maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by puniſhing with the utmoſt ſeverity the ringleaders of the late tumult [n].

Caius Caſar born.

WHILE *Auguſtus* reſided at *Samos*, he received a ſecond embaſſy from the king of *India*, ſoliciting an alliance with him. The embaſſadors, as we are informed by *Nicolas of Damaſcus*, who ſaw them as they paſſed through *Antioch*, delivered to *Auguſtus* a letter in the *Greek* tongue, wherein the king of *India* told him, that though he reigned over ſix hundred kings, yet he had ſo great a value for his friendſhip, that he ſent this embaſſy on ſo long a journey on purpoſe to deſire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place ſoever he pleaſed to appoint; and that upon the firſt notice he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power in whatever was right. This letter he ſubſcribed by the name of *Porus* king of *India*. The ſix hundred kings, whom he boaſted to

A ſecond embaſſy to Auguſtus from the king of India.

[l] VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c 94. [m] Dio. p. 526. [n] Dio. ibid.

reign over, were the *rajas*, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, ſeveral of whoſe deſcendants remain to this day, who, paying an annual tribute to the *Great Mogul*, govern their ſubjects with an abſolute authority. Of the embaſſadors, who firſt ſet out from *India*, three only reached the preſence of *Auguſtus*, the others dying by the way. Of the three ſurviving one was *Zarmar*, a gymnoſophiſt, who following *Auguſtus* to *Athens*, there burnt himſelf in his preſence, as *Calanus*, another of that ſect, had formerly done in the preſence of *Alexander*, it being cuſtomary for the gymnoſophiſts to put an end to their lives, by throwing themſelves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or apprehended ſome misfortune [o]. Among the preſents which they brought were huge vipers, ſerpents ten cubits long, a river tortoiſe three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and ſeveral tygers, the firſt that had ever been ſeen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans* [p].

Auguſtus *returns to* Rome.

Auguſtus early in the ſpring left *Samos*, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible marks of honour, his bringing back the military enſigns and priſoners taken in the *Parthian* wars being what the *Romans* valued beyond the greateſt victories. *Auguſtus* himſelf took ſo much pride in having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* name among foreign nations, that he cauſed a great number of medals, many of which have reached us, to be ſtruck with this legend on the reverſe, *Signis receptis*. The poets of his time made, as is well known, his recovering of the enſigns and priſoners, the common topic of their flatteries [q]. Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the ſenate, an altar was erected to *Fortune* with this inſcription, *Fortunæ reduci*; and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital ſhould be annually ſolemniſed with ſacrifices, ſports, ſhows, *&c.* and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Auguſtalia*, or *the feaſt of* Auguſtus.

Virgil *dies*

This year died the prince of the *Latin* poets in the fifty-firſt year of his age, having bequeathed a conſiderable part of his great wealth to *Auguſtus* and *Mæcenas*, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had deſigned to attend *Auguſtus* into the eaſt, but was obliged by the bad ſtate of his health to remain at *Naples*, whence he paſſed over to *Athens* to meet *Auguſtus* on his return from the iſland of *Samos*. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindneſs and eſteem; but he, leaving *Athens* ſoon after to

[o] Dio. p 527. Strabo, l. xv. p. 719, 720. [p] Strabo, ibid. [q] Vide Fall. l. v. Horat. l. iv. od. 15, &c.

viſit

viſit the antiquities of *Megara* in the hot ſeaſon of the year, fell ſick there, but nevertheleſs imbarqued for *Italy*, and reached *Brunduſium*, where he expired ſoon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the laſt hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered by his will that inimitable performance to be burnt; but *Auguſtus* ſaved *Troy*, we may ſay with an antient poet, from a ſecond conflagration, and by that means preſerved for all future ages a moſt perfect pattern of epic poetry. *Virgil*'s body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to *Naples*, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpoſe on the road from *Naples* to *Puteoli*. On the monument was engraved a diſtich wrote by the poet himſelf, wherein he gave a modeſt account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works [r] (D).

BUT to return to *Auguſtus*; as there reigned at this time in *Rome* a general depravation of manners, and the city was in a manner over-run with all kinds of vices, the ſenate prevailed upon *Auguſtus* to accept the office of cenſor for five years. At the ſame time they conferred upon him the conſular power for life, ordaining, that he ſhould always have twelve axes and faſces carried before him, and ſhould ſit in a curule chair between the conſuls. At the ſame time they entreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themſelves by oath to the obſervance of them. But the emperor refuſed an oath, which he judged uſeleſs, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would obſerve them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual [s]. And now the preſence of *Agrippa* being no longer neceſſary in *Rome*, *Auguſtus* diſpatched him into *Gaul* to ſtop the incurſions of the *Germans*, who, having paſſed the *Rhine*, committed horrible diſorders in the countries ſubject to *Rome*. But at the approach of ſo renowned a commander, they repaſſed the river, and ſheltered themſelves in their woods. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having ſettled the affairs of that country, and left a ſufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, the boundary between *Gaul* and *Germany*, paſſed from thence into *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians*, notwithſtanding their former loſſes, had raiſed new diſturbances. Moſt of their youth had a few years before been taken priſoners, and ſold for ſlaves to the

Auguſtus cenſor.

Agrippa marches againſt the Germans.

[r] Vide TIB. DONAT. in vita Virgilii. [s] DIO. SUET. ibid.

(D) The diſtich is as follows:

Mantua me genuit: Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
Parthenope: cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

neighbouring nations; but having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their maſters, and returning into their own country, fortified themſelves there, and attacked with incredible fury the *Roman* gariſons. *Agrippa* marched againſt them with great expedition, but, on his arrival in their country, he met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance from that brave and gallant people, that his ſoldiers began to deſpair of ever being able to reduce them. As the *Cantabrians* had waged war with the *Romans* for two hundred years and upwards, they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, no ways inferior to them in point of courage, and now become deſperate, as well knowing, that if they were conquered, after having ſo often attempted to recover their liberty, they muſt expect the moſt ſevere uſage and cruel ſlavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the *Romans* with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, put them to flight in ſeveral rencounters, and defended themſelves, when attacked by the enemy, with ſuch intrepidity and reſolution, that *Agrippa* afterwards owned, that he had never, either by ſea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to uſe intreaties, menaces, and to brand ſome of his legionaries with ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the liſts with ſo reſolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length with much ado prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he ſo animated them by his own example, that, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, he gained in the end a complete victory, which indeed coſt him dear, but put an end to that deſtructive war. All the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their caſtles and ſtrong-holds were taken and razed, and their women, children, and old men, none elſe being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountainous places, and ſettle in the plain. Thus *Agrippa* compleated the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for the ſpace of two hundred years, that is, ever ſince the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the firſt *Roman* who made war in *Spain*. The final reduction of *Cantabria*, and the quieting of all *Spain*, was judged both by the ſenate and *Auguſtus* well worthy of a triumph; but *Agrippa* modeſtly declined that honour, aſcribing the whole glory of ſo ſucceſsful an expedition to *Auguſtus*, under whoſe auſpices he had fought. He was well acquainted with the jealous humour of the emperor, no ways renowned for military atchievements; and therefore, to avoid giving him the leaſt umbrage, he artfully leſſened his own glory, for fear of eclipſing his, which, he

His expedition againſt the Cantabrians.

His bravery.

The final reduction of Cantabria.

he knew, might be attended with dangerous conſequences [t]. *Agrippa* on his return to *Rome* applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city with new edifices, and ſupplying it with great plenty of water, which proved no leſs ornamental to that great metropolis, than convenient and uſeful to the vaſt multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world. The waters, *Virgo*, *Julia*, and *Tepula*, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts, of a moſt magnificent ſtructure, and for the moſt part ſupported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters, *Appia* and *Marcia*, which conveyed into *Rome*, we may ſay, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vaſt charge. In ſhort, to *Agrippa* chiefly is *Rome* indebted for that great plenty of wholeſome water, which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world; and to this *Auguſtus* alluded, when he pleaſantly anſwered the people, who complained to him of the ſcarcity and dearth of wine, that *Agrippa had taken care they ſhould not die of thirſt* [u]. Towards the end of this year, *Auguſtus* granted a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus* for having ſubdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa*, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. *Balbus* made himſelf maſter of all that country, which lay between *Africa* properly ſo called, that is, the antient dominions of *Carthage*, *Lower Æthiopia*, and *Getulia*, extending by that means the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Nigris*. Such an important conqueſt *Auguſtus* judged well worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, though he was not ſo much as a native of *Italy*, but born at *Gades* in *Spain*, and lately admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen. He had the glory of being the firſt foreigner who was honoured with this mark of diſtinction, *Auguſtus* wiſely overlooking antient cuſtoms, to honour and reward valour without diſtinction in men of all nations [w]. This year *Ælius Gallus*, prefect of *Egypt*, made a progreſs into the upper parts of that country, as far as *Syene* and the borders of *Æthiopia*, in which *Strabo* the geographer attended him, who tells us, that at *Thebes* he ſaw the ſtatue of *Memnon*, which, according to the poets [x], ſaluted the ſun at his firſt riſing with an harmonious ſound. He adds, that being one morning on the place, he heard the ſound without knowing how it was produced, but ſuſpected it came from ſome of thoſe who were there preſent, and not from the ſtatue [y].

Rome *embelliſhed by* Agrippa

The Garamantes *ſubdued.*

[t] DIO. p. 528. SUET. in Octavio. [u] CASSIOD. l. vii. epiſt. 6. FRONT. in aquæduct. [w] Faſti capit. DIO. ibid. PLIN. l. v. c 5. SOLINUS, c. 32. [x] Vide JUVENAL. ſatyr. 15. DIONYS. in Perieg. v. 249. & alios. [y] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 816.

THE

THE next year, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, either brothers or relations, being conſuls, *Auguſtus* prorogued his authority for five years more, the firſt ten years of his ſovereign power being near expired. This, he well knew, would ſtir up the zealous republicans againſt him; and therefore, dreading the fate of his father *Julius*, he took care never to appear in public, but armed with a breaſt-plate under his robe; and, to deprive them of all hopes of ever ſeeing the antient form of government reſtored, he made *Agrippa*, as it were, his partner in the ſovereign power, conferring upon him an authority almoſt equal to his own, and the high prerogative of the tribuneſhip for the ſpace of five years; ſo that the few republicans, who ſtill remained, being well apprized, that if they ſhould cut of *Auguſtus*, *Agrippa* might eaſily ſtep into his place and revenge his death, as he was greatly adored both by the people and ſoldiery, gave over all thoughts of any further attempts for the recovery of their liberty [z]. The firſt thing *Auguſtus* undertook after the prorogation of his power was, to reform the ſenate, many perſons of no birth, and of infamous characters, having being admitted into that venerable body, during the confuſion of the civil wars. In order to purge the ſenate of ſo many unworthy members he agreed with *Agrippa*, whom he took for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thouſand to ſix hundred; but, to avoid the odium of chuſing them all himſelf, he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named one only was to be choſen, and he by lot; ſo that thirty only were elected at a time; but as ſoon as that election was over five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five choſen by lot as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or perſons unworthy of that rank, yet in ſome of their tablets were found the names of men of moſt infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjuſt partiality induced *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* to change the method of election, and ſince they could not depend upon others, to name the reſt themſelves to the number of ſix hundred; wherein to do them juſtice, they proceeded with the utmoſt impartiality, chuſing only men of merit, and by that means reſtoring the ſenatorial order to its former ſplendor. Thoſe who were degraded, to the number of four hundred, were allowed to appear at the public ſhows with the antient badges of their dignity, and to ſtand for the firſt offi-

Auguſtus heaps new honours upon Agrippa.

Reforms the ſenate.

[z] Dio, p. 529.

ces, as if they had been ſtill members of the ſenatorial order.

Several of the degraded ſenators put to death for conſpiring againſt the emperor

But, notwithſtanding this diſtinction, many of them were ſoon after put to death, for having, as it was ſuppoſed, conſpired againſt the emperor; though *Tacitus* tells us [a], that *Auguſtus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of ſuch as he ſuſpected of being republicans in their hearts, and ſecret enemies to abſolute power. Some writers think he followed, in putting many of the degraded ſenators to death, the old maxim, that *a prince ought to cut off thoſe whom he has once provoked.* Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Auguſtus* for ſome time after betrayed a great fear of being aſſaſſinated, admitting no body to his preſence, but after a narrow ſearch, whether they had any arms concealed under their garments, and forbidding even the ſenators to approach his chair more than one at a time. This precaution gave the fathers an opportunity of making a propoſal, which was highly agreeable to the timorous emperor. They offered to watch night and day at the door of his room each in his turn, to guard his perſon. But while they were conſulting about their propoſal, *Antiſtius Labeo*, a learned civilian and a man of great humour, pretending to ſleep, ſnored very loud, and waking as it were all on a ſudden, *Don't depend upon me*, ſaid he, *to guard the emperor; for I ſhall be apt to fall aſleep, and prove more troubleſome to him than ſerviceable.* The ſenators could not forbear laughing, and *Auguſtus* aſhamed of his cowardice, made them drop the propoſal, when they were ready to confirm it by a decree [b].

Auguſtus reforms ſeveral abuſes.

Auguſtus, having thus reſtored the ſenate to its antient ſplendor, applied himſelf in the next place to the reforming of ſeveral abuſes in the city. He decreed, that ſuch, as ſhould be convicted of having purchaſed the ſuffrages of the people with money, ſhould be excluded from all public offices for the ſpace of five years. That the people, who uſed to ſell their votes, might not be ſufferers by this law, he cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among them, on condition, that they ſhould not require any thing of the candidates. To check the debauchery of the *Roman* youth, which at this time was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon ſuch as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, declaring, that though a patrician ſhould marry a *liberta* or freed-woman, his children ſhould rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the ſenators, whom he would not allow to marry

[a] TACIT. annal. l. x. [b] DIO. & SUET. ibid.

under

under their rank; and becauſe the *Hortenſian* family had been by the civil wars reduced almoſt to beggary, he preſented young *Hortenſius* with a large ſum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of diſtinction. The looſe behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young *Romans* from marriage; but *Auguſtus*, who had himſelf debauched many, not ſparing even the wife of his great friend *Mæcenas*, refuſed to put a ſtop to that diſorder, ſaying, that he left the care of married women to their huſbands. Having reformed many abuſes in the ſtate, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and cauſing moſt of them, to the number of two thouſand volumes, to be burnt as ſpurious, reſerving only thoſe which were commonly aſcribed to ſome of the *Sibyls*. Theſe alſo he ſubjected to a ſtrict examination, and retained ſuch only as were on this trial judged genuine; the reſt he committed to the flames, but thoſe that were judged genuine he cauſed to be copied by the pontifices themſelves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of *Apollo* built by him in his palace [c]. Theſe *Sibylline* oracles were of great repute among the *Gentiles*, and often appealed to by the antient *Chriſtian* writers. This year, *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a ſecond ſon, who was named *Lucius*, and *Auguſtus* adopted both him and his brother *Caius*, declaring them his ſucceſſors, in order to put a ſtop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans, for the recovery of their liberty [d].

Subjects the Sibylline books to a ſtrict examination.

Lucius Cæſar *born.*

The following year, *C. Furnius* and *C. Julius Silanus* being conſuls, the *ſecular games*, which had not been celebrated for a hunhred years before, were exhibited, by *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In theſe games one of the players giving him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *lord* or *ſovereign*, he ſhewed great marks of diſſatisfaction, and the next morning publiſhed an edict, forbidding all perſons under ſevere penalties to give him that title for the future. It was on occaſion of theſe games that *Horace* wrote the Hymn, intitled, *Carmen Seculare*, which was ſung at the ſacrifice, that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, before the ſhows and ſpectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was ſpent in public games and diverſions, of which *Auguſtus* himſelf was a great admirer, eſpecially of the tournament, or warlike exerciſe, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewiſe a great encourager of

Auguſtus *rejects the title of* Dominus *or* Lord.

[c] Sueton. ibid. Dio. p. 531—533.

[d] Dio. ibid.

wreſtling,

wreſtling, but would not allow women to be preſent at thoſe games. He enticed to *Rome* with great rewards the beſt players and actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles to cauſe them, according to antient cuſtom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the ſatisfaction of the audience. But, notwithſtanding the encouragement he gave them, he ſeverely examined their morals, not allowing the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio* a comedian was attended by a woman in the diſguiſe of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and baniſhed the city. He likewiſe drove out of *Rome* *Pylades* a famous actor, for having behaved diſreſpectfully towards a *Roman* citizen, and becauſe he was continually quarrelling with *Bathyllus*, an actor no leſs famous than himſelf, and greatly favoured by *Mæcenas*. But he ſoon recalled him to gratify the people, and the comedian on his return, inſtead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his intereſt the people ſhould be diverted by men of his profeſſion, leſt they ſhould watch too narrowly his actions, or ſeriouſly reflect on their own condition [c].

Entices players to Rome, *but puniſhes their licentiouſneſs.*

THE enſuing year, *Auguſtus*, having got *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two perſons wholly addicted to him, raiſed to the conſulate, reſolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell ſome diſturbances there occaſioned by the avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, who being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in thoſe parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and by a deceitful account reckoned fourteen months in the year. However, the diſturbances were not ſuch as required the preſence of the emperor. It was therefore commonly believed, that he undertook this expedition with no other view, but to enjoy the company of *Terentia*, or, as others call her, *Terentilla*, the wife of his friend *Mecenas*, without being diſturbed in the enjoyment of his ſcandalous pleaſures, either by her huſband, or his own wife *Livia*. He took *Terentia* with him, and, becauſe *Mæcenas* could not help reſenting this baſe treatment, he appointed *Statilius Taurus* governor of *Rome* during his abſence, paſſing over his old friend, who had, in more difficult times, diſcharged that office with great applauſe. As for *Agrippa*, he diſpatched him again into the eaſt, to ſettle there ſome differences between the princes and ſtates of *Aſia*. *Auguſtus* no

Augustus *goes into* Gaul.

[c] Dio, ibid.

ſooner paſſed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty, but the *Sicambri*, *Uſipetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having paſſed the *Rhine*, defeated firſt a conſiderable body of *Roman* horſe, and afterwards *M. Lollius*, proconſul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a ſtandard. *Lollius*, though no great commander, found ſoon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them with great loſs beyond the *Rhine*. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, yet *Auguſtus* ſpent the remaining part of this and all the following year, when *M. Lucius Druſus Libo* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were conſuls, in that province, not caring to return to the capital, where he well knew his criminal converſation with his friend's wife would give occaſion to endleſs ſatires and lampoons, eſpecially after he had ſet up for a reformer of manners, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity leſs crimes in others. During his ſtay in *Gaul*, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country with complaints againſt *Enceladus*, of whom we ſpoke above. He was by birth a *Gaul*, and formerly a ſlave of *Julius Cæſar*, by whom he had been taken in the *Gauliſh* wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of *Auguſtus*, he had been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppreſſed the *Gauls* in a moſt barbarous manner, inſomuch that *Auguſtus*, aſhamed of having employed a man of ſo infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him ſuch puniſhment as ſhould deter others from the like practices. But the crafty *Gaul* found means to appeaſe the emperor, by delivering up to him the vaſt ſums he had heaped up by rapine and extortion, and aſſuring him, that, in plundering the *Gauls*, he had nothing elſe in view, but to inrich the public treaſury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *Auguſtus*, pleaſed with this defence, and more with the large ſums, which were delivered to him upon the ſpot, not only abſolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppreſſed *Gauls*, continued him in his office[c].

Lollius *defeated by the* Gauls.

Auguſtus *refuſes to redreſs the grievances of the* Gauls.

The Rhœti *invade* Italy.

In the mean time the *Rhæti* (E), having made an irruption

[c] Dio. ibid & Senec lud p. 477.

(E) *Ptolemy* places the *Rhæti* between the *Rhine*, or the lake of *Conſtance*, called by the antients *Lacus Brigantinus*, and the river *Lycus*, now the *Lech*: the *Vindelici* between the *Licbus* and the *Œnus*,

tion into *Italy*, committed there dreadful devaſtations, putting all the males they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction

Ænus, now the *Inn*; and the *Norici* between the *Vindelici* and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the ſprings of the *Save* and the *Drave* to the banks of the *Danube* in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, and was known to the antients by the name of *Mons Cethius*, but to the moderns by many different names, ſuch as the *Pleyſſe*, the *Hengſtberg*, the *Dembberg*, the *Herzberg*, *Kalenſberg*, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whoſe opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rhæti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the vallies formed by thoſe mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of *Conſtance*; from that lake to the conflux of the *Ænus* and the *Danube* extended *Vindelicia*, or the country of the *Vindelici*, and *Noricum* from thence to the *Cethian* mountains. In the country of the *Vindelici* were antiently ſome cities of no ſmall note, viz *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, *Juvavium*, or *Colonia Jovavia*, *Reginum* or *Regina caſtra*, *Batava caſtra*, *Abuſena*, *Guntia*, *Campodunum*, *Abudiacum*, *Iſiniſca*, now *Augsburg*. *Saltzburg*, *Regensburg*, *Paſſau*, *Abenſperg*, *Guntzberg*, *Kempten*, *Fueſſen*, and *Munchen*, now the metropolis of *Bavaria*: *Bojodurum* was the metropolis of that country in former times, ſo called from the *Boji*, who, being driven out of *Bojohamia*, now *Bohemia*, by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Marobodus*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak anon, ſettled in *Bojaria* or *Bojuvaria*, now called *Bavaria*. *Vindelicia* borrowed its name from the rivers *Vindo* or *Vinda*, now the *Wert*, and *Lichus*, which watering great part of it, and running the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt, of *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, now *Augsburg*, join at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and with one ſtream fall into the *Danube*. They are both mentioned by *Venantius Fortunatus* in the following verſe:

Pergis ad Auguſtam, quam Vindo Lichuſque fluentant (8).

The chief cities of *Rhætia*, or, as ſome write it, *Rætia*, were *Tridentum*, *Curia*, *Feltria*, and *Belunum*, now *Trent*, *Chur*, or *Coira*, *Feltri*, *Belluno*. Some writers place *Verona* in *Rhætia*; but *Strabo* reckons *Verona* among the cities of *Italy*. *Horace* mentions the victories gained by *Tiberius* and his brother *Druſus* over the *Vindelici* and *Rhæti*:

Videre Rhæti bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem Vindelici —— (9).

(8) *Venant Fortunat de S. Martino*, *l.* iv. *ad* 4.

(9) *Horat. l.* iv.

tinction of rank or age; nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they conſulted their augurs,

And elſewhere;

Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte poſſes; milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunoſque veloces & arces
Alpibus impoſitas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice ſimplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commiſit, immaneſque Rhætos
Auſpiciis pepulit ſecundis (10).

The *Genauni* and *Breuni* were inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as is plain from *Strabo* (11). For the better underſtanding of the antients, it is neceſſary to obſerve here, that though *Rhætia* and *Vindelicia* were two diſtinct countries, yet they formed but one *Roman* province, called *Rhætia*; and hence the antients, when they mention *Rhætia*, or the *Rhætian province*, are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of *Rhætia*, properly ſo called, and *Vindelicia*; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of *Conſtance*, the *Danube*, the *Ænus*, and the territories of the *Carni*, of the *Veneti*, and of the *Inſubres*. And hence it is that *Tacitus*, in ſpeaking of *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, calls it the *faireſt colony of the* Rhœtian *province* (12); and *Horace* calls the *Vindelici*, *Rhæti Vindelici*, to diſtinguiſh them from the inhabitants of *Rhætia*, properly ſo called (13). In the time of the emperor *Adrian*, or rather of *Dioclesian*, the *Rhætian* province was divided into two, whereof the firſt was called *Rhætia Prima*, and comprehended *Rhætia Proper*, and the ſecond, comprehending *Vindelicia*, *Rhætia Secunda*: the metropolis of the former was *Curia*, of the latter *Auguſta Vindelicorum* (14).

Noricum, formerly a kingdom (15), and afterwards a *Roman* province, extended between the *Danube* and the *Alpes Noricæ* in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, from the *Ænus*, which parted it from *Vindelicia*, to the *Cethian* mountains its boundaries on the ſide of *Pannonia*; ſo that ancient *Noricum* comprehended great part of *Auſtria*, the archbiſhoprick of *Salzburg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. It was afterwards, probably in the time of *Dioclesian* (16), divided into two provinces, *viz. Noricum Ripenſe*, ſo called, becauſe it extended along the *Danube*, lying on the ſouth ſide of that

(10) *Idem*, *l.* iv. *od.* 14. (11) *Strab. l.* iv. *p.* 142. (12) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 41. (13) *Horat. l.* iv. *od.* 4. (14) *Vide Pighor. l.* iii. *ver. Boi. p.* 91. & *l.* vi. *rer. Aug. p.* 298. & *Paul. Warnefrid. l.* ii. *de geſt. Longobord.*. (15) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 109. *Suet. in Tiber. c.* 16. (16) *Vide Thom. Reineſ. inſcript. p.* 32.

river,

gurs, whether the child was a male or a female; if they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately maſſacred. Againſt theſe fierce nations was ſent *Druſus*, the ſecond ſon of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accompliſhments. The young *Roman* behaved on this occaſion with a prudence far ſuperior to his years; for he found means to draw the enemy to a battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loſs of a very ſmall number of his own men. Thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, being joined by the *Vindelici*, took their rout towards *Gaul*, with a deſign to invade that province. But *Auguſtus*, upon the firſt notice of their march, detached *Tiberius*, who had attended him into *Gaul*, at the head of ſeveral choſen legions, to complete the ſlaughter, which his brother had begun: and indeed *Tiberius* was no leſs ſucceſsful than *Druſus*; for having tranſported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of *Conſtance*, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that ſurpriſe and confuſion moſt of their ſtrong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to ſubmit to what terms he thought proper to impoſe upon them. Thus were the *Vindelici*, the *Rhæti*, and the *Norici*, three of the moſt barbarous nations of *Germany*, by the valour of *Druſus* and *Tiberius*, brought under the *Roman* yoke [f]. *Tiberius*, to keep in awe the country he had ſubdued, planted two colonies in *Vindelicia*, and opened a road from thence into *Noricum* and *Rhætia*. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called by the name of his father, *Druſus*, *Druſomagus*, the other by the name of *Auguſtus*, *Auguſta-Vindelicorum*, which cities are now known by the names of *Memminghen* and *Augſburg*.

Druſus *is ſent againſt them, and defeats them.*

The Vindelici, Rhæti, *and* Norici *ſubdued.*

Year after the flood, 2989. Before Chriſt, 10. Of Rome, 738.

[f] DIO. p. 536. SUET. in Octav. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 39. HORAT. l. iv. od. 4.

river, which divided it from *Germany* properly ſo called; and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, compriſing that part which lay at ſome diſtance from the *Danube*. In the province of *Noricum Ripenſe* were the following cities of note, *Jovavum* or *Jovavia*, *Bojodurum*, *Lentia*, *Ovilia*, or *Ovilabis*, and *Lauriacum* or *Laureacum*, now *Salzburg*, *Inſtadt*, *Linz*, *Wels*, and *Lorch*; in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Pons Æni*, *Viſcelli* or *Viſcellæ*, *Graviacis*, *Aguntum*, *Teurnia*, and *Solva*, now *Inſpruck*, *Weltz*, *Gurch*, *Innichen*, and *Villach*: *Lauriacum* was the metropolis of the former province, and *Solva*, long ſince buried in its ruins, of the latter (17).

(17) *Vide Gruter. inſcript. p.* 537. *num.* 1.

WHILE

Agrippa's *exploits in the eaſt.*

While *Auguſtus* and his two ſons-in-law were thus employed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Agrippa* was ſettling with equal ſucceſs the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his firſt arrival in the province of *Aſia* properly ſo called, *Herod* king of *Judæa* haſtened thither to wait upon him, and having prevailed with him to take a tour into *Judæa*, he entertained him and all his attendants in a moſt elegant and ſumptuous manner. After having ſhewn him all his new-built cities and caſtles, viz. *Sebaſte*, *Cæſarea*, *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrcania*, he carried him in the laſt place to *Jeruſalem*. As he drew near that city, he was met by all the people in their beſt apparel, and attended into the metropolis of *Judæa*, by a ſolemn proceſſion and with loud acclamations. After he had ſtaid ſome days there to view the curioſities of that great city, he offered an hecatomb at the temple, feaſted all the people, and then haſtening to the port, where his fleet waited for him, he ſailed back into *Ionia* before winter, highly pleaſed at the reception he had met with from the *Jewiſh* king[g]. Early in the ſpring, he was obliged to quit *Ionia*, and advance towards the *Cimmerian Boſporus* to quell ſome diſturbances there. For *Aſander*, king of that country, dying without iſſue, had left his kingdom to *Dynamis* his wife, in whoſe right he had held it, ſhe being the daughter of *Pharnaces* the ſon of *Mithridates*. One *Scribonius*, a native of *Aſia*, pretending to be the grandſon of *Mithridates*, and to have a grant from *Auguſtus* to ſucceed *Aſander*, married *Dynamis* and ſeized the crown. But *Agrippa*, knowing him to be an impoſtor, ſent *Polemon*, whom the *Romans* had made king of *Pontus* and the *Leſſer Armenia*, to drive him from the throne. Before the arrival of *Polemon*, the *Boſporans* themſelves, being well ſatisfied that *Scribonius* was no ways related to their royal family, but an impoſtor in all his pretenſions, had put him to death. However, they would not ſubmit to *Polemon*, but, though overcome by him in a pitched battle on his firſt coming into their country, ſtill held out, and were likely in the end to get the better of him. Hereupon *Agrippa* marched with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Polemon*, which *Herod* no ſooner heard, than he haſtened after him with a conſiderable fleet, and a good number of his beſt troops on board; and having ſailed firſt to *Mitylene*, and thence to *Byzantium*, overtook him at length at *Sinope* in *Pontus*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the *Roman* general than ſuch a ſupply; for he ſtood in great need both of ſea and land-forces, the

He marches againſt the Boſporans.

[g] Joseph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 2.

Boſporans

Bosporans having armed a great many vessels, and beset with their land-forces, which were both brave and numerous, all the defiles and narrow passes, through which the *Romans* were to pass. However, with the assistance of *Herod*, he opened himself a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and having brought the *Bosporans* under subjection, he obliged *Dynamis* to marry *Polemon*, conferring on him the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which by the favour of *Augustus*, who confirmed that grant, he held with that of *Pontus* and *Armenia Minor*. However, he had not the whole kingdom of *Pontus*, but only that part of it which lay next to *Cappadocia*, and was afterwards by way of distinction called *Pontus Polemonaicus*. *Agrippa*, having thus settled matters in *Bosporus*, returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, to *Ephesus* in *Ionia*, being attended thither by *Herod*, who obtained many favours of him in behalf of the nations, through which he passed; and, on his coming into *Ionia*, not only got the many grievances redressed, of which the *Jews*, who were spread all over *Asia* and the adjacent islands, with great reason complained, but all their immunities and priveleges restored, in as ample a manner as they had ever enjoyed them, either under the kings of *Syria* or the *Romans* [i]. *Julia*, *Agrippa*'s wife, attending him in this expedition, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being drowned in the *Scamander*, as she passed that river in the night-time, while it was swelled with sudden rains. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, whose territory was watered by the *Scamander*, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheless *Agrippa* was, contrary to all justice, so provoked against them for not having assisted her, that he laid a fine upon them of a hundred thousand drachmas. Hereupon the *Ilienses*, not daring to appear before *Agrippa*, prevailed upon *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage *Herod* to speak to *Agrippa* in their behalf. The king of *Judæa* readily espoused their cause, and by his interest with *Agrippa* prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which signal favour great honours were decreed him by the *Ilienses* [k]. After this *Agrippa* passed from *Ephesus* to *Samos*, and *Herod*, taking his leave of him, returned into *Judæa*, where he received the thanks of the whole nation, for what he had done in behalf of the *Jews* in *Asia Minor* [l]. *Augustus*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the success which had attended *Agrippa* in the

Whom he reduces with the assistance of Herod.

Julia *in great danger.*

Herod *reconciles* Agrippa *to the* Ilienses.

[i] DIO. p. 538. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3, 4, [illegible] OROS. l. vi c. 18. [k] NICOL. DAMASCEN. de vita sua in excerpt. ab HENRICO VALES. p. 418. JOSEPH. ibid. [l] JOSEPH ibid.

the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, ordered supplications to be made in the capital, and passed a decree, empowering *Agrippa* on his return to enter *Rome* in triumph [m]. This year *Lepidus* the triumvir dying, *Augustus* took upon him the office of *pontifex maximus*, or high-priest, vacant by his death [n]. This dignity he held to the hour of his death, as did all his successors, as well *Christians* as *Heathens*, till the time of the emperor *Gratian*, who, succeeding his father *Valentinian* in the year of the *Christian* æra 375, and thinking it inconsistent with the *Christian* religion, of which he was a zealous professor, to bear even the name of high-priest in the rites of the *Gentiles*, refused that title, as did afterwards all those who succeeded him in the *Roman* empire [o]. This year died likewise *Vedius Pollio*, famous in history for the cruelty with which he treated his slaves, throwing them often for the smallest faults into his fish-ponds to fatten his *murænas*. As he had been raised by *Augustus* from the mean condition of a *libertinus*, or the son of a freed-man, to the rank of a *Roman* knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country seat, called *Pausilypus*, in the neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, and his house in town, which was one of the most stately and magnificent buildings in *Rome*. *Augustus*, however, caused it to be pulled down, and a sumptuous portico to be built in its room for the use of the public, which from his wife's name he called *Porticus Liviæ* [p].

Augustus *pontifex maximus.*

The Ligures Comati *reduced.*

THE following year, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Licinius Crassus* being consuls, the *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, were subdued, and their country reduced to a *Roman* province. And now *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Gaul*, stopped the incursions of the *Germans*, and brought under subjection most of the nations inhabiting the *Alps*, left *Drusus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned to the capital, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, when *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, his son-in-law, and *P. Quintilius Varus* were consuls. As he had been near three years absent, he was received by the people with universal joy and satisfaction. But he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours, which the fathers, some out of fear, others out of flattery, decreed him. Nay, he would not even allow the people to come out and meet him, but, according to his custom, entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city went to wait upon him at

Augustus's *return to* Rome.

[m] Dio. ibid. c. 5. [n] Suet. ibid. c 31. Dio p 540 [o] Zosimus. l. iv. [p] Plin. l. ix. c 23. Dio. ibid. Senec. l iii. de ira. Ovid. Fast. l. i.

his

his palace, for his houſe was ſo called, becauſe it was ſituated on the *Palatium* or *Palatine* hill. *Auguſtus* received them with great politeneſs and condeſcenſion, and afterwards, being attended by moſt of the ſenators and knights, and numberleſs crouds of people, he went up to the capitol, and, proſtrating himſelf before the ſtatue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, took the laurel from about his faſces, and laid it at his feet. A few days after he aſſembled the ſenate, but, not being able to ſpeak himſelf by reaſon of a violent cold he had got on his journey home, he gave the quæſtor a paper to read, containing an account of what he had done ever ſince he left the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any diſturbances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long obſerved by his ſucceſſors. Among the reſt he publiſhed one, by which it was enacted, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that for the future the ſervices of the veterans ſhould not be rewarded with lands, but money. What evils attended the beſtowing of lands upon them, is plain from *Virgil*'s eclogues. By the ſame law the time was fixed, which each corps was to ſerve, the pay which they were to receive during their ſervice, and the ſum they were to expect, if they continued to ſerve after the time preſcribed by law was expired. The emperor's own guards known by the name of the *prætorian cohorts* or *bands*, were, by this law, to ſerve twelve years before they could demand their diſmiſſion, and the reſt ſixteen; the former were allowed about twelve pence of our money a day, and the latter five pence; if they were refuſed their diſmiſſion, when the time of their ſervice was expired, or choſe to continue in the army, they were accounted veterans, and as ſuch exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged ſolely to fight, and that for the ſpace of five years only; after which term they were abſolutely to obtain their diſcharge, if they choſe to quit the ſervice, and the rewards due to veterans, which were according to *Auguſtus*'s appointment, five thouſand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thouſand for the common legionaries. Some years after, *Auguſtus* extended the time of ſervice to ſixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter* . To give new luſtre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his intereſt, he required but one year's ſervice of the young patricians to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had ſerved ſeveral years. To this diſtinc-

His regulations with relation to the ſoldiery.

* Dio. l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. Lips. excurſ. in Tacit. annal. prim.

tion he added another in favour of the ſons of ſenators, whom he allowed to have a place in the ſenate, and to wear the *laticlavium*, which was peculiar to the firſt magiſtrates, ſenators, and chief officers of the army, at the age of ſeventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty ſixth year of their age.

He corrects the kalendar.

THIS year *Auguſtus*, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a groſs miſtake in the *Roman* kalendar. For the pontifices having for the ſpace of thirty ſix years, that is, ever ſince the reformation of the kalendar by *Julius Cæſar*, made every third year a leap year inſtead of every fourth, twelve days had been inſerted inſtead of nine, ſo that the *Roman* year conſiſted of three days more than it ought. *Auguſtus*, for the rectifying of this miſtake, ordered firſt, that for the twelve enſuing years there ſhould be no leap year; and ſecondly, that, after the expiration of the ſaid twelve years, the leap years ſhould thenceforth be made every fourth year[q]; by which means the three ſuper-added days being thrown out, and the leap years fixed to their true terms, according to *Julius Cæſar*'s inſtitution, the form of this year has ever ſince been regularly obſerved, and is ſtill, under the name of *the old ſtyle*, in uſe among us. When *Auguſtus* made this reformation, a decree was paſſed by the ſenate and people, enacting, that the month *Sextilis* ſhould thenceforth from the emperor's name be called *Auguſtus*, which name it retains to this day, in all the kalendars that have been formed from the *Roman*. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Auguſtus* himſelf, in ſettling the year, gave his name to the month *Sextilis*, preferring it to *September*, in which he was born, becauſe in the former he had been firſt raiſed to the conſulate, and obtained many ſignal victories[r]. But the very words of the decree of the ſenate are related by *Macrobius*[s], who alſo mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was propoſed by the tribune *Pacuvius*. Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa*, having ſettled the affairs of the eaſtern provinces, and left *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* governors of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, returned to *Rome* with *Antipater*, *Herod*'s eldeſt ſon by *Doris* his firſt wife. *Auguſtus* received him with all the marks of a ſincere affection and friendſhip, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, aſcribing, according to his cuſtom, all the glory of his conqueſts to the emperor, under whoſe auſpices he had

Agrippa refuſes a triumph.

[q] SUET. in Octav. c. 31. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 25. [r] SUET. ibid. [s] MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12.

fought:

PART OF GERMANIA MAGNA

PART OF PANNONIA

NORICI

Carpathian Mountains

SARMATIA EUROPEA

Basterna

Roxalani

Petrodaua

Tyras R.

Iazyges Metanastæ

Anarti

Vlpici

Vapuca

Petrouetus

Laici

Britolagæ

Getæ

Dacia

Rhabo siue Marisius Flu.

Sarmatæ Vrgi Augusti

Dacenus

Tisiagetæ

Hister Flu.

Dariuss Bridge

Tomi

Istropolis

Getæ Calatis

PONTUS

Scythæ

Bizone

Dionysiopolis

Tyras Flu.

Tyrigetæ

Odessus

Deultum

Hæmus Mount

Apollonia

Byzia

Mesembria

Cabyle

Philippopolis

Adrianopolis

Byzantium

Bessi

Mædi

Philippi

Bistonii

Thasus

Abydus

ASIA

Imbrus

Lemnus

Tenedos

Rhœbe

Labeati

Scordisci

Dardania

Breuci

Amantini

Iapydes

Flanates

Istria

Liburnia

Dalmatia

Illyri

Colapis Flu.

Drauus Flu.

Sauus Flu.

Ad Statuas

Lugionum

Andizetes

Valdabius Flu.

Aquileia

Venetia

Iulia Lauriacum

Comagene

Vindobona

Arrabo

Cusus Flu.

Germanium

Ad Selabas

Brigetio

Valentia

Deseria

Sarabantes

Boiorum Sabaria.

Carrodunum

Racitumum

Petoua

Iuenna

Seggeia

Siscia

Sirmium

Lussonium

Anamatia

Aquincum

Vetus Salina

Carpes

Transacense

Amasenses Pol.

Vmbri Amantini

Arrabo Flu.

Murus Flu.

Murela

Drauus R.

Raetond.

Cleta

Sauus Flu.

Flauia Solua

Variana

Segestica

Siscia

Scordus Mons

Scordus

Labeatis

Rhizonicum

Helcumium

Lissus

Epidamnus Durrachium

Nimphæum

Heraclea

Pantalia

Bona mansio

Bona

Boa

Narona

Salonæ

Iadera

Scardona

Sidrona

Tedanius Flu.

Naro Flu.

Naro

Lissa

Issa

Pharus

Pharsalus

Scotussa

Pinchinetus

Varia

Dessaretum

Pirum

Scupi

Candauia

Lychnidus Lacus

Lychnidus

Brigantium

Lauentum

Aeminium

Aemonia

Epirus

Thessalonica

Strymon Flu.

Strymonicus Sinus

Singid.

Taurunum

Cornacum

Altinum

Aquileia

Iulia Concordia

Tergestinus Sinus

Tergestinus Insula

Istria

Pannonia Superior

Pannonia Inferior

Moesia Superior

Moesia Inferior

Thessalia

Macedonia

Part of Macedonia

Part of Thessalia

Part of Asia

Thracia

Odrysæ

Thracia Vicus

Trimontium

Propontis

Bosporus

Parthenopolis

Parthenopolis Tomi

Tiras

Tiraspolis

Troas

Troas Flu.

Troas Mons

Ida Mons

Ida

Scamander Flu.

Sigeum

Rhœteum

Dardanus

Abydus

Sestus

Sestos

Parium

Lampsacus

Cyzicus

Cyzicum

Artace

Nicomedia

Nicæa

Prusa

Prusias

Apollonia

Byzantium

Chalcedon

Chrysopolis

Heraclea

Perinthus

Perinthus Vrbs Dea

Selymbria

Panium

Panium Vrbs

Thasus

Neapolis

Philippi

Philippi Vrbs

Amphipolis

Strymon Flu.

Strymonicus Sinus

Thessalonica

Thessalonica Vrbs

Pella

Pella Vrbs

Edessa

Edessa Vrbs

Beroea

Beroea Vrbs

Pydna

Pydna Vrbs

Olympus Mons

Olympus

Ossa Mons

Ossa

Pelion Mons

Pelion

Tempe

Tempe Vrbs

Larissa

Larissa Vrbs

Pharsalus

Pharsalus Vrbs

Scotussa

Scotussa Vrbs

Thebæ Phthiotides

Thebæ Phthiotides Vrbs

Demetrias

Demetrias Vrbs

Iolcos

Iolcos Vrbs

Magnesia

Magnesia Vrbs

Ephesus

Ephesus Vrbs

Smyrna

Smyrna Vrbs

Sardis

Sardis Vrbs

Hermus Flu.

Hermus

Caicus Flu.

Caicus

Pergamus

Pergamus Vrbs

Adramyttium

Adramyttium Vrbs

Troas

Troas Vrbs

Alexandria Troas

Alexandria Troas Vrbs

Ilium

Ilium Vrbs

Rhœteum

Rhœteum Vrbs

Dardanus

Dardanus Vrbs

Abydus

Abydus Vrbs

Sestus

Sestos

Parium

Parium Vrbs

Lampsacus

Lampsacus Vrbs

Cyzicus

Cyzicum

Artace

Artace Vrbs

Nicomedia

Nicomedia Vrbs

Nicæa

Nicæa Vrbs

Prusa

Prusa Vrbs

Prusias

Prusias Vrbs

Apollonia

Apollonia Vrbs

Byzantium

Byzantium Vrbs

Chalcedon

Chalcedon Vrbs

Chrysopolis

Chrysopolis Vrbs

Heraclea

Heraclea Vrbs

Perinthus

Perinthus Vrbs

Selymbria

Selymbria Vrbs

Panium

Panium Vrbs

Thasus

Thasus Vrbs

Neapolis

Neapolis Vrbs

Philippi

Philippi Vrbs

Amphipolis

Amphipolis Vrbs

ſought: and this was the chief cauſe, why the cuſtom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the *Romans*, was laid aſide, other generals following the example of *Agrippa*, and not caring for an honour, which he ſeemed to deſpiſe [t]. However, *Auguſtus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then ſent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia* (F), where a new war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. *Agrippa* left *Rome* in the beginning of the conſulate of *M. Valerius Meſſala Barbatus* and *P. Sulpitius Quirinus*, or, as others call him, *Cirinus*. The former, who was father to the famous *Meſſalina*, dying ſome months after his election, was ſucceeded by *Caius Valgius*, a man of great learning [u], who before the end of the year reſigned the faſces to *Caius Caninius Rebilus*. The *Pannonians* were ſo frightened at the very name of *Agrippa*, that, upon his approach, they ſent deputies to him, offering to ſubmit upon what terms he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them.

[t] DIO, p 541. HORAT. l. ii. od.

[u] PLIN. l. xxv. c. 2. TIBULL. l. iv.

(F) *Pannonia* was bounded on the eaſt by *Upper Mæſia*, on the weſt by *Noricum*, on the ſouth by *Dalmatia*, and on the north by the *Danube* (17); ſo that *Pannonia* comprehended *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windiſch Marck*, part of *Auſtria*, part of *Hungary*, all *Sclavonia* and *Boſnia*, and part of *Servia*. It was antiently divided into *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, the former comprehending *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windiſch Marck*, and part of *Auſtria*; the latter *Boſnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube*, the *Drave*, and the *Arabo*, now the *Raab*; ſo that ſcarce the third part of the preſent kingdom of *Hungary* was within the limits of antient *Pannonia*, that tract which lies beyond the *Danube*, between that river and the *Tibiſcus*, not belonging to *Pannonia*, but to the *Iazyges Metanaſtæ*. The chief cities of antient *Pannonia* were *Segeſte* or *Siſcia* at the confluence of the *Calpe* and the *Save*, *Amona*, a *Roman* colony, *Nauportum*, upon a river of the ſame name, now known by the name of *Laubach*, *Vindoniana*, or *Vindobona*, *Scarabantia*. *Sirmium* on the *Save*, and *Taurunum*, now *Siſeck*, *Unterlaubach*, *Oberlaubach*, *Vienna*, *Scarbing*, *Simach*, and *Belgrade*. *Sirmium* was the metropolis of all *Pannonia*. Some geographers place *Stridon*, the native city of St. *Jerom*, in *Pannonia*, others in *Dalmatia*; but St. *Jerom* himſelf calls it the boundary of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (18).

(17) *Plin. l. iii. c. 25. Dio. l xlix. p. 413. Strab. l. vii p. 217. Jornandes de reb. Get. c. 50.* (18) *S. Hieronym catalog. ſcript. eccleſiaſt.*

Hereupon *Agrippa*, having obliged them to deliver up their arms and give him hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to *Italy*, but was taken with a violent illneſs as he marched through *Campania*, which in a few days brought him to his grave. *Auguſtus*, upon the firſt news of his danger, left the ſports, which his two grandſons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, were then exhibiting in honour of *Minerva*, and haſtened into *Campania*, to ſee and relieve, if he could by any means, his dying friend. But *Agrippa* expired a few minutes before his arrival, which he no ſooner underſtood, than he burſt into tears, bewailing in the illuſtrious deceaſed the loſs of the greateſt general of his age, the wiſeſt miniſter, and the moſt faithful, conſtant, and diſintereſted friend he had in the world. He cauſed his body to be conveyed to *Rome*, and took upon himſelf to make his funeral oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier, perhaps becauſe it was not lawful for him as pontifex maximus to look upon a dead body. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains depoſited not in the *campus Martius*, where the ſenate had allowed him a monument, but in *Auguſtus*'s own mauſolæum near *Marcellus*, the emperor declaring, that he would not be ſeparated even after his death from two perſons, whom he ſo tenderly loved in his life[w]. He died in the fifty firſt year of his age, and left behind him by his firſt wife *Cæcilia Attica*, the daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*, one daughter named *Agrippina*, who was married to *Tiberius*; and by his third wife *Julia*, three ſons, *viz. Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Poſthumus*, ſo called becauſe he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, *Julia* married to *Lucius Paulus*, and *Agrippina* married to *Germanicus*, by whom ſhe had the emperor *Claudius* and *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*; *Agrippa* had no children by his ſecond wife *Marcella*, whom he divorced to marry *Julia*. He bequeathed his fine gardens and a bath, which was called by his name, to the *Roman* people, and to *auguſtus* among other things the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*; but how he acquired the dominion and property of that country is what we find no where recorded, *Dion* owning himſelf quite in the dark as to this point.

The death of Agrippa.

His offſpring.

Thus long did *Auguſtus* reign, in ſome meaſure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, judging it neceſſary that he ſhould have one to aſſiſt him in the government, ſuperior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conſpiracies,

[w] Dio. p. 541.

made

made choice of *Tiberius*, though much againſt his will, as *Dion* informs us, his grandſons, *Lucius* and *Caius Cæſar*, being yet too young to bear any public offices [x]. He obliged *Tiberius*, before he inveſted him with the power, which *Agrippa* had enjoyed, to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, who had already brought him a ſon, and was then big with child, and to marry *Julia*, whoſe leud and ſcandalous behaviour was well known to *Tiberius*, and to all the young debauchees of *Rome*, and had given great uneaſineſs to *Agrippa* ſome time before his death. However, *Tiberius* complied without betraying the leaſt reluctance, through fear of diſguſting *Auguſtus*, who was the only perſon in *Rome* unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct. The uſual ceremonies were no ſooner over, than *Auguſtus* diſpatched his new ſon-in-law againſt the *Pannonians*, who, upon the news of *Agrippa*'s death, had attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But *Tiberius*, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the *Scordiſci*, who had remained faithful to the *Romans*, obliged them in a ſhort time to return to their duty, and ſubmit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hoſtages, and put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of all their towns and ſtrong holds. *Tiberius* ſpared their lives, but laid waſte their fields, plundered their cities, and, having ſent the beſt part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the ſame year, *Q. Ælius Tubero* and *Paulus Fabius Maximus* being conſuls. The ſenate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and among the reſt a triumph. But *Auguſtus* obliged him, ſore againſt his will, to reject the offers of the conſcript fathers, and content himſelf with the marks of diſtinction, which were granted for life to thoſe who had triumphed, *viz.* to have a particular place apart from the reſt at the publick ſhows, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. On the other hand, his younger brother *Druſus* ſignaliſed himſelf no leſs among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. Having been left in *Gaul* by *Auguſtus* to ſtop the incurſions of the *Germans*, he had begun there a ſecond cenſus, taking a minute account of each perſon's eſtate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the *Gauls* looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and ſeemed diſpoſed to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But *Druſus*, being appriſed of their deſign, ſummoned all the *Gauliſh* chiefs to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ceremony

Tiberius *choſen in his room.*

He reduces the Pannonians.

Druſus prevents the Gauls *from revolting.*

[x] Idem, p. 543.

of

of conſecrating a temple, which the *Lugdunenſes* had built in honour of *Julius Cæſar*. When they were all aſſembled, *Druſus* by his addreſs and engaging behaviour won their affections to ſuch a degree, that they not only dropt the deſign they had formed of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, but agreed to erect an altar in honour of *Auguſtus*, and to pay him even in his life-time divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this deſign, each of them contributing their quota, and ſending a ſtatue to adorn the new altar, which was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of *Auguſt*, and became ſoon very famous all over *Gaul*, as is plain from the writings of almoſt all the antients [y]. Games were inſtituted in honour of the new deity, much of the ſame nature with the *Nemæan* and *Iſthmian* games

An altar erected in honour of Auguſtus *at* Lyons.

And now *Druſus*, having nothing to fear from the *Gauls*, turned his arms againſt the *Germans*, who, having raiſed the moſt numerous and formidable army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, were advancing towards the *Rhine*, in order to invade *Gaul*. But the young *Roman* not only defeated them as they attempted to croſs that river, but, purſuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the *Uſipetes* or *Uſipii*, now known by the name of *Relinchuſen*, and from thence advanced againſt the *Sicambri* in the neighbourhood of the *Lyppe* and *Iſſel*; theſe he overthrew in a great battle, laid waſte their country, burnt moſt of their cities, and following the courſe of the *Rhine*, approached the *German* ocean, and reduced the *Friſii* and the *Chauci* between the *Amiſius* and the *Albis*, now the *Ems* and the *Elbe*. In theſe marches his troops ſuffered extremely for want of proviſions, and he himſelf was often in great danger of being drowned, as the *Romans*, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into eaſt *Frieſland*, and, leaving them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the prætorſhip, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Julius Antonius*, the ſon of the triumvir, being then conſuls. Early in the ſpring, *Druſus* left the capital, and returning to his army, quartered in *Friſia* or *Frieſland*, marched from thence into the country of the *Tenctteri*, whom he eaſily ſubdued; and afterwards paſſing the *Lupias*, now the *Lyppe*, in *Weſtphalia*, brought into ſubjection the *Catti* and the *Cheruſci*, extending his conqueſts to the banks of the *Viſurgis*, now the *Weſer*, which he would have paſſed, had he not been obliged to return for want of proviſions, the ene-

The exploits of Druſus *in* Germany.

[y] Strab. l. iv. p. 192. Suet. Dio. Liv. &c.

North

THE COUNTRIES OF VINDELICIA RHAETIA & NORICUM.

PART OF GREAT GERMANY

Part of SWITZERLAND

Part of GAUL

PART OF ITALY

Part of PANNONIA HUNGARY

West

East

South

D P Sculp

my having laid waſte the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. As he was retiring, the *Germans* unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow paſſage, and having ſurrounded the *Roman* army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave *Druſus*, animating his men more by his example than by ſpeeches, after a warm conflict, which laſted almoſt the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made ſuch havock of them, that the ground was ſtrewed for ſome miles with dead bodies. *Druſus* found in their camp a huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and ſo great was their confidence, that they had agreed before-hand about the diviſion of the booty; the *Tencteri* were to have the horſe, the *Cheruſci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Uſipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Druſus* was ſaluted *imperator* by his troops on the field of battle, where they erected a trophy as a monument of ſo ſignal a victory; after which *Druſus*, to ſecure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliſo*, the *Lyppe* and the *Alme*, the other in the country of the *Catti* or *Chatti* on the *Rhine*, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Foſſa Druſiana*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. For theſe exploits *Druſus* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother *Tiberius* had been the preceding year, but was not allowed by *Auguſtus* to triumph, or even to retain the title of *imperator*, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the ſovereign. *Druſus*, as well as *Tiberius*, had fought under the auſpices of *Auguſtus*, who therefore aſcribing to himſelf the glory they had acquired, allowed them ſuch marks of diſtinction as were uſually conferred on triumphant victors, but not the triumph itſelf [z]. This ſame year, *Tiberius* being ſent againſt the *Pannonians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewiſe the *Dalmatians*, who had joined them in their revolt. One *Vologeſes*, a prieſt of *Bacchus*, by birth a *Thracian*, raiſed far greater diſturbances in that part of *Thrace*, which was ſubject to *Raſciporis*, the ſon of *Cotys*, a faithful ally of the *Romans*. *Vologeſes* ſtirring up the people againſt that prince, whom he ſtyled a ſlave of *Rome*, committed moſt dreadful ravages in all parts of his dominions, overthrew and killed the young prince himſelf in a pitched battle, put to flight *Rhemetacles* his guardian, and, having over-run the whole country, advanced, without oppoſition, into the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to paſs from thence into *Macedon*.

He defeats the united forces of the Tencteri, Sicambri, Cheruſci, *&c.*

Diſturbances in Thrace.

[z] DIO. p. 544. SUET. in Claud.

But,

But, in the mean time, *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo*, one of the beſt generals of his age, being ordered by *Auguſtus* to quit *Pamphylia*, which he governed in quality of proconſul, and to ſtop the progreſs of the barbarians under the conduct of *Vologeſes*, arrived in *Thrace*, and coming up with the enemy near the confines of *Macedon*, attacked them, but had the misfortune to be defeated, his men not being accuſtomed to the enemy's manner of fighting. However, as he was a man of great experience in military affairs, he made his retreat in good order, and falling the next day unexpectedly on the barbarians, gave them a total overthrow, purſued them into *Thrace*, and made himſelf maſter of the fruitful plains lying between mount *Pangæus* and mount *Hæmus*. *Auguſtus* was ſo pleaſed with this conqueſt, that he decreed to *Piſo*, not indeed a triumph, but all the honours and privileges which were formerly granted to thoſe who had triumphed, ordaining beſides ſupplications by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [a]. The joy and ſatisfaction which *Auguſtus* received from theſe ſucceſſes was greatly allayed by the death of his ſiſter *Octavia*, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her ſex, and therefore greatly lamented by perſons of all ranks and conditions. *Auguſtus* cauſed her body to be expoſed on a bed of ſtate in a temple lately erected in honour of *Julius Cæſar*, and pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the ſenate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four ſons-in-law, the huſbands of the two *Marcellæ*, whom ſhe had by her firſt huſband *Marcellus*, and of the two *Antoniæ*, her daughters by *Antony* the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age [b].

Quelled by L. Calpurnius Piſo.

The following year, *Nero Claudius Druſus* and *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by his two ſons-in-law, *Tiberius Claudius Nero* and *Nero Claudius Druſus*, and paſſing the *Alps*, advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, whence he ſent *Tiberius* againſt the *Daci*, and *Druſus* to complete the conqueſt of the reſt of *Germany*. *Tiberius* eaſily ſubdued the *Daci*, obliged them to give him hoſtages, and tranſplanted forty thouſand of them into *Gaul*. On the other hand, *Druſus* having paſſed the *Rhine*, and afterwards, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the *Weſer*, brought under ſubjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, or, as the *Romans*

The Daci *ſubdued by* Tiberius.

Conqueſts made by Druſus *in* Germany.

[a] Dio. p. 545. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 98. [b] Dio. ibid. Suet. in Octavio.

called

called it, the *Albis*. Having attempted in vain to paſs this river, he erected ſeveral trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*. *Dion* tells us, that as he was deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould penetrate ſtill farther into theſe northern countries, or make the *Albis* the boundary of the *Roman* empire, a woman of a ſtature more than human appeared to him, and calling him by his name, aſked him, *Whither his ambition would carry him? The fates*, ſaid ſhe, *will not allow you to ſee all parts: retire therefore, and know, that the period both of your life and actions approaches*. With this and ſuch like prodigies, *Dion* pretends, that the death of *Druſus*, which happened ſoon after, was foretold. For before he reached the *Rhine*, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. *Auguſtus*, upon the firſt notice of his illneſs, ſent an expreſs to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, who thereupon made what haſte he could to ſee him before he died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival he found him ſtill alive, but juſt expiring. His ſudden death occaſioned a report, which was credited by many, *viz.* that *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* had conſpired to take him off by poiſon, and effected their wicked deſign by means of their emiſſaries. It is at leaſt certain, that *Druſus* was in his heart a zealous republican, and had on ſeveral occaſions betrayed a great deſire of ſeeing the antient form of government reſtored. Though he was generally thought to be the ſon, not of *Claudius Nero*, but of *Auguſtus*, yet he looked upon him as an uſurper, and wrote the following letter to his brother *Tiberius*, while they were both waging war in *Germany* at the head of two powerful armies: *The gods have put it into our power to render* Rome *happy or miſerable*: Auguſtus *has truſted us with the forces of the empire, can we employ them better than in re-eſtabliſhing the republic, and reſtoring* Rome *to her antient liberty and ſplendor: how glorious a thing it is to be the deliverer and avenger of ones country!* This letter *Tiberius* ſent to *Auguſtus*, and ſoon after happened the death of *Druſus* in the manner we have related[c]. However, moſt of the antients clear *Auguſtus* from all ſuſpicion of being any ways acceſſary to the death of the young hero. *Livy*, who here ends his hiſtory, ſays, that he died of a fall from his horſe: perhaps that fall occaſioned the fever of which he died. *Suetonius* thinks the report, which was ſpread upon his death to the prejudice of *Auguſtus*, to have been intirely groundleſs, ſince the emperor loved him with great tenderneſs, and had

His death.

Druſus's *love for his country.*

[c] SUET. in Octav. & Claud. DIO. ubi ſupra.

even named him in his will for his ſucceſſor in conjunction with his two grandſons, *Lucius* and *Caius* [d]. *Tacitus*, whom we cannot ſuſpect of partiality towards *Auguſtus*, or indeed towards any of his ſucceſſors, tells us, that *Auguſtus* never extended his cruelty to any of his own family [e]. *Druſus* was a man of an unblemiſhed character, of a probity which was proof againſt all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and diſſimulation. He was no ways inferior, either in courage or conduct, to the moſt experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view in all his expeditions, but the glory of the *Roman* name and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-eſtabliſhed the republic, and reſigned with joy the ſovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife *Antonia Minor*, the younger daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, viz. *Druſus*, ſurnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded *Caligula* in the empire. His ſoldiers, to teſtify their grief for the loſs of a general, whom they ſo tenderly loved, erected to his memory a ſtately monument on the banks of the *Rhine*, and aſſembling yearly on the anniverſary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of *July*, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illuſtrious deceaſed [f]. As for his body, it was conveyed to *Rome*, and attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magiſtrates of the *Roman* colonies and municipia, through which it paſſed, meeting it on the road, and attending it with the utmoſt pomp from one city to the other. *Auguſtus* himſelf received it at *Rome*, being returned from *Gaul* for that purpoſe, and pronounced in the *Circus Flaminius* a funeral oration in honour of the deceaſed, in which he begged of the gods, with great earneſtneſs and many tears, that they *would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grand children they had given him tread in his foot-ſteps*. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was expoſed, and from thence carried on the ſhoulders of the *Roman* knights to the field of *Mars*, where it was burnt with great ſolemnity; as for the aſhes they were depoſited in the mauſolæum of *Auguſtus*. The ſenate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, ſo favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and ſtatues in moſt public places of the city: the ſurname of *Germanicus* was conferred upon

His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

[d] Suet. ibid. [e] Tacit. annal. 1. c. 6. [f] Ex inſcript. citata a Lipſio.

him

him by a decree of the ſenate, and confirmed to his poſterity; many trophies were erected, and medals ſtruck with the inſcription *de Germanis*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Germans*, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother *Livia* and his widow *Antonia*, who had inherited both her mother *Octavia*'s beauty and virtue; ſhe continued inconſolable to the hour of her death, nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon to marry again, though often and earneſtly preſſed to it by *Auguſtus* [g].

THE emperor was in haſte to return to *Gaul*, but nevertheleſs before his departure he made ſeveral new regulations. The conſcript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, aſſembled very ſeldom, and in ſmall numbers. *Auguſtus* therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they ſhould be obliged to meet; and at the ſame time enacted, with the approbation of the ſenators themſelves, that ſuch as abſented themſelves on thoſe days, without a lawful cauſe, ſhould pay a certain ſum by way of mulct; and that their determinations, when they were but few, ſhould not obtain the force of a *ſenatuſconſultum*, or decree of the ſenate, but only be called a *regulation of the ſenate.* He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the ſenate, and extended the juriſdiction of the quæſtors, giving them the ſuperintendency of all the maritime cities of *Italy.* The election of the new conſuls, *C Marcius Cenſorinus* and *C. Aſinius Gallus*, gave riſe to a new regulation. They were both accuſed of having purchaſed their dignity with money diſtributed among the tribes. *Auguſtus* did not oblige them to reſign the faſces, but ordered, that for the future all the candidates ſhould depoſit a certain ſum with him, which they ſhould forfeit, if convicted of bribery or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at leaſt by the patricians; but another, which he publiſhed ſoon after, was as much diſliked. The depoſitions of ſlaves had never been admitted at *Rome* in the courts of judicature. But *Auguſtus*, for the ſafety of his own perſon, though under pretence of the public ſafety, publiſhed a law, enacting, that when any perſon was accuſed of treaſonable deſigns, the evidence of ſlaves ſhould be of the ſame weight as that of freedmen; that this law might not ſeem to claſh with the ancient cuſtom of rejecting the evidence of a ſlave againſt his maſter, it was ordained by the ſame law, that the ſlaves of the accuſed perſon ſhould be firſt ſold to the emperor or the public. By this low evaſion,

New regulations of Auguſtus.

[g] DIO. & SUET. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. Conſol. ad Liv. apud. Ovid.

unworthy of a man of ſenſe, he pretended not to have intrenched on the antient cuſtom, ſince it was ſtill true, that ſlaves were not allowed to accuſe their maſters, nor admitted as evidence againſt them. This innovation occaſioned great complaints; but the crafty emperor ſoon quieted the minds of the people by public ſhows and ſports, by a pretended clemency and condeſcenſion, and above all by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needleſs ceremonies and marks of grandeur. The antients relate many inſtances of his extraordinary condeſcenſion: they tell us, that a common legionary, having deſired him to plead his cauſe in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was ſo overwhelmed with buſineſs that he could not well do it himſelf; but that he would ſend him an orator better qualified for that purpoſe than himſelf. This obliging anſwer did not ſatisfy the ſoldier, who anſwered bluntly, *Have I thus fought for you by proxy?* The emperor, highly pleaſed with this unexpected anſwer, *Neither will I*, ſaid he, *plead for you by proxy.* He was as good as his word; for on the day appointed he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cauſe in perſon. In like manner he undertook the cauſe of another citizen, and gained it; which ſo provoked the accuſer, that he behaved very diſreſpectfully towards the emperor, who was ſo far from reſenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accuſed before him as cenſor of ſome faults which deſerved ſevere puniſhment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he reſcued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very ſerviceable to him, and that by prevailing with intreaties on the accuſer to drop the proſecution [h].

Inſtances of his condeſcenſion.

He begins the third term of his decennial power.

This year, the ſecond term of *Auguſtus*'s ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been truſted, ſaying, that he was no longer able to bear ſo heavy a burden; but he was eaſily perſuaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing elſe, to his ſafety, ſince by receiving his power from the ſenate and people, he openly acknowledged the ſovereignty to be lodged in them; ſo that they were not quite deſtitute of all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power being prolonged, he reſolved to quit the capital, having his mind ſtill bent on the intire reduction of the many na-

[h] Suet. ibid.

tions

ex Dominic de Rubeis

THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS.

Pomarede Sculp.

The house *and famed* Turret *of* MÆCENAS *which commanded the whole prospect of* Rome.

tions that inhabited *Germany*. He was not indeed inclined to wage war with thoſe barbarous nations in perſon, but choſe to be as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could with ſafety. The perſon he thought the moſt proper for the purſuing and completing of the conqueſt, happily begun by *Druſus*, was his brother *Tiberius*; whom therefore he ſent into *Gaul*, after having honoured him with an ovation, on account of the advantages he had gained in *Germany* the foregoing year. *Auguſtus* ſoon after the departue of *Tiberius* left *Rome*, but, inſtead of paſſing the *Alps*, as he had done the year before, he took his rout towards *Aquileia*, and paſſed the whole ſummer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandſon *Caius Cæſar*, then twelve years old. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the *Elbe*, and ſtruck ſuch dread into the inhabitants of thoſe northern provinces, that ſeveral of them ſent deputies to *Auguſtus* at *Aquileia* to ſue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to demand it. But the *Catti*, or, as ſome authors write, the *Sicambri*, could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſubmit; ſo that the project of peace did not take place this year. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory what ſtreams of blood it coſt the *Romans* to reduce them. As winter approached, *Auguſtus* returned to *Rome* with his grandſon *Caius*; but *Tiberius* remained with his troops in *Germany*, in order to renew the war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field [i]. *Auguſtus* upon his return made a ſecond cenſus, in which were numbered, according to the *Ancyran* marbles, 4233000 *Roman* citizens [k]. While he was thus employed, his great friend *Mæcenas* died, which was a ſenſible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the ſame intimacy as formerly. His criminal converſation with *Terentilla* could not but diſpleaſe *Mæcenas*, who thought he did not deſerve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity. On the other hand, *Auguſtus* in that particular could not bear any controul; and hence that coldneſs and indifference which appeared between theſe too great friends, ſome years before death parted them. *Mæcenas* was a man of great penetration, and underſtood the art of governing well better than any man of his age,

Tiberius's *exploits in* Germany.

Death of Mæcenas.

[i] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO. p. 551, 552. SUETON. in Octav. p. 178. [k] Vide GRUTER. p. 230.

His character.

as appears from the many wiſe directions and maxims, which he ſuggeſted to *Auguſtus* in the beginning of his reign. But though poſſeſſed of talents equal to the higheſt employments of the ſtate, yet he was ſuch an enemy to all trouble, ſo fond of his eaſe, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, that he abhorred all buſineſs, and ſeemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the *Epicureans* placed happineſs. As he was remarkably good-natured, and ſlighted preferments himſelf, as capable of diſturbing his quiet and interrupting his pleaſures, he employed all his credit and intereſt with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs. Of the aſcendant which he had gained over *Auguſtus*, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults and curbing his cruel temper, *Dion Caſſius* gives us the following remarkable inſtance. As *Auguſtus* was one day judging ſome criminals, *Mæcenas* perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himſelf over to revenge without check or compaſſion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note; *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Auguſtus* no ſooner read it, than he roſe up and quitted the tribunal, without ſentencing any of the criminals to death [l]. As for the ſcandalous lewdneſs and debaucheries of *Auguſtus*, which gave occaſion to many ſevere lampoons and caſt a great blemiſh upon his reputation, *Mæcenas* was not at all a proper perſon to ſet up for a cenſor in that particular.

The liberty he took with Auguſtus.

The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, eſpecially to *Virgil* and *Horace*, will render his name immortal, and tranſmit his fame to the lateſt poſterity. He was not only an encourager of learning, but publiſhed according to *Priſcian* [m], *Iſidorus* [n], and *Seneca* [o], ſeveral works, which intitled him to a place among the beſt writers of that polite age. The works aſcribed to him by the abovementioned writers are, a *hiſtory of animals*; a *journal of the life of* Auguſtus; a *treatiſe on ſhort-hand writing*; of which ſome will have him, others *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s freedman, to have been the inventor; another *treatiſe on the nature and different kinds of precious ſtones*; and two tragedies, the one intitled *Octavia*, and the other *Prometheus*: but none of theſe works have reached our times. *Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long ſurvive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mæcenas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-ſeventh of the following *November*. The

His works.

The death of Horace.

[l] Dio. l. v. p. 552. [m] Priscian. l. x. [n] Isidor. orig. l. xix. [o] Seneca. epiſt. 91.

fame

fame of ſo great a poet will be as laſting as his works, which all ages muſt admire, as the utmoſt effort of a human genius. This ſame year died one *Caius Cæcilius Iſidorus*, famous for the immenſe wealth of which he was poſſeſſed; for he left to his heirs 4116 ſlaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in ſpecie.

ON the kalends of *January* of the enſuing year, *Tiberius*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip with *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, and was the ſame day honoured with a triumph, which was a new ſight to the *Roman* people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the *Germans*, were carried before him, and the captive generals and officers of diſtinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left *Rome*, he repaired the temple of *Concord*, placing his own name and that of his deceaſed brother *Druſus* on the frontiſpiece of that ſtately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the ſenate had erected, to his mother *Livia*, ſhe herſelf being preſent at the ceremony. On this occaſion he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to all the ſenators, while *Livia* feaſted the women of diſtinction by themſelves. In the beginning of the ſpring he left the capital and returned to *Germany*, but performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in *Rome*, which reduced to aſhes many ſtately buildings, and was thought to have been occaſioned by the debtors, with a deſign to make their eſcape in that confuſion, out of the houſes of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and diſorders for the future, *Auguſtus* created new officers called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted on certain days to wear, within the verge of their juriſdiction, the robe peculiar to magiſtrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now aſſigned the ſix hundred ſlaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for the extinguiſhing of fires. At the ſame time, by *Auguſtus*'s particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and theſe into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned *curatores vicorum*, and alſo to the tribunes of the people and the prætors [n].

Tiberius *triumphs.*

Curatores Vicorum *appointed by* Auguſtus.

THE following year, *Caius Antiſtius Vetus* and *D. Lælius Balbus* being raiſed to the conſulate, *Lucius Cæſar* boldly demanded of *Auguſtus* in the public theatre, that his elder bro-

The bold and unſeaſonable demand of Lucius Cæſar.

[n] Dio p. 556, 557.

ther *Caius Cæsar* might be named consul for the ensuing year. The emperor, no less surprised than offended at this unseasonable demand, notwithstanding his affection for the two brothers, answered, that he hoped he should never lie under the necessity of raising any to the consulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth not being satisfied with this answer, but continuing to solicit him with great earnestness in behalf of his brother, the emperor raising his voice, told him with a grave air, *That an office of such importance ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the desires of the giddy and head-strong multitude.* However, his tenderness for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the *Julian* family and the name of *Cæsars*, in some degree got the better of his reason; for he granted to *Caius* the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shows and sports; but at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on *Tiberius* the tribunitial power for five years, which gave the two young *Cæsars* no small jealousy. But *Tiberius* had scarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great surprise of *Augustus* and the whole city, he desired leave to quit the city and retire to *Rhodes*. Various reasons are alledged by the ancients for this sudden resolution; *Tiberius* indeed pretended a desire of improving himself in the study of philosophy and eloquence, there being then at *Rhodes* famous professors of both these sciences. But *Suetonius* is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife *Julia*, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great disgrace on his person and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye witness of her scandalous debaucheries [o]. *Velleius Paterculus*, a great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he withdrew out of respect to the two young *Cæsars*, that he might not stand in their way to the highest preferments [p], following therein the example of *Agrippa*, who had retired to *Mitylene*, when *Marcellus* first entered upon public offices. *Dion* thinks he was piqued at the favour which *Augustus* shewed to his grandsons, especially at his declaring them *princes of the* Roman *youths* (G), which intirely defeated

Tiberius *demands leave to retire.*

o Suet. in Tiber. c. 10, c 99.

p Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

(G) The first *Roman* emperors gave this title to their children, or to those whom they had appointed their heirs and successors in the

feated his ambitious projects, and left him no hopes of ever enjoying the sovereign power, the sole object of all his wishes [q]. But whatever his motive was, nowithstanding the remonstrances and tears of his mother *Livia*, he was very pressing with *Augustus* for his permission to retire; which the emperor not only refused, but took great pains, in concert with *Livia*, to divert him from such an unseasonable resolution. He even complained to the senate of his being abandoned by one, from whose abilities he had promised himself great relief in the government of the republic. But *Tiberius*, deaf to all entreaties and remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon departing, continued importuning *Augustus* for his permission, which he constantly refused, being unwilling to lose the only person in whom, after the death of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, he reposed any confidence, his grandchildren not being yet of an age fit to be trusted. At length *Tiberius*, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment, and, there shutting himself up, abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. Hereupon the emperor, seeing he could not get the better of his obstinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his request, and granted him the so much wished-for permission to retire; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out for *Ostia*, without speaking a word on the way to those who attended him to the place where he imbarqued, or taking any notice

Which Augustus *refuses him.*

But at last yields to his importunities.

[q] Dio. in excerpt. p. 662.

the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children of the *Roman* noblemen under his command, and appeared at their head when they performed their military exercises in the field of *Mars*, or exhibited the tournament called *Troy*. In the times of the republic the children of the most distinguished families were called *principes juventutis*, or *principes equitum* (19), because they were reckoned *equites* or knights, till they attained the age which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The *princeps juventutis* was distinguished from the rest by a triumphal robe, as *Tacitus* informs us (20). On the reverse of a medal of the emperor *Severus*, which has reached our times, are represented three youths on horseback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, *Princ. juvent.* which shews, that the *princeps* or *principes juventutis* had some command over the young nobility.

(19) *Vide Liv.* l. lxii. *c.* 61. & *Juvenal. satyr.* 4. v. 32. (20) *Tacit. annal.* 12. *c.* 5.

of them, a ſmall number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure[r]. However, *Dion* tells us, that before he took his leave of *Livia* and *Auguſtus*, he opened his will, and read it in their preſence[s]. From *Oſtia* he ſailed along the coaſt of *Campania*, and ſtaid ſome time in that province, being informed there, that *Auguſtus* was indiſpoſed. But in the mean while, a report being ſpread abroad, that he waited for the news of *Auguſtus*'s death, he weighed anchor as ſoon as it came to his ears, tho' the ſea ran then very high, and ſailed for *Rhodes*, where he led at firſt a very private and retired life, frequenting the ſchools and academies without any attendants, converſing familiarly with the *Greeks*, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his houſe and equipage. However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted; for a warm diſpute ariſing one day in the ſchool of *Theodorus* the *Gadaræan*, of whom he was a conſtant hearer, he interpoſed, and endeavoured to put an end to the conteſt. But one of the diſputants, judging him partial, not only refuſed to acquieſce to his deciſion, but abuſed him in a moſt outrageous manner; which ſo provoked him, that he returned home, and aſſuming the habit of a public magiſtrate, appeared in the ſchool, as tribune of the people, with his apparitors, and ſummoning, by a crier, the philoſopher who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to priſon[t]. *Velleius*, a ſcandalous flatterer of the *Cæſars*, eſpcially of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconſuls and governors, who were ſent into the eaſt, went to wait upon him, lowering their faſces to him; that he gained the affection and eſteem of all the *Greeks*, &c,[u]. But all other writers tell us, that not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the iſland, they daily more deſpiſed and hated him, inſomuch, that the *Nemauſians* threw down his ſtatues, and defaced his pictures; nay, ſome time after, as *Caius Cæſar* paſſed that way, mention being made of *Tiberius* at a private entertainment, one of the company addreſſing *Caius*, *Give only the word*, ſaid he, *and you ſhall have the head of the exile in an inſtant.* The name of exile well ſuited *Tiberius*; for though he voluntarily retired to *Rhodes*, yet he was long kept there againſt his will. Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left *Rome* purely to avoid giving umbrage to *Caius* and *Lucius*, and wrote to

His private manner of living at Rhodes.

[r] Suet. ibid. [s] Dio. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 665. [t] Suet. ibid. Quintilian. l. iii. c. 1. Dio, ibid. [u] Vell. Paterc. ibid.

the

the emperor, after they had attained to man's eſtate, and were promoted to the higheſt dignities, begging leave to return home and viſit his friends, ſince his preſence could no longer be diſagreeable to his grand-children. But the favour was abſolutely denied him, and a meſſage ſent, bidding him lay aſide all care and thoughts of his friends, ſince he had been ſo impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged, ſore againſt his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, and it was not till after ſeven years that *Auguſtus* was prevailed upon to conſent to his return [w]. This year *Auguſtus* himſelf was conſul, and had for his collegue *Cornelius Sylla*. He had reſumed the faſces, after having declined the conſular dignity for ſeventeen years together, with no other view, as is ſuppoſed, but to render the ceremony of giving the *toga virilis* to his grandſon *Caius* more ſolemn. For he preſented him in perſon to the ſenate, gave him the *toga virilis* himſelf, with the uſual ceremonies, and deſigned him conſul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years, to be reckoned from the day he was preſented to the ſenate. Thus the *Ancyran* marble [x]. This year *Auguſtus* reduced the number of thoſe who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thouſand, corn having for ſome years been given indifferently to all who deſired it. Nothing remarkable happened in *Rome* or *Italy* the two following years, in the firſt of which *C. Calviſius Sabinus* and *L. Paſſienus Rufus* were conſuls, and in the ſecond *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Valerius Meſſalinus*. The enſuing year *Auguſtus* again reſerved the conſular dignity for himſelf, and took for his collegue *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, or *Silanus*. As *Lucius*, the younger of his grandſons, was now of an age to receive the *toga virilis*, *Auguſtus* conferred on him the ſame honours as he had done three years before on his brother *Caius*. Several medals, coined on this occaſion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and ſpears, and this legend on the reverſe; Caius *and* Lucius Cæſars, *the ſons of* Auguſtus, *deſigned conſuls, princes of the youth*. Thus were the two ſons highly favoured and honoured by *Auguſtus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment. Her lewdneſs, infamy, and ſcandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in hiſtory, had for ſome years been the talk of the whole town. But *Auguſtus* had the misfortune of moſt princes, who are, generally ſpeaking, the leaſt acquainted with their neareſt concerns. He believed indeed, that ſhe did not lead a very ſtrict life, but never imagined her capable of com-

Auguſtus refuſes him leave to return to Rome.

Auguſtus's thirteenth conſulſhip.

[w] DIO. SUET. ibid. [x] Vide GRUTER. inſcript. 231.

mitting thoſe monſtrous and almoſt incredible exceſſes, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full diſcovery of her actions and conduct, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with grief and confuſion, that he ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and there continued ſeveral days, bewailing his misfortune, without ſeeing any even of his moſt intimate friends. Not able to conceal the tranſports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the ſenate by a letter the exceſſes of the infamous proſtitute, and the diſgrace of his family, an indiſcretion which he afterwards ſaid he would never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas* been living. Overcome with ſhame and rage, he firſt reſolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himſelf with baniſhing her to *Pandataria*, a deſart iſland on the coaſt of *Campania*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Auguſtus* had divorced the ſame day ſhe was born, that is, thirty eight years before, attended her to the place of her baniſhment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only puniſhed the infamous *Julia* with baniſhment, but at the ſame time forbad her the uſe of wine, and all ſorts of delicacy whatſoever either in diet or cloaths. By an expreſs order from the emperor, no perſon of what condition ſoever was to come near her without his leave. Not long after, her eldeſt daughter by *Agrippa*, named alſo *Julia*, and married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the ſame crimes as her mother, was confined to the iſland of *Tremera*, now *Tremiti*, in the *Adriatic* ſea [y]. The puniſhment of *Julia* was followed by that of all thoſe who were any ways acceſſary to her debaucheries. *Sempronius Gracchus*, *T. Quinctius Criſpinus*, *C. Claudius*, and *L. Scipio*, all perſons of great diſtinction, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment. But *Julius Antonius* (H), the ſon of the triumvir, and many others, were by the emperor's orders put to death. Some writers tell us, that *Auguſtus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many conſiderable *Romans*, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy. Be that as it will, it is certain, that an incredible number of

Julia *baniſhed.*

And her daughter of the ſame name.

[y] Vell. Patercul. c. 100. Dio. ibid. p. 555.

(H) *Julius Antonius* was a man of learning, and wrote a poem intitled *Diomedea*, conſiſting of ten books. To him *Horace* addreſſed the ſecond ode of his fourth book. He left a ſon very young, whom *Auguſtus* baniſhed to *Marſeilles*, under colour of having him inſtructed in the great maſters who flouriſhed then in that city. He dyed without iſſue, and in him ended the *Antonian* family.

Illuſtrious

illuſtrious *Romans* were ſacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of *Julia*. Her chief confident, by name *Phœbe*, laid violent hands on herſelf before ſentence was pronounced againſt her. *Auguſtus*, when news was brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wiſhing that *Phœbe*, and not *Julia*, had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he would have been well pleaſed, if *Julia* had had courage to end her days in the ſame manner. *Tiberius* heard, as we may well imagine, the news of the diſgrace and baniſhment of *Julia* with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of diſſembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderneſs and compaſſion for her, he wrote frequent letters to *Auguſtus*, intreating him to forgive her, and reinſtate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death, nay, he carried, in a manner, his reſentment beyond his grave, for by his laſt will he ordained, that ſhe ſhould not be depoſited after her death among the *Cæſars*, whom ſhe had ſo diſgraced during her life. As for *Tiberius*, *Auguſtus* obliged him to divorce her, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs and affection which, by the deepeſt diſſimulation, he ſtill pretended to retain for her [z].

Many illuſtrious Romans *baniſhed and put to death, on her account.*

AND now *Auguſtus*, to divert his mind from fixing on his domeſtic misfortunes, exhibited the moſt magnificent and expenſive ſhows that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. Chariot-races in the *circus*, repreſentations on the ſtage, combats of gladiators, *&c.* were now become common. *Auguſtus* therefore, the better to divert both himſelf and the people, revived thoſe ſports which had been for a conſiderable time laid aſide, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He cauſed a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the *Flaminian* water, and building ſcaffolds quite round it capable of holding numberleſs multitudes of ſpectators. And indeed the concourſe of people was ſo great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, leſt the thieves ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houſes. *Auguſtus* had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tigers, elephants, rhinoceros's, *&c.* but now the new canal appeared all on a ſudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty ſix were killed by *Egyptians* brought from the banks of the *Nile* for that purpoſe. The multitude were highly delighted with this ſight, which was quite new; but the ſea fight which enſued afforded them ſtill greater diverſion. For at the oppoſite ends

Magnificent ſhows exhibited by Auguſtus.

[z] SUET. DIO, ibid.

of

of the lake, or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the *Greek*, and thoſe of the other after the *Perſian*, manner. Both fleets engaged; and as they fought in good earneſt, moſt of the combatants being perſons ſentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody [a].

Diſturbances in Armenia.

In the midſt of theſe public ſports and diverſions, news was brought to *Auguſtus* that the *Armenians*, entering into an alliance with the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raiſed to the throne *Tigranes* in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the conſequences of an alliance between thoſe two powers, was greatly at a loſs what meaſures he ſhould take to put a ſtop to the war, which threatened the eaſtern provinces. He could not manage it in perſon, being now ſtricken in years; *Tiberius* was retired to *Rhodes*, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to truſt any with the command of the army, except thoſe of his own family. In this perplexity he at length reſolved to ſend into the eaſt his grandſon *Caius*, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age (I); but before

Caius Cæſar ſent into the eaſt.

[a] Suet. ibid. Ovid. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Gruter. ibid.

(I) While *Caius* was preparing for this expedition, *Ovid* wrote the firſt book of his *art of love*, as appears from the following lines.

Ecce parat Cæſar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noſter eris.
Parthe, dabis pœnas: Craſſi gaudete ſepulti,
Signaque barbaricas non bene paſſa manus.
Ultor adeſt, primiſque ducem profitetur ab annis;
Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.

And a few lines after;

Auſpiciis amniſque patris, puer, arma movebis,
Et vinces amnis auſpiciiſque patris.
Tale rudimentum tanto ſub nomine debes;
Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future ſenum (21).

Ovid was quite out in what he foretels of *Caius*, but ſets down the juſt year of his age; for *Auguſtus* was nineteen years old when he firſt put himſelf at the head of his army, as is manifeſt from the *Ancyran*

(21) *Ovid de arte. l. i.*

North

West

East

South

Geneva
Rhodanus Flu
Octodurum
Allobroges
Augusta Prætoria
Lacus Lemanus
Lacus Verbanus
Lacus Benacus
Sabis Flu
Isara Flu
Segusio
Vapincum
Ebrodunum
Druentia Flu
Dinia
Maritime Alps
Albam Ingaunum
Gallinaria Ins
Nicæa
LIGUSTIC SEA
Ticinum
Padus
Eridanus Flu
Taurini
Vercellæ
Mediolanum
Bergomum
Brixia
Verona
Mantua
Cremona
Aquileia
Tergeste
ISTRIA
LIBURNIA
Titius Flu
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Placentia
Mutina
Ravenna
Arminum
Pisaurum
Ancona
Apenninus Mons
Genua
Varus Flu
Pollentia
Segesta
Tanarus Flu
Forum Julii
Arretium
Perusia
Tiber Flu
Roma
Ostia
Tibur
Latium
Garganus
Sipuntum
Dyrrhachium
Apollonia
Aous Flu
Genusus Flu
Lissus
Scodra
Lacus Labeatis
Lacus Lychnitis
Candavia
Egnatia
Brundisium
Sasan
Hydruntum
Calabria
Tarentum
Lucania
Bruttium
Thurium
Croton
IONIC SEA
Æolic Islands
Lamedia
Strongyle
Hiera
Ericusa
Vulcania
SICILY
SEA
Scylla
Rhegium
Pandataria
Ponti
Surrentum
Capreæ Island
Salernum
Elea
Buxentum
Peucetia
Iapygia
Iapygium Promont
Sallentini
Messapia
Calabria
Salentina Pen
Hydruntum
Veliæ
Sybaris Flu
Crathis Flu
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris Flu
Aciris Flu
Locri
Rhegium
Tauromenium
Catana
Syracusæ
Pachynus Promont
Lilybæum
Panormus
Drepanum
Eryx Mons
Segesta
Hippana
Himera Flu
Thermæ
Agrigentum
Gela Flu
Camicus
Selinus
Lilybæum
Hercta Mons
Halesus
Agyrium
Enna
Leontini
Catina
Hybla
Megara
Thapsus
Helorus
Pachynus
Camarina
Gela
Ætna Mons
Ætna
Lipara
Vulcania
Strongyle
Hiera
Didyma
Ericusa
Hycesia
Panormus
Motya
Solus
Eryx
Drepanum
Segesta
Hippana
Himera Flu
Thermæ
Agrigentum

fore his departure, to procure him the greater eſteem, he honoured him with the title of proconſul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, either the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, an officer of great experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under him [b]. Before the young general ſet out, *Auguſtus*, who omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of this expedition, ſent *Dionyſius*, a geographer of great fame, into the eaſt before him, with orders to take an exact ſurvey of the country, which was likely to be the ſeat of war [c]. Whether this was the famous *Dionyſius*, whoſe *periegeſis* in *Greek* verſe has reached us, or another *Dionyſius*, the ſon of *Diogenes*, who publiſhed the dimenſions of the earth, as we read in *Marcianus Heracleota* [d], we know not. This commiſſion of *Caius Cæſar* is variouſly mentioned by the ancients; *Tacitus* writes, that he had *Armenia* for his province [e]; *Velleius Paterculus*, that he was ſent into *Syria* [f]; *Suetonius*, that he was appointed governor of the eaſt [g]; *Oroſius*, that he was ſent by *Auguſtus* to ſettle the provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria* [h]; and *Pliny* quotes a book wrote by king *Juba*, in which mention is made of *Caius*'s expedition into *Arabia* [i]; but adds, that the young prince had only ſome thoughts of invading *Arabia* [k]. In the mean time, *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, being informed of the warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting, but they were deſigned againſt him, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to *Auguſtus*; but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops out of *Armenia*, which *Auguſtus* in his anſwer required him to do without delay, *Caius*, taking his leave of *Auguſtus*, ſet out from *Rome*, and haſtened into *Armenia* [l]. In his paſſage he touched at *Chios* [m], or, as *Suetonius* will have it, at *Samos* [n]; which *Tiberius* no ſooner underſtood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himſelf on that occaſion in a very ſubmiſſive man-

Tiberius *waits upon him.*

[b] ZONAR. ex Dion. SUET. in Claud. c. 26. PLIN. l. ix. c. 35. SOLIN. c. 53. [c] PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. [d] MARCIAN. HERACLEOTA. peripl. l. i. [e] TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 48. [f] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. [g] SUET in Tiber. c. 12. [h] OROS. l. vii c. 3. [i] PLIN. l. vi. c. 37. in fin. [k] Idem ibid c. 28. [l] DIO, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab Urſin. [m] XIPHIL. & ZONAR. ex Dion. [n] SUET. in Tib. c. 12.

ner, *gran* marble, containing a ſummary of the chief actions of his life; and *Caius* was entered into his nineteenth year when he began to prepare for his expedition againſt the *Parthians*; ſo that his father and he went commanders at the ſame age.

ner, and ſhewing the utmoſt reſpect not only to the young prince, but to all thoſe of his attendance. *Caius* received him with great coldneſs, his governor *M. Lollius*, who hated *Tiberius*, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices againſt him [o]. Thus *Suetonius*: but *Velleius*, flattering *Tiberius*, according to his cuſtom, tells us, that *Caius* received him with the greateſt marks of eſteem, and treated him as his ſuperior [p]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Tiberius*'s tribuneſhip expiring about this time, he earneſtly ſolicited the emperor for leave to return home, and received from him the anſwer, which we have related above: ſo that he was obliged much againſt his will to continue at *Rhodes*, which he no longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but as the place of his baniſhment. However, his mother *Livia*, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover the ignominy of her ſon, got him, with much ado, declared *Auguſtus*'s lieutenant in thoſe parts. But he, finding himſelf obnoxious to the ſovereign, and apprehending himſelf in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but retiring into the midſt of the iſland, concealed himſelf there to avoid the compliments of the *Roman* officers and magiſtrates, who were ſent into the eaſt [q]. Nay he wrote to *Auguſtus*, deſiring him to ſend ſome perſon, in whom he could confide, with a charge to watch him, and tranſmit to *Rome* a faithful account of all his words and actions [r].

Tiberius *in diſgrace*

But to return to *Caius Cæſar*; from *Samos* or *Chios* he haſtened into *Syria*, where all the *Roman* forces in the eaſt, and thoſe of the allies of *Rome*, were aſſembled and ready to march. *Suetonius* tells us, that he paſſed through *Judæa*, but ſcorned to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, and adds, that his conduct therein was approved of, and much commended, by *Auguſtus* [s]. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he put himſelf at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of *Parthia*. Upon his approach *Phraates*, diſtr uſting his own ſubjects, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, ſent deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general received the embaſſadors with great politeneſs, and it was agreed, that *Caius* and *Phraates* ſhould have an interview in an iſland formed by the *Euphrates*. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the oppoſite banks of the river. In the conference

Phraates *ſends embaſſadors to* Caius.

[o] Suet. ibid. [p] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [q] Suet. ibid. c. 12. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Suet. in Octav. 4. 93.

Caius

Caius only inſiſted upon the *Parthian*'s renouncing all pretenſions to *Armenia*, which he readily conſented to; ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded, and tranquillity reſtored, when leaſt expected, to the eaſtern provinces. Matters being thus ſettled, the two chiefs feaſted each other; *Caius* entertained *Phraates* on the *Roman* ſide of the river, and *Phraates Caius* on the *Parthian* ſide. Thus *Velleius Paterculus*, who was preſent, as a ſpectator, at theſe entertainments, he being then a military tribune in *Caius*'s army [t]. The ſame writer tells us, that the *Parthian* king acquainted *Caius* in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor *M. Lollius*, who had taken large bribes of him, and had heaped up immenſe ſums by laying, without his knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the eaſt. The ſame writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous deſigns and counſels of *Lollius*, at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his preſence. *Lollius* thus diſgraced died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine [u]. *Pliny* and *Solinus* [v] ſay, that he put an end to his life with poiſon; but none of the antients impute his death to *Caius*, though he deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, if the charge, brought againſt him by the *Parthian* king, was true. Upon his death *Publius Quirinius* was either appointed by *Auguſtus*, or choſen by the young prince himſelf, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by *Auguſtus* for his eminent ſervices firſt with the conſulſhip, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the *Homonades*, a people of *Cilicia*, out of their ſtrong-holds [w]. He proved a friend to *Tiberius*, and reconciled *Caius* to him, as we ſhall ſee anon. The treaty of peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians* was ſcarce concluded, when *Artabazes*, whom *Auguſtus* had placed on the throne of *Armenia*, died; and then *Tigranes*, who had been ſent up by the *Parthians*, ſent rich preſents to *Auguſtus*, accompanied with a ſubmiſſive letter, wherein, without ſtyling himſelf king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the diſturbances of the eaſt, accepted his preſents, and ordered him to attend *Caius* in *Syria*; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of *Armenia* [x]. *Auguſtus*, to perpetuate the memory of this expedition, and the glory of young *Caius*, who managed it with ſuch ſucceſs, cauſed

A peace concluded.

M. Lollius *accuſed of treachery.*

Tigranes *appointed king of* Armenia.

[t] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. [u] Idem ibid. c. 102.
[w] TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 48. [x] DIO. in excerpt. ab Ful. Urſin. SEXT. RUF. in breviario.

ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, or pieces of money coined, ſome of which have reached us, with the figure of *Armenia* in a ſuppliant poſture, and the names of *Auguſtus*, and *Caius Cæſar* on the reverſe.

The birth of Chriſt. Year of the Flood, 1999. *Of* Rome, 748.

And now, the temple of *Janus* being ſhut up (K), and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquility, *The prince of peace, the Lord of heaven*, and *Saviour of the world*, joined himſelf, after an ineffable manner, to human nature, and appeared on earth, being born of a virgin, in the city of *Bethlehem*, whither *Joſeph* and *Mary* had repaired, to be there regiſtered purſuant to the decree of *Auguſtus*, as citizens of that place (L). But to dwell on the particular circumſtances

(K) From the time of *Romulus* to the reign of *Auguſtus* the temple of *Janus* had been but twice ſhut, *viz.* during *Numa*'s peaceable reign, and after the firſt *Punic* war (22). *Auguſtus* ſhut it up three times, *viz.* after he had vanquiſhed *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, four years after on his return from the war, which he had waged with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, and ſome years before the birth of our Saviour. *Horace*, who died ſeven years before, ſpeaks in his laſt ode of *Auguſtus*'s victory over the *Sicambri*, and obſerves, that the temple of *Janus* was then ſhut. *Oroſius* ſays, that after *Auguſtus* had ſhut it the third time, it continued ſo for the ſpace of twelve years (23). On the other hand, *F Nori*, is of opinion, that it was opened on occaſion of *Caius Cæſar*'s expedition againſt the *Parthians*, whence he concludes, firſt againſt *Oroſius*, that it did not continue ſhut for twelve years, and ſecondly againſt moſt hiſtorians and chronologers, that our Saviour was born before the troubles in the eaſt broke out; for he was born, as all the fathers affirm, while the world was in peace; and, on the other hand, *Tacitus* aſſures us, that after *Auguſtus* had laid open the gates of *Janus* the third time, they were never ſhut again to the reign of *Veſpaſian* (24). But as no war was declared, and no hoſtilities committed either by the *Romans* or *Parthians*, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the temple of *Janus* was opened on occaſion of this expedition.

(L) *Auguſtus* having iſſued out a decree for taking ſuch a deſcription or ſurvey of the whole *Roman* empire as ſhould contain an account of all perſons, poſſeſſions, and eſtates therein, and the taxes iſſuable from them, it was this year executed in *Judæa* in the manner St. *Luke* deſcribes it. When it came to *Bethlehem*, *Joſeph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the place of their habitation, to that city, the city of *David*, to which, as being of

(22) *Liv. l.* i. *Plut. in Numa.* (23) *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 22. *p.* 207. (24) *Vide P. Henric. Noris cenotaph. Piſan. C. & L. Cæſar. Venet.* 1681. *p.* 199. & 200.

the

sumſtances of this or the other myſteries of the *Chriſtian* religion, would be deviating from the deſign of the preſent work, and intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. To their hiſtories therefore we refer the learned reader for a full account of what we ſhall only hint at in ours.

The death of king Herod, *and diviſion of his kingdom.*

THE following year, *Caſſius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were raiſed to the conſulate, and ſucceeded the year after in that dignity by *Caius Cæſar*, tho' then abſent in *Syria* (M), and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. During their adminiſtration nothing remarkable happened in *Italy*, or in the countries ſubject to, or depending upon, *Rome*, except the

the houſe and lineage of *David*, they originally belonged, that there, as citizens of that place, their circumſtances, and eſtate, or trade, might be deſcribed and regiſtered among thoſe who were of the ſame houſe and family. Whenever a cenſus was made at *Rome*, the cenſors regiſtered all the *Roman* citizens, their wives and children, their age, qualities, trades, offices, and eſtates both real and perſonal: *Cenſoris officium erat*, ſays *Florus* (25), *omnia patrimonia, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorum, diſcrimina in tabulas referre*; and *Cicero* (26) *Cenſores populi ævitates, ſoboles, familias, pecuniaſque, cenſento*. *Auguſtus* was the firſt who extended this cenſus to the provinces, where thoſe, who were charged with it, purſued, without all doubt, the ſame method as the cenſors did at *Rome*. 'Tis true, none of the antient hiſtorians mention this general cenſus extending to all the provinces, and kingdoms, ſubject to, or depending upon *Rome*; but *Tacitus* (27), *Suetonius* (28), and *Dion Caſſius* (29), tell us, that *Auguſtus* left behind him a book containing an exact account or ſurvey of all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, and their revenues, taxes, and tributes, which, it is manifeſt, he could not have done without a previous and general cenſus. Beſides, St. *Juſtin* (30) and *Tertullian* (31) frequently refer the *Gentiles* to the regiſters which were made on occaſion of this cenſus, and were ſtill extant in their time.

(M) That *Caius* was abſent from *Rome* when he was raiſed to the conſulate, and that he diſcharged the office of conſul in the eaſt, is unanimouſly atteſted by all the antients. It is therefore ſurpriſing, *Joſephus* ſhould tell us, that *Auguſtus* referred the diſpute, which upon the death of *Herod* aroſe between *Archelaus* and *Antipas* about the ſucceſſion, to a council, at which *Caius Cæſar*, the ſon of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, preſided, he being at that time in *Rome*.

(25) *Flor. l.* i. *c.* 6. (26) *Cic. de legibus, l.* iii. (27) *Tacit. annal. l.* i, *c.* 11. (28) *Suet. in Octav. c.* 101. (29) *Dio. l.* lvi. *p.* 591. (30) *Juſtin. apolog.* (31) *Tertullian. in Marc. l.* iv.

death of king *Herod*, which was no leſs miſerable than his life had been deteſtable, and the diviſion of his kingdom made by *Auguſtus*, who gave one half of it to *Archelaus*, and divided the other half between his two brothers, *Antipas* and *Philip*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Jews* [y]. During the conſulſhip of *Caius*, *Auguſtus* ended his great climacterical year, that is, the ſixty-third of his age, on which occaſion he wrote the following letter to his grandſon in *Syria*: *Hail, my dear* Caius, *my chief delight: your preſence is the conſtant object of my moſt ardent wiſhes: I cannot, my dear child, bear to be from you: when ſhall I have the pleaſure of ſeeing my beloved* Caius *again, and tenderly embracing him? Your preſence would have doubled the mirth of this day, my ſixty-fourth birth-day, which I hope you have ſolemnly kept in good health: for I have ended, you ſee, my ſixty-third year, the common climacteric of old men. May the gods render the remaining part of my life uſeful and ſerviceable to the republic: may they continue to ſhower their bleſſings upon you, till they ſhall think fit to remove me, and place you in my room* [z].

Tiberius *allowed to return to* Rome.

The following year, *P. Alphinus Varus* and *P. Vinuſius* being conſuls, *Tiberius* was at length allowed to return to *Rome*; *Caius*, to whom *Auguſtus* had referred the matter, to deliver himſelf from the importunities of *Livia*, conſenting to it at the earneſt intreaties of his new governor *Quirinius*; but upon condition that he ſhould bear no office in the commonwealth [a]. We are told, that when the ſhip, which brought him the news of his being allowed to return to *Rome*, firſt appeared, he was walking by the ſea-ſide with one *Thraſyllus*, a famous aſtrologer, who aſſured him, though the ſhip was at a great diſtance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The ſudden appearing of the ſhip ſaved *Thraſyllus*'s life; for *Tiberius* had at that very time determined with himſelf to throw him headlong into the ſea, as one who was privy to all his ſecrets, and whom he now began to miſtruſt, after he had for ſome years entertained him as his boſom friend. He put off the execution of his deſign till the arrival of the ſhip when finding the prediction of the aſtrologer fulfilled, he tenderly embraced him, and ever after had him in great eſteem, though he pretended himſelf to a great knowledge in judicial aſtrology [b]. Upon his return to *Rome* he withdrew to *Mæcenas*'s gardens, and there led a retired life,

[y] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 279 & 280. [z] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 7. [a] Suet. in Tib. c. 13. [b] Idem ibid. c. 14 Xiphilin. ex Dion.

doing

doing good offices to ſome of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs [c]. But he was ſoon delivered from the objects of his envy and jealouſy; for *Lucius Cæſar*, who was but a youth of ſlender abilities, died this year at *Marſeilles* on his journey to *Spain*, whither he had been ſent by his grandfather, who had no other view therein than to bring him into favour with the ſoldiery, and accuſtom him to a military life and a foreign climate [d]. Some writers ſuſpect *Livia*, as if ſhe had found means to take him off by poiſon; for his death was ſo ſudden, that it ſurpriſed his attendants, and the art of poiſoning was at that time brought to great perfection, and become very common in *Rome*. His body was brought by ſea from *Marſeilles*, to one of the ports of *Italy*, and from thence carried to the capital on the ſhoulders of the military tribunes, and the decurions of the colonies and municipal towns. At *Rome* it lay in ſtate for ſeveral days in the forum, being watched and guarded by the *Roman* knights, who had preſented the deceaſed youth with a ſilver ſpear when he took the *toga virilis*. The ſpear was hung up in the ſenate-houſe, and the body burnt with great ſolemnity, probably in the *campus Martius*. The aſhes, we ſuppoſe, were depoſited in *Auguſtus*'s own mauſolæum, the burying place of the *Cæſars*. The emperor was ſenſibly affected, as we may well imagine, with the loſs of a youth whom he ſo tenderly loved; and ſaw thus ſnatched away in the ſpring of his life; and *Tiberius*, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his ſon-in-law, wrought ſuch a change in the mind of *Auguſtus*, *Livia*, no doubt, contributing to it with her uſual art and dexterity, that he would have adopted him, if *Velleius* is to be credited, had he not abſolutely declined that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to *Caius* [e] (N).

The death of Lucius Cæſar.

Tiberius returns into favour with Auguſtus.

IN

[c] Idem ibid. c. 15. [d] FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 102. TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 3. SUET. in Octav. c. 65. ZONAR. ex Dion. [e] VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c 103.

(N) *Alphinus Varus* was of a mean deſcent, but raiſed himſelf by his own merit to the firſt offices in the ſtate. *Horace* mentions him in the third ſatyr of his firſt book:

Ut Alphinus vafer, omni
Abjecto inſtrumento artis, clauſaque taberna,
Sutor erat.

Upon which paſſage *Acron* comments thus: *Alphinus* was a native of *Cremona*, by profeſſion a ſhoe-maker; but abandoning

In the following conſulate of *L. Ælius Lamia* and *M. Servilius*, the famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* was reduced to aſhes; but the flames, which did not reſpect the ſtatue of the goddeſs, ſpared that of the veſtal *Claudia*, who, in former times being accuſed of inceſt, is ſaid to have given a glaring and miraculous proof of her innocence, by drawing aſhore with her girdle the ſhip which brought the mother of the gods to *Rome*, and had run a-ground off *Oſtia* [f]. This pretended miracle is much talked of by the *Roman* writers, and elegantly deſcribed by *Ovid* and *Silius Italicus* [g]. In the conſulate of *Sextus Ælius Catus* and *C. Sentius Saturninus* (O), *Numidia*, formerly ſubdued and reduced to a *Roman* province by *Julius Cæſar*, rebelled, but was ſoon brought again under ſubjection by *Paſſienus* and *Coſſus*, whom *Auguſtus* honoured on their return to the capital with triumphal enſigns, that is, he allowed them all the privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumphant victors [h]; the cuſtom of triumphing being now laid aſide.

Numidia *rebels, but is ſoon reduced.*

The Parthians *invade* Armenia.

But the troubles which this year broke out anew in *Armenia*, were not ſo eaſily quelled: the *Parthians*, notwithſtanding the treaty concluded a few years before between them and the *Romans*, invaded that kingdom with a numerous army. Hereupon *Caius*, who was ſtill in *Syria*, having with great expedition drawn together his forces, marched againſt the enemy, and penetrating into the heart of *Armenia* without oppoſition, appeared before *Artagera*. Upon his arrival, one *Addo*, whom ſome call *Domnes*, the governor of the place,

[f] Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxix, &c. [g] Ovid. faſt. l. iv. Sil. Ital. xvi. [h] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 104.

trade, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Roman* law, under the famous civilian *Servius Sulpicius*. The great progreſs he made in the *Roman* juriſprudence gained him ſuch reputation, that he was judged worthy of the greateſt honours of the ſtate. When he died, he was buried at the public expence, a diſtinction granted to few, and thoſe perſons of the higheſt merit.

(O) When *Agrippa* was recalled from the eaſt, *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* were appointed to ſucceed him in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*. Some writers think, that *Saturninus* was governor or preſident of the province, and that *Volumnius* was only his lieutenant, or rather *Auguſtus*'s procurator under him; but *Joſephus* ſpeaks of him as in joint commiſſion with *Saturninus* (32).

(32) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xvi. *c.* 12, 13.

ſent

ſent deputies to him, inviting him to a private interview, under pretence that he had ſomething to communicate to him of the utmoſt importance. *Caius*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, complied with his invitation; but *Addo*, or, as *Strabo* calls him, *Ador*, having inſenſibly drawn the unwary youth during the conference cloſe to the wall, wounded him, and retired that inſtant into the city; which the *Romans*, provoked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately aſſaulted on all ſides, took by ſtorm, and diſmantled, after having put the traitor, and with him the whole gariſon, to the ſword [1] (P). The wound did not prove mortal; but nevertheleſs weakened the body, and ſunk the ſpirits of *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that after he had driven the *Parthians* out of *Armenia*, and placed *Ariobarzanes*, by birth a *Mede*, on the throne, he gave himſelf up to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Hereupon *Auguſtus*, who had a great deſire to ſee his favourite grandſon, recalled him to *Rome*; but he, taken with the delights of that ſoft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their conſtant ſtudy to feed his vicious inclinations with new pleaſures, begged leave to continue in *Syria*, declaring, that he had rather live in the moſt remote and inhoſpitable corner of the earth, than return to *Rome*. This unexpected propoſal ſtung *Auguſtus* to the heart, who, in his anſwer to him, inſiſted on his returning to *Italy*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould there be allowed to do what he pleaſed. *Caius* therefore, with the utmoſt reluctance, left *Syria*, and ſailing for *Lycia*, arrived at *Limyra*, a city of that country, where he died ſoon after in the twenty-fourth year of his *His death.*

Caius Cæſar *wounded.*

[1] VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 102. STRABO, l. xi. p. 529. ZONAR. ex Dion.

(P) *Florus* relates this event in the following manner: *Domitius*, on whom the king of *Parthia* had conferred the government of *Artaxata*, pretending a revolt came out to meet *Caius*, and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he ſaid, contained an account of all the king's treaſures; but while he was peruſing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a poniard concealed under his garment, ſtabbed him (33). *Sextus Rufus* follows *Florus*, and, by an unpardonable miſtake, adds, that *the* Parthians, *by way of ſatisfaction for ſo bold and treacherous an attempt, did then firſt give hoſtages to* Octavianus Cæſar, *and reſtored the enſigns which had been taken from* Craſſus (34).

(33) *Flor. l.* iv. *c. ult.* (34) *Sext. Ruf. in breviar.*

age

age [k] (Q). Thus was *Auguſtus*, in the ſpace of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandſons, whom he had adopted, and brought up to ſucceed him in the ſovereign power. His death, as well as that of *Lucius*, is by ſome imputed to the ſecret arts of *Livia*, who left no ſtone unturned to advance her ſon *Tiberius* to the empire. The grief of *Auguſtus* for the death of one, whom he loved with all the tenderneſs of a fond father, was great beyond expreſſion. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occaſion it was that the artful *Livia*, who had gained an abſolute ſway over her huſband, prevailed upon him to adopt her ſon *Tiberius*. However, he adopted at the ſame time *Agrippa Poſthumus*, the third ſon of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, whom he had hitherto quite neglected, as being a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper. He likewiſe obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the ſon of his brother *Druſus*, tho' he had a ſon of his own; ſo that the joy of *Tiberius* in ſeeing himſelf at length adopted into the family and name of the *Cæſars*, was not a little allayed by this mortifying and unexpected preference. His nephew *Germanicus* was now become the emperor's grandſon, while his own ſon *Druſus* was denied that honour [l]. Theſe three different adoptions happened on the ſame day, *viz.* on the fifth of the kalends of *July*; and it is remarkable, that *Auguſtus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, ſolemnly ſwore before the people, that *he adopted him for the good of the commonwealth* [m]. At the ſame time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years

Tiberius *adopted by* Auguſtus, *and* Germanicus *by* Tiberius.

[k] Vell. Paterc. ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. & c. 104. Suet. in Tiber. c. 21.

(Q) *Tacitus* ſays he died of his wound as he was returning from *Armenia* (35), and *Sextus Ruſus*, that he returned into *Syria* and died there; but *Suetonius*, *Dion Caſſius*, and *Velleius Paterculus*, who ſerved under *Caius*, aſſure us, that he died at *Limyra* in *Lycia* on his return to *Rome*. *Auguſtus* was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of *Aſinius Pollio*, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment while his grief was yet freſh. *Pollio* anſwered, *I ſupped after the ſame manner when I loſt my ſon* Arterius, *and can any one require more grief of a friend than of a father* (36)? The body of *Caius* was conveyed to *Rome*, and buried there with great pomp. *Bellonius* tells us, that he ſaw the tomb and epitaph of *C. Cæſar* at *Hama* or *Emeſa* in *Syria* (37); but that his bones were buried at *Rome* is manifeſt from the following epitaph, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the *church of the apoſtles* behind the old temple of *Minerva*: *Oſſa C. Cæſaris Auguſti F. Principis Juventutis* (38).

(35) *Tacit. annal. l.* i *c.* 3. (36) *Senec. in proœm. l.* iv. *de controver.* (37) *Bellon obſervat. l.* ii. (38) *Vide Gruter. inſcript.* 235.

according

according to ſome writers [n], but according to others for ten [o]. Thus, by the addreſs of *Livia*, were all honours heaped upon her ſon, now ſole candidate, we may ſay, for the ſucceſſion.

WHILE *Auguſtus* was thus ſtrengthening himſelf by the adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grandſon to *Pompey* by his daughter *Pompeia*. As ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank were engaged in the plot, *Auguſtus* was greatly at a loſs what meaſures to take in ſo nice an affair. If he uſed rigour, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raiſe dangerous diſturbances to revenge their death; if he pardoned them, he apprehended this might encourage others to the like attempts. In this perplexity he paſſed ſeveral nights without being able to take the leaſt reſt, or come to any reſolution. At length *Livia*, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cauſe of his diſquiet and uneaſineſs. *Dion Caſſius* relates a conference between her and the emperor, which ſeems rather to have been framed by him than real [*]. However that be, it is certain, that ſhe, by many ingenious and politic arguments, convinced him, that it was ſafer in ſo critical a juncture to uſe clemency than rigour. Purſuant to her advice, *Auguſtus* ſent for *Cinna*, and taking him into his cloſet, charged him with the conſpiracy, named to him all his accomplices, and ſhewed himſelf thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumſtances, which the conſpirators had agreed on in their laſt meeting. *Cinna* was thunderſtruck, as we may well imagine, when he ſaw his treaſon thus diſcovered, and himſelf in the power of the perſon whom he ſought to deſtroy, without any poſſible means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to his crime. His ſurpriſe was ſtill greater, when *Auguſtus*, inſtead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, putting him in mind of the many favours he had beſtowed upon him, and adding, that he was reſolved to get the better of his obſtinacy; and therefore not only freely forgave him, but, for his ſake, all thoſe he had ſeduced into the ſame wicked deſigns; *and to ſhew you*, ſaid he, *that I am ſincerely reconciled to you, I now name you conſul for the enſuing year.* This generous behaviour made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon the mind of *Cinna*, that he continued, from that time to the hour of his death, inviolably at-

The conſpiracy of Cinna.

He is pardoned by Auguſtus.

[n] SUET. ibid. c. 16. [o] DIO. l. lv. p. 556. [*] Idem ibid. p. 557.

tached to the intereſt of *Auguſtus* and his family [p]. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occaſion, that the people offered him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *Lord* or *Maſter*, which he not only refuſed, but publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one to addreſs him under that name; a name peculiar to *maſters with reſpect to their ſlaves, and therefore no leſs injurious* to him than to the *Roman* people [q]. Towards the end of this year, the people earneſtly intreated him to recal his daughter *Julia*; but he anſwered, *That fire and water ſhould ſooner meet than they two*; and when the people were very preſſing with him, he could not refrain his anger, but, in a violent paſſion, wiſhed *they might have ſuch wives and ſuch daughters.* However, they prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the iſland to the continent; but he would not by any means ſuffer her to return to *Rome* [r].

Julia *removed to the continent.*

In the beginning of the enſuing year, when *Cn. Cornelius Cinna*, who had conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*, and *L. Valerius Meſſala* were conſuls, *Tiberius* was ſent into *Germany*, to complete the conqueſt of that country, and keep in awe the ſeveral nations which had been ſome years before ſubdued by him and his brother *Druſus*. *C. Sentius Saturninus*, the laſt year's conſul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was appointed by *Auguſtus* to command under him, as one who was well acquainted with the country, he having been formerly *Auguſtus*'s lieutenant in thoſe parts. *Velleius Paterculus* the hiſtorian attended *Tiberius* in this expedition, and ſerved under him in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horſe; which poſt had been held by his father, and at his death was conferred upon him. He tells us, that *Tiberius*, entering *Germany*, over-ran the country of the *Caninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that from thence he advanced againſt the *Attuati* and *Bructeri*, that is, the people of the territory of *Munſter*, whom he eaſily reduced; that the *Cheruſci*, the inhabitants of the preſent dutchies of *Brunſwic* and *Luneburg*, ſubmitted at his approach; that he made himſelf maſter of all the countries lying on the *Viſurgis* and the *Lupias*, now the *Weſer* and the *Lyppe*; and that putting his troops into winter-quarters on the banks of the *Lupias*, he returned to *Rome* towards the end of *December*, where he was received with loud acclamations by all ranks of men [s].

The exploits of Tiberius *in* Germany.

[p] Idem ibid. Senec. de clemen. l. i. c. 9. p. 318, 319.
[q] Suet. in Octav. c. 53. Xiphil. l. lv. [r] Suet. & Dio. ibid.
[s] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106.

In

IN this and the following year, *Rome* was afflicted with a dreadful famine, inſomuch, that all foreigners, gladiators, *athletæ* or wreſtlers, and ſlaves, except phyſicians and ſchoolmaſters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to keep at eighty miles diſtance from the capital, *Auguſtus* himſelf ſending away the greater part of his own ſlaves and attendants. On this occaſion he doubled his uſual largeſſes, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly diſtributed among the indigent citizens, and proviſions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries, at the public expence, and ſold at a low rate. This ſtill more gained him the affections of the people, who were therefore for decreeing him new honours, which he abſolutely refuſed; but the glory which accrued to him from a ſolemn embaſſy ſent this year to *Rome* in the name of the *Parthian* nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers of thoſe times; for the *Parthians*, quite tired with the troubles that were daily raiſed in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourſe to *Auguſtus*, begging him to give them a king. The emperor highly pleaſed with this embaſſy, named *Vonones*, one of the ſons of *Phrahates*, who had been ſent to *Rome*, as we have obſerved above, commending him both to the *Parthian* embaſſadors and the *Roman* governors in the eaſt. The *Parthian* nobility received him with great joy, and placed him on the throne; which *Auguſtus* was no leſs proud of, than if he had ſubdued that warlike nation [t]. The next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Arruntius*, being conſuls, *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, purſued his conqueſts there with ſurpriſing rapidity, if *Velleius* his hiſtorian, or rather panegyriſt, is to be credited. He firſt ſubdued the *Chauci* (R), the moſt flouriſhing and numerous nation of *Germany*, and then the *Langobardi* or *Lombardi*, who ſurpaſſed in fierceneſs all the inhabitants of that vaſt continent. He over-ran and brought under ſubjection all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Albis* or the *Elbe*, while his fleet ſtruck terror into the warlike and

A famine in Rome.

Auguſtus *appoints* Vonones *king of* Parthia.

Tiberius *over-runs great part of* Germany.

[t] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2. JOSEPH. p. 620.

(R) The *Chauci* inhabited eaſt *Frieſland*, the counties of *Oldenburg* and *Hoya*, and part of the archbiſhopric of *Breme*: The *Longobardi* or *Langobardi* that part of the marquiſate of *Brandenburg* which is now called *Middlemarck*, and lies between the *Elb* and the *Oder*: The *Semnones* part of *Holſatia* and *Sileſia*: And the *Hermunduri* part of *Voitland*, of *Miſnia*, of *Upper Saxony*, and of the langravedom of *Thuringen*.

barbarous nations bordering on the ocean. In ſhort, the *Roman* enſigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberleſs nations, who, till the arrival of the invincible *Tiberius*, had never heard of the *Roman* name. Such is the account which *Velleius* gives us of the victories and exploits of *Tiberius* [u]. But another writer, unbiaſſed by any affection or prejudice, tells us, that *Tiberius* indeed over-ran all the countries between the *Albis* and the *Viſurgis*; but performed nothing which he thinks worth mentioning, though both *Tiberius* and *Auguſtus* were honoured with the title of *Imperator*, on account of the pretended ſucceſs of this campaign, and *Sentius Saturninus* with the enſigns of triumph [w]. While *Tiberius* was carrying on the war in *Germany*, *Cornelius Coſſus* was employed in *Mauritania* againſt the *Getuli*, who, revolting from king *Juba*, maſſacred all the *Romans* ſettled in his country, and committed moſt dreadful ravages in the provinces ſubject to that prince. But *Coſſus* marching againſt them, overthrew the rebels with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to ſubmit upon what terms he thought fit to impoſe upon them; for which he likewiſe was honoured with the privileges peculiar to thoſe who had triumphed. This year *Agrippa Poſthumius*, having incurred the diſpleaſure of his grandfather *Auguſtus*, was by him baniſhed to the iſland of *Planaſia*, now *Pianoſa*, in the *Mediterranean* ſea. Some writers tell us, that *Auguſtus* conceived an irreconcileable hatred to him on account of his irregular and ſcandalous life, which he thought a diſgrace to his family; whence, when mention was made of him, or the two *Julias*, he uſed to ſay with a profound ſigh, *O! had I lived without a wife, or died without children!* nor did he commonly call them by any other name than his *three impoſthumes*. But *Tacitus* aſcribes the diſgrace of young *Agrippa* not to any vices of his own, but to the arts and ambitious views of *Livia*, who was glad to remove the only perſon who ſtood in her ſon's way to the abſolute power. As *Auguſtus* was now very old, ſays that writer, *Livia* had obtained ſuch an aſcendant over him, that, to pleaſe her, he baniſhed into the iſland of *Planaſia* his only ſurviving grandſon *Agrippa Poſthumius*, one indeed deſtitute of extraordinary talents, in his temper untractable, and ſtupidly conceited of his own ſtrength, but guilty of no miſdemeanour or tranſgreſſion [x].

The Getuli *revolt, and are ſubdued.*

Agrippa Poſthumius *diſgraced, and baniſhed.*

The next year, when *A. Licinius Nerva* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were conſuls, *Rome* had three mighty wars to main-

[u] Vell. Paterc. ibid. [w] Dio. l. lv. p. 557. [x] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 1.

tain

tain, *viz.* one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Marobodnus* king of the *Marcomanni* (S), a prince of extraordinary ſtrength, which was a great merit among the *Germans*, of uncommon addreſs, and great perſonal courage and experience in military affairs, having raiſed a formidable army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, threatened the countries lately ſubdued by *Tiberius*, nay, *Italy* itſelf, with an invaſion. Againſt him was ſent *Tiberius*, who, arriving in *Illyricum*, divided the numerous forces he had under his command into two bodies. The one he put under the conduct of *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who, purſuant to *Tiberius*'s orders, taking his rout through the territories of the *Catti*, and opening himſelf a paſſage through the *Hercynian* foreſt (T), brought his legions to the confines of the *Marcomanni*, called by the antients *Boiohæmi*. As for *Tiberius* himſelf, he ſeemed to be in no great haſte to enter the liſts with the king of the *Marcomanni*; for, under various pretences, he put off his march, and continued in *Illyricum*, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or deſigned to ſpin out the war. *Auguſtus* was old, and *Tiberius*

Tiberius *ſent againſt* Marobodnus *king of the* Marcomanni.

(S) The *Marcomanni* inhabited firſt that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Cochera*, and the *Necker*. From thence they paſſed with the *Harudes* and *Seduſii* into *Boiohæmia*, now *Bohemia*, and driving out the *Boii*, ſettled there. *Velleius Paterculus* gives us an account of their migration under the conduct of *Marobodnus* (39). They made themſelves afterwards maſters likewiſe of *Moravia*. They were in proceſs of time driven out of *Bohemia* by the *Sclavonians*, whoſe deſcendants hold that kingdom to this day.

(T) *Julius Cæſar* ſpeaks in his commentaries of this foreſt thus; *It is nine days journey over; we cannot otherwiſe deſcribe it, becauſe the* Germans *have no fixed meaſures of diſtances. It begins on the confines of the* Helvetii, Nemetes, *and* Rauraci, (that is, of *Switzerland*, *Baſel*, and *Spires*) *and extends along the* Danube *to the borders of the* Daci *and* Arnates (that is, to *Tranſilvania*); *then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmoſt extent, though ſome have gone ſixty days journey in it* (40) *Mela* gives this foreſt an immenſe length; for, according to him, it extended from the *Rhine* to the county of the antient *Sarmatæ*, which is at preſent a conſiderable part of *Muſcovy*. In proceſs of time the *Hercynian* foreſt was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The *Black Foreſt*, and the foreſt of *Bohemia*, were formerly parts of the *Hercynian*.

(39) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 108. (40) *Cæſar comment. l.* vi. *c.* 25.

well

well knew how much it would be for his intereſt to have at his death an army under his command ready to ſecond his ambitious views. Be that as it will, he paſſed great part of the ſummer in a ſtate of inaction, at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army. In the mean time *M. Valerius Meſſalinus*, having, by *Auguſtus*'s orders, led the troops he commanded in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* into *Illyricum*, to reinforce *Tiberius*'s army there, the inhabitants of thoſe two countries, being now awed by no *Roman* gariſons, conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberties under the conduct of two chiefs of the ſame name. The two *Batos*, for ſo they were called, raiſed each in his own country a hundred thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, ſlew all the *Romans* who had ſettled in *Pannonia* or *Dalmatia*, over-ran the neighbouring countries ſubject to the *Romans*, and, penetrating into *Macedon*, committed there moſt dreadful ravages. The two chiefs had agreed to act jointly or ſeparately, as occaſion ſhould require, and not to lay down their arms till they had delivered their reſpective countries, and all *Germany*, from the *Roman* bondage. This general and unexpected inſurrection filled *Rome* with terror and confuſion. The emperor, having aſſembled the ſenate, inſtead of leſſening, magnified the danger, telling the conſcript fathers, that unleſs a new army was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, they might, in ten days, ſee the enemy at the gates of *Rome*. Levies were therefore made without delay, the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed-men, but great numbers of ſlaves, were admitted into the legions. By this means a numerous army was raiſed, and the command of it given to *Germanicus*, the ſon of *Druſus*, and nephew of *Tiberius*, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments. As for *Auguſtus*, he left the capital, and went to reſide at *Ariminum*, whence he could, with more eaſe and quickneſs, ſend his orders to the two generals, and aſſiſt them with his advice in the carrying on of a war, which he looked upon as the moſt dangerous one he had yet been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerous, well diſciplined, and at no great diſtance from *Italy*, which, if any misfortune ſhould happen either to *Tiberius* or *Germanicus*, they would not fail to invade, and might over-run before a new army could be raiſed [y]. *Tiberius* no ſooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command againſt the revolted *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, than he turned his arms againſt them, hoping he ſhould be able to reduce them before the arrival of *Germanicus*,

The Pannonians *and* Dalmatians *revolt.*

Germanicus *appointed to make head againſt them.*

Tiberius *leads his army againſt them.*

[y] Dio. l. lv. p. 569, & ſeq.

whom

whom he now looked upon as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory, which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting *Illyricum*, he incamped in the country which parted *Pannonia* from the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, to prevent the conjunction of the *Pannonians* and the *Marcomanni*. But in the mean time *Bato* the *Pannonian* laid siege to *Sirmium* (U); and, though defeated by *Cæcina Severus*, governor of *Mœsia*, had again recruited his army, and obliged *Cæcina* to quit the field. On the other hand, *Bato* the *Dalmatian* laid siege to *Salona* (W), and, though wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet *Messalinus*, whom *Tiberius* had detached against him, gave him battle, and put him to the rout. The *Roman* general being obliged in his retreat to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. However, he found means to make his escape without losing a man, which *Paterculus* magnifies as an exploit worthy of a triumph; but *Dion Cassius* assures us, that *Tiberius* ascribed it wholly to *Bato*'s generosity, and that he afterwards acknowledged it as a favour, and rewarded him for it. However that be, the two *Batos* soon after united their forces,

The transactions of this campaign.

(U) *Sirmium*, now *Sirmisch*, was in former times the metropolis of *Pannonia inferior*, and the place which the emperors chose for their residence, when the affairs of the empire called them into those parts. Many laws were published at *Sirmium* by the emperors, which *Jacobus Gothofredus* has with great pains collected. The emperor *Probus* was killed in this city, and *Theodosius*, if we believe *Aurelian Victor*, first saluted emperor by the *Romans* who were here in garison. The emperor *Decius* was born in a village called *Budalia*, or *Bubalia*, in the neighbourhood of this city. *Pliny* places it near the confluence of the *Save*, and a river which he calls the *Bacuntius* (41).

(W) *Salona*, one of the chief cities of *Illyricum*, stood on the *Adriatic* sea, at a small distance from the present city of *Spalatro*. It became afterwards a *Roman* colony, as appears from several antient medals and inscriptions, in which it is called sometimes *Colonia Julia*, sometimes *Colonia Martia*, and sometimes *Colonia Claudia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Lucan* in the following verse;

Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas (42).

Salona was the native city of the emperor *Diocletian*, who retired hither after he had abdicated the empire.

(41) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 35. (42) *Lucan. l* iv. *ver.* 404.

and

and incamping on mount *Almus* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country to a great diſtance under contribution. *Tiberius* detached *Rhymetalces*, a petty king of *Thrace*, againſt them, who gained indeed ſome advantages over them, but was not able, though joined by *A. Cæcina* governor of *Mœſia*, at the head of a conſiderable body of *Roman* troops, to diſlodge them [z]. At length *Tiberius*, who had hitherto acted only by his lieutenants, marched againſt them in perſon; but the enemy, not thinking it adviſeable to engage him, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their poſt, and, dividing their numerous forces into ſeveral ſmall bodies, retired by different ways into *Macedon*, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they paſſed. As winter drew near, *Tiberius* did not purſue them; but *Rhymetalces* and his brother *Raſcipolis*, at the head of the *Thracian* auxiliaries, followed them cloſe, and, coming up with them on the confines of *Macedon*, gave them a great overthrow, and cut many thouſands of them in pieces [a]. Theſe are the exploits of *Tiberius* in this campaign, which *Velleius* magnifies, and extols more with the partiality of a panegyriſt, than the ſincerity of an hiſtorian [b]. As for *Germanicus*, he did not, it ſeems, enter *Dalmatia* this year.

Upon the approach of winter, *Tiberius*, according to his cuſtom, returned to *Rome*, where *M. Furius Camillus* and *Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus* were ſoon after raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration embaſſadors came to *Rome*, both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to accuſe *Archelaus*, to whom *Auguſtus* had given the half of his father *Herod*'s kingdom under the name of *ethnarchy*, of male-adminiſtration, tyranny, and oppreſſion. Hereupon *Archelaus* being called to *Rome* to anſwer the charge brought againſt him, and not being able to juſtify himſelf before the emperor, he was by him depoſed, his goods were confiſcated, and he himſelf baniſhed to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, where he ended his days. *Archelaus* being baniſhed, *Auguſtus* appointed *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, who, according to the *Greek* way of writing that names, is, by St. *Luke*, called *Cyrenius*, to be preſident of *Syria*, and ſent him into the eaſt to ſeize on the countries over which *Archelaus* had reigned, that is, *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, and reduce them to a *Roman* province. *Coponius*, a *Roman* knight,

Archelaus *depoſed, and baniſhed.*

Judæa *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

[z] Dio. ibid p. 569—571. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c 114, &c.
[a] Dio ibid [b] Vell Paterc. ibid. [c] Vide Strabo, l. xii. p. 569.

was

was ſent with him to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of *Judæa*. Theſe two arriving at *Jeruſalem*, ſeized all *Archelaus*'s effects and treaſures, purſuant to the ſentence paſſed againſt him by *Auguſtus*, and having in great part aboliſhed the *Jewiſh* polity, introduced the *Roman* in its ſtead. *Coponius* took on him, in the name of *Auguſtus*, the adminiſtration, but in ſubordination to the preſident of *Syria*, *Judæa* being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken out of the hands of the *Jews*, and placed wholly in the *Roman* procurator and his ſubordinate officers. All taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* emperor, and the *Jews* might now ſay with truth what they were heard to ſay ſome years after, *We have no king but* Cæſar [d]. But what diſturbances attended this change of government, we have related at length elſewhere [e]. While *Cyrenius* or *Quirinius* was in *Judæa*, he depoſed the high-prieſt *Joazar*, the ſon of *Boethus*, and appointed *Annas*, the ſon of *Seth*, to ſucceed him in that office, which he held ſeveral years [f].

EARLY in the ſpring, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* took the field, the former againſt the *Pannonians*, and the latter againſt the *Dalmatians*. We read of no great advantages gained by *Tiberius*; but *Germanicus* obliged the *Dalmatians* to quit the field, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of their cities and caſtles, ſome of which he beſieged and took. We are told, that while he lay before one of their ſtrong-holds, and was ready to abandon the enterpriſe, on account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with, a *German*, by name *Pulio*, who ſerved under him, taking up a ſtone of an enormous ſize, threw it againſt the wall with ſuch violence, that one of the battlements fell with the ſhock, and brought down a ſoldier, who was leaning againſt it; which ſtruck the gariſon with ſuch dread, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the citadel, which ſoon after ſubmitted. While they were thus preſſed by *Germanicus*, a famine, occaſioned by the laſt and this year's ravages, began to rage all over their country, and was attended by various diſtempers, ariſing from their feeding on herbs and roots, to which they were not accuſtomed. In this extremity, *Bato*, the chief of the *Dalmatians*, began to think of ſubmitting; and accordingly ſent deputies to treat with *Tiberius*, who received both them and *Bato* reduced,

Exploits of Germanicus.

The Dalmatians

[d] DIO. l. lv. p. 561. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvii. c. 15. & de bell. Judaic. l. ii. LIGHTFOOT, in Johann. c. 18. ver. 31. [e] Vide Hiſt Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 283, & ſeq. [f] JOSEPH. ibid. l. xviii. c. 3.

himſelf, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obliging manner. The *Roman* aſked him from his tribunal, *What had induced him to revolt, and perſiſt ſo long, and with ſuch obſtinacy, in his rebellion againſt* Rome? *The* Romans, anſwered *Bato* with great intrepidity, *who, inſtead of ſhepherds to protect and defend us, ſend wolves to devour us.* The kind treatment he met with from *Tiberius*, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to turn his arms againſt his name-ſake and ally, whom he defeated, and inhumanly murdered, having perſuaded the gariſon of a caſtle, to which the unfortunate *Pannonian* had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death, the greater part of the *Pannonians* ſubmitted; but ſome ſtill continued in arms, whom *Sylvanus* was charged to reduce, and left for that purpoſe in *Pannonia*, with a conſiderable body of *Romans* [g].

Auguſtus no ſooner heard of the ſubmiſſion of one *Bato* and the death of the other, then he left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, againſt the law which he had publiſhed ſome years before, concerning unmarried perſons and ſuch as had no children. The knights, whoſe averſion to marriage proceeded from the looſeneſs of their lives, as it generally does, were very preſſing with the emperor to get this law aboliſhed. Whereupon *Auguſtus*, having aſſembled the whole body of knights, ordered the married and unmarried perſons among them to be placed ſeparately; then, obſerving the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, he firſt addreſſed thoſe who had complied with his law, telling them, that they alone had ſerved the ends both of nature and civil ſociety; that mankind was ordained male and female to prevent mortality; that as the ſpecies could not ſubſiſt without children, ſo no commonwealth could be ſupplied either with men for the wars, or for civil employments. He added, that they alone deſerved the name of men and of fathers, and as ſuch he praiſed them, promiſing to prefer them to ſuch offices as they might tranſmit to their offspring. To the others he made a quite different ſpeech, telling them, That he knew not by what name to call them; not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, ſince the city might periſh for them; nor by that of *Romans*, for they ſeemed determined to extirpate the *Roman* race and name; but by what name ſoever he called them, their crime, he ſaid, equalled all other crimes put together:

Auguſtus encourage marriage.

His ſpeech to the unmarried knights.

[g] Dio. l. lvi. 570, 571. Vell. Paterc. ibid.

for

for they were guilty of murder in not ſuffering thoſe to be born, who ſhould proceed from them; of impiety, in aboliſhing the names and honours of their fathers and anceſtors; of ſacrilege, in deſtroying their ſpecies and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was conſecrated to them: that, by leading a ſingle life, they overturned as far as in them lay, the *temples* and altars of the gods, diſſolved the government by diſobeying its laws, betrayed their country by making it barren and waſte, and utterly demoliſhed the city by depriving it of inhabitants. He added, that he was well appriſed their leading a ſingle life did not proceed from any ſentiments of virtue, but from a looſeneſs and wantonneſs, which ought not to be encouraged nor ſuffered in any civil government. Having ended his ſpeech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried perſons, allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which ſpace, if they complied with the law, they were to be freed from the penalty. This law obliged all men to marry at a certain age, eſtabliſhed great exemptions and privileges to ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all, who, after a certain age, continued ſingle. It was called the *Papian-Popæan* law, becauſe enacted by the conſuls *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popæus Secundus*, to whom the conſuls of this year *C. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* had reſigned the faſces, after having held them only ſix months. It was alſo called the *Julian* law, as having been publiſhed by *Auguſtus*'s order, who was of the *Julian* family. For the further encouragement of marriage, *Auguſtus* abrogated the *Voconian* law (X), forbidding married

The Papian-Popæan *law.*

(X) Nothing was more common, before the publication of this law, than for men to give exceſſive legacies to women, and to leave them by will the whole eſtate of a wealthy family. One of the laws of the twelve tables impowered all citizens to appoint whomſoever they pleaſed to be their heirs, without regard to ſex or relations. This law was attended with inconveniencies; debauchery was increaſed by it, and it became more eaſy to debauch a ſex, who are not always deaf to their intereſt. Beſides it was no uncommon thing to ſee women, who were by legacies become richer than their husbands, inſulting them, and behaving themſelves in their families with great haughtineſs. To remedy this evil, *Q. Voconius*, tribune of the people, drew up a new law, which he at laſt got paſſed in the comitia. The chief heads of this law were, 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any woman whatſoever univerſal legatee, even an only daughter not excepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father, was to be proportioned

married women to receive any legacies above a certain ſum; yet, that he might not ſeem to diſcourage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he beſtowed upon ſuch women as had vowed perpetual virginity the ſame rewards and privileges as upon mothers [h].

New troubles in Dalmatia *and* Pannonia.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, the war broke out anew in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Bato*, who had ſubmitted the year before, being the ringleader of the revolt, whether upon ſome new provocation, or merely from the fickleneſs of his temper, we know not. *Germanicus*, who had acquired in the laſt year's war a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in uſe among the rebels, was ordered to lead the ſame legions againſt them, which he had commanded the year before. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Rhætinum*, a ſtrong city in *Dalmatia*, where he was in imminent danger of periſhing, with the greateſt part of his army; for the inhabitants having, after a faint reſiſtance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, *Germanicus*, at the head of his legions, entered the place

[h] Dio. l. lvi. p. 573—578.

to his eſtate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the eſtimation of prudent men; and, generally ſpeaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of her father's eſtate. 3. It was enacted, that all the legacies of the teſtator ſhould not exceed one half of his eſtate (43). This teſtamentary law had been preceded by another, which *C. Furius* tribune of the people, had got paſſed, and which was thence called the *Furian* law. It forbad, according to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Juſtinian*, any *Roman* citizen to leave by legacy above the value of one thouſand aſſes to any one perſon, and at the ſame time condemned the legatee to pay four times the ſum which was given him above what the law ſtipulated; ſo that the *Voconian* law ought to be looked upon as a ſupplement to this, which was probably grown out of uſe in the time of *Q. Voconius*. *Cato* the cenſor made a ſpeech in favour of the *Voconian* law, which he inſerted in his book *de originibus*, and which was in being in *Livy*'s time. There are ſome fragments of it ſtill extant in *Aulus Gellius*. *Cicero* fixes the paſſing of the *Voconian* law to the year of *Rome* 584, when *Quintus Marcius Philippus* and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio* were conſuls (44). From that time it continued in force to the reign of *Auguſtus*, who revoked it in favour of *Livia*, to whom he was reſolved, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us, to deviſe by will great part of his eſtate; but that hiſtorian ſpeaks ſo ambiguouſly of the *Voconian* law, that he has given the civilians occaſion to put different interpretations upon it.

(43) *Cic. de finibus, & Verrina* 1. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l.* xx. *c.* 10. *Pædian. in Var.* 1. (44) *Cic. de ſenect.*

with

with a deſign to attack the citadel; but while the *Romans* were buſy in planting their machines and ladders, they ſaw themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded by flames, the inhabitants having filled their houſes with all ſorts of combuſtible materials before they abandoned them, and appointed ſome reſolute perſons to ſet fire to them when the *Romans* were entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, crowded round the citadel, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes: but, by avoiding one kind of death, they met with another; for the beſieged plyed them with ſuch ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones from the citadel, that the ground was in an inſtant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the *Romans* attempted to ſcale the fortreſs; but met with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance as quite diſheartened them. Nothing therefore now remained but to attempt a retreat through the flames, and this they effected, but with great loſs, many of them being cruſhed by the ruins of the houſes, ſuffocated by the ſmoke, or deſtroyed by the fire, which with great violence flamed out of the houſes on either ſide the ſtreet through which they paſſed. In the night the beſieged abandoned the fortreſs, which began to take fire, and concealed themſelves in the neighbouring woods. Hereupon *Germanicus*, having waited till both the city and citadel were reduced to aſhes, led his legions againſt *Seretium*, another city of great importance in the ſame country, which he inveſted, and reduced in a ſhort time, though *Tiberius* had in vain attempted the reduction of it the year before. Being encouraged with this ſucceſs, and no enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into ſeveral bodies, and laying ſiege to different places at the ſame time, made himſelf maſter of moſt of their ſtrongholds. But, in the mean time, *Auguſtus*, impatient to ſee this war ended, ordered *Tiberius* to march likewiſe into *Dalmatia*, and haſten the final reduction of that country. *Tiberius*, without loſing time in beſieging and taking cities, went in ſearch of *Bato*, who had under his command a conſiderable body of *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*; and having met him in the neighbourhood of *Anderium* or *Andetrium* (Y), a ſtrong

Germanicus's *troops in great danger.*

He reduces ſeveral cities.

(Y) This city is called by *Ptolemy Andecrium*, by *Dion Caſſius Anderium*, but that its true name was *Andetrium*, is manifeſt from the following inſcription to be ſeen in *Spon*:

Item viam Gabiniam
Ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit
et munit per Leg. VII. (45)

(45) *Vide Spon. miſc. erud. antiq. p.* 179.

Pliny

ſtrong caſtle, ſituated on a ſteep and inacceſſible rock, offered him battle; but *Bato* declining an engagement, retired into the caſtle, and poſted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, where he thought the enemy would ſcarce venture to attack them. *Tiberius* boldly advanced through the narrow paſſages among the mountains to the foot of the rock on which *Andetrium* ſtood, with a deſign to beſiege it; but was greatly alarmed, when he ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy, who, deſcending from the mountains, had ſeized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at *Andetrium* the *Caudine Forks*; and truly he muſt have inevitably periſhed with his whole army, had the *Dalmatians* ſhewed as much bravery and reſolution as the *Samnites* did on the like occaſion; but while *Tiberius* gave all up for loſt, as not being able either to retire or advance, the cowardly *Dalmatians*, ſeized with a panic, abandoned their poſts, and, retreating in diſorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the *Roman* general, who thereupon advancing without oppoſition to the foot of the rock on which the caſtle ſtood, ſummoned it to ſurrender. *Bato*, finding he could not depend upon his men, hearkened to the offers made him, and leaving the caſtle in the night, delivered himſelf up to *Tiberius*, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and allowed him to retire to what part of the world he pleaſed, after he had ſolemnly promiſed never to bear arms againſt the *Romans*. But the gariſon of *Andetrium* ſtill held out, and the place was not taken but after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of the *Romans* loſt their lives. At length they capitulated, and ſurrendered upon honourable terms, which *Tiberius* religiouſly obſerved [1]. At the ſame time *Germanicus* made himſelf maſter of *Arduba*, a town no-ways inferior in ſtrength to *Andetrium*, and defended by as numerous a gariſon; but the reduction of that important place was more owing to the diſagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the *Romans*; for the greater part of the citizens being for ſurrendering and ſubmitting to the

The ſiege of Andetrium *by* Tiberius.

Bato *ſubmits.*

Arduba *taken by* Germanicus.

[1] Idem ibid. p. 578--581.

Pliny likewiſe calls it *Andecrium* (46); but *Strabo*, *Andretrium*. It ſtood on a ſteep rock, and was ſurrounded on all ſides by deep vallies and torrents, which rendered it almoſt inacceſſible (47). It is now known by the name of *Cliſſa* (48).

(46) *Plin. l. iii. c. 22.* (47) *Dio.* l. lvi. p. 579. (48) *Spon. in itiner.* l. ii, p. 82.

yoke,

yoke, the women, more fond of their antient laws and liberties than the men, joined ſome *Roman* deſerters, and falling upon their huſbands, made a great ſlaughter of them. But the men prevailing at length, ſubmitted, and the unhappy women, diſdaining to outlive the loſs of their liberty, either threw themſelves headlong from the walls, or ſetting fire to their houſes, conſumed themſelves and their children in the flames. After this, the two *Roman* generals uniting their forces, over-ran all *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, reſtoring every where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments. The war being thus ended, to the great ſatisfaction of *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours, and two triumphal arches, which by a decree of the ſenate were to be erected in *Pannonia*, and adorned with magnificent trophies. The title of imperator was conferred on *Auguſtus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to ſtand for the conſulate before he attained the age required in other candidates, and to vote in the ſenate before the ſenators of conſular dignity. As for *Tiberius*, it was decreed that his ſon *Druſus*, though he had no ſhare in the war, ſhould be admitted into the ſenate, and deliver his opinion, after he had executed the office of quæſtor, before thoſe who had been prætors. The lieutenants both of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were rewarded with prætorian honours, that is, were allowed all thoſe honours and privileges which thoſe enjoyed who had been prætors [k].

The war ended.

Honours decreed to Tiberius and Germanicus.

BUT the joy, which the total reduction of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* occaſioned in *Rome*, was allayed and changed into the deepeſt melancholy by the diſmal news of the intire defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*. *Quintilius Varus* was born, as *Velleius Paterculus* expreſſes it, rather of an illuſtrious than a noble family, had governed *Syria*, and been removed from thence into *Germany* to keep thoſe countries in awe, which had been lately ſubdued by the *Romans*. When he firſt entered *Syria*, he found that province rich, ſays *Velleius*, and was himſelf poor; but when he came away, he was rich, and the province poor. In *Germany* he purſued the ſame methods of filling his coffers as in *Syria*, loading the people with heavy taxes, and ſelling without diſtinction to the natives thoſe employments which his predeceſſors uſed freely to beſtow on ſuch as were nobly born, or had ſignalized their attachment

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans by his extortions.

[k] DIO. & VELL. PATERCUL. ibid.

tachment to the *Romans*. The *Germans*, before the arrival of *Varus*, had begun to bear the yoke with leſs reluctance; they had quitted their foreſts, built ſome cities, where they lived in a ſociable manner, under the protection of the *Roman* laws, and forgetting their native ſavageneſs, had for ſome time applied themſelves to the peaceable arts of huſbandry. But the extortions and rapines of the new governor revived in that warlike nation their antient love of liberty, eſtranged their minds from *Rome*, and inſpired them with an eager deſire of ſhaking off a yoke which they could no longer bear. Among the *Germans* was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, of uncommon penetration, and great valour, named *Arminius*. He was the ſon of *Sigiſmer*, one of the moſt powerful lords of the *Catti*, had ſerved with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and been honoured by *Auguſtus* with the privileges of a *Roman* citizen and the title of knight. But the love he had for his country getting the better of his gratitude, he reſolved to improve the general diſcontent which reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from the bondage of a foreign yoke. With this view he engaged underhand, by means of his friends and emiſſaries, in a conſpiracy againſt the *Romans*, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; and then to draw *Varus* from the neighbourhood of the former river, where he might with great eaſe and quickneſs receive ſuccours from *Gaul*, he ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity of ſhewing himſelf to the inhabitants of the more diſtant provinces, and adminiſtering juſtice among them, and accuſtoming them by his example to live after the *Roman* manner, which, he ſaid, would more effectually render them obedient to *Rome*, than the *Roman* ſword. As *Varus* was a man of a peaceable temper, indolent, and a great lover of his eaſe, he readily came into the propoſal of the crafty *Arminius*, and, quitting the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, marched into the country of the *Cheruſci*. There he made it his whole buſineſs to civilize the barbarians, by introducing among them the *Roman* laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing cauſes, and deciding civil controverſies; inſomuch that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a prætor, than the prætorium of a general. And indeed this was a more ſuitable employment to the genius of *Varus*, than military expeditions; not that he wanted courage, but becauſe he loved his eaſe, and thought he could better tame the barbarians by acting the law-giver than the general. In the mean time the conſpiracy being ripe for execution, and the *Germans* ready to riſe upon the firſt notice,

Arminius *ſtirs up the* Germans *againſt the* Romans.

His treachery.

tice, *Arminius*, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping ſome places in awe, as if they deſigned to revolt, perſuaded *Varus* to ſend out ſeveral detachments, by which means his army being weakened, ſome diſtant nations in *Germany* roſe up in arms by *Arminius*'s directions, while thoſe, through which he was to paſs in marching againſt them, pretended to be in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, and ready to join the *Romans* againſt their rebellious countrymen. *Varus*, upon the firſt news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſix cohorts, to reduce the rebels, being attended by *Arminius* and his father *Sigiſmer*, who, taking upon them to be his guides, led him into a thick foreſt, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſteep hills and marſhy grounds. There, while the legionaries were buſy in cutting down trees to open themſelves a paſſage through the foreſt, and no-ways upon their guard, as not ſuſpecting any treachery, a great body of *Germans* appeared unexpectedly, and, diſcharging upon them a ſhower of darts, killed a great number of them before they could rally, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. However, they formed themſelves at laſt in order of battle, ſo far as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almoſt quite uſeleſs, and the barbarians pouring in upon them hourly in vaſt crouds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley; but finding all the avenues beſet with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, expoſed to the darts and arrows which the barbarians inceſſantly ſhowered upon them. In this extremity *Varus*, giving up all for loſt, and being dangerouſly wounded, put an end to his life with his own ſword, following therein the example of his father and grandfather, who had both fallen by their own hands, the former after the battle of *Philippi*, and the latter after that of *Pharſalia*, or, as ſome writers will have it, after the defeat of *Domitius* in *Africa*. Moſt of the chief officers ſcorning to outlive their general, or to be made priſoners by the barbarians, laid violent hands on themſelves. The greateſt part of the cavalry opened themſelves a way through the enemy ſword in hand, and made their eſcape; with them *Vala Numonius*, one of *Varus*'s lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he commanded, arrived ſafe at the *Rhine*, where he ſoon after periſhed as a deſerter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Ceſonius*, another of *Varus*'s lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, and the death of *Varus*, and moſt of the other officers, was for ſurrendering at diſcretion. But this motion coſt him dear;

Varus *and his legions ſurpriſed and ſurrounded.*

Varus *and moſt of the officers lay violent hands on themſelves.*

for he was immediately tried as a coward by the ſurviving officers, ſentenced to death, and executed; to ſuch a degree were cowards abhorred in the *Roman* armies. And now a very ſmall number of the legionaries, and ſcarce any officers, being left alive, the enemy abandoned them as it grew dark, and fell upon the baggage. In the mean time the *Roman* trumpets ſounding, probably to call thoſe together who were diſperſed up and down the foreſt, the barbarians imagined, that *Aſprenas*, who was quartered at a ſmall diſtance from that neighbourhood, was come to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen; and therefore, after having plundered the baggage, they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of ſaving themſelves by flight. Thus were three complete legions and ſix cohorts almoſt intirely cut off, the greateſt overthrow, if *Velleius* is to be credited, the *Romans* had received ever ſince the defeat of *Craſſus* by the *Parthians*[1]. The legions that periſhed on this occaſion were the beſt of the whole empire for valour, diſcipline, and experience; ſo that the news of this loſs threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation, there being few families there that had not a ſhare in the common misfortune. As for *Auguſtus*, he ſet no bounds to his grief, but upon the firſt news of ſo dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, he tore his garment, and, like one beſide himſelf, knocked his head againſt the wall, crying out, *Reſtore the legions*, Varus. This he was obſerved to do in the tranſports of his grief for ſeveral months, letting in the mean time his hair and beard grow, and abandoning himſelf intirely to grief and ſorrow. However, he did not forget to provide with all poſſible care for the ſafety of *Rome* and *Italy*: he placed guards in all the quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and diſturbances; he raiſed new levies, obliging all the *Roman* youth, who were able to bear arms, to liſt themſelves, confiſcating the eſtates of ſuch as refuſed to give in their names, and even threatening the moſt refractory with death: he vowed *the great games* to *Jupiter*, as had been formerly done in the wars with the *Marſi* and *Cimbri*: in ſhort, *Auguſtus* never forgot this fatal day, but obſerved it the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning. Some time after the news of this misfortune had reached *Rome*, the head of *Quintilius Varus* was ſent to *Auguſtus* by *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni*; but what induced him to make that preſent to the emperor, hiſtory does not inform us. From his having the

Moſt of the legionaries cut in pieces. Year after the flood, 2010. After Chriſt, 11. Of Rome, 759.

The concern of Auguſtus *for this overthrow*

The head of Varus *ſent to* Rome.

[1] Dio. p. 582—585. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 117. Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 62.

head

head of the deceaſed general, it was concluded at *Rome*, that he had contributed to his deſtruction. However that be, the emperor, though he had great reaſon to be diſpleaſed with *Varus*, received his remains with great reſpect, and cauſed them to be honourably interred in the tomb of his anceſtors [m]. *Dion* tells us, that when news of this defeat was firſt brought to *Rome*, no-body doubted there, but the *Germans*, after ſo complete a victory, would paſs the *Rhine*, and invade at the ſame time *Gaul* and *Italy*; but that the fear and conſternation which had ſeized the city were much abated, when they underſtood, that *Lucius Aſprenas*, nephew to *Varus*, guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, and that the barbarians, ſatisfied with the advantages they had gained, neglected to improve them. However, as the emperor aſcribed this fatal overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to ſeveral pretended prodigies (Z), which were related to him, his fears were not quite removed till the enſuing year, when *Tiberius*, after the election of the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *C. Junius Silanus*, leaving *Rome*, paſſed the *Alps*, and entering *Germany*, obliged the rebels, though elated with their late ſucceſs, to retire from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and lay aſide all thoughts of raiſing diſturbances in *Gaul*. *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that he over-ran great part of the country, that he forced *Arminius* to fly before him, that he penetrated into the countries of the *Catti* and *Cheruſci*, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword, and, in ſhort, that he fully revenged the death of *Varus*, and the ſlaughter of his legions [n]. But whatever that biaſſed hiſtorian may write in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he never attempted to bring back to their duty any of the revolted nations, but kept his troops in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, not daring to ſtir from that river for fear of ſome ſurprize. In the latter end of the year he celebrated

Tiberius ſent into Germany.

[m] DIO. ibid. SUET. in Octav. p. 184. [n] VELL. PATERC. ibid.

(Z) The temple of *Mars* was ſtruck with lightning: a ſwarm of graſhoppers appeared over the city, and were diſperſed by the ſwallows: great rocks fell from the top of the *Alps*, and fire was ſeen to iſſue out of the ground in various places: a ſtatue of *Victory* on the confines of *Germany*, with its face towards that country, changed its poſture, and turned its face towards *Italy*. 'Theſe pretended prodigies gave the old emperor great uneaſineſs, which was not removed till the next year, when *Tiberius* entered *Germany* at the head of a numerous army.

the birth-day of *Auguſtus* in his camp with public games, and then returned to *Rome* [o].

The poet Ovid *baniſhed.*

THIS year the ingenious and celebrated poet *Ovid* was baniſhed to *Tomos* (A), for ſeeing ſome lewd and ſcandalous action of *Auguſtus*, who had not even in his old age renounced the vices of his youth. That this was the true cauſe of his diſgrace and misfortune, the poet himſelf tells us in expreſs terms: *Why did I ſee*, ſays he, *what I ought not to have ſeen? Why did I make my eyes criminal* [p]? (B). Fear reſtrained him, as is evident, from explaining himſelf any farther, and letting his readers into the particulars of this my-

[o] Dio. ibid. p. 586. [p] Ovid. Triſt. l. ii. ad Auguſt.

(A) *Tomos*, *Tomi*, or *Tomis*, ſtood on the *Euxine* ſea, and was the metropolis of *Lower Mæſia*: for *Mæſia* extended from the confluence of the *Save* and the *Danube* to the *Euxine* ſea, being bounded to the ſouth by the mountains of *Dalmatia*, and to the north by mount *Hæmus*; and was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Mæſia*; the former contained all the country that lies between the *Ciabrus*, now the *Morava*, and the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, and the latter the reſt of the country to the *Euxine* ſea; ſo that the *Upper Mæſia* comprehended part of *Boſnia* and *Servia*, and the *Lower Bulgaria*. The antients compriſed under the name of *Pontus* that part of *Lower Mæſia* which bordered on the *Pontus Euxinus*; and hence the city of *Tomi* is by them called a city of *Pontus*, though it did not belong to the kingdom of *Pontus* properly ſo called, which we have elſewhere deſcribed at length (49). The ancient city of *Tomos* is at preſent, according to *Niger* called *Conſtantia*; according to *Cælius Caligninus*, *Tomiſwar*; according to *Giofanius*, *Kiow* or *Kiovia*, there being in the neighbourhood of this laſt city a lake called by the inhabitants *Oviduue jezero*, that is, *Ovid*'s lake. Whence it was called *Tomos*, is well known from the following diſtich out of *Ovid*.

Inde Tomos dictus locus hic; quia fertur in illo
Membra ſoror fratris conſecuiſſe ſui (50).

The poet ſpeaks of *Medea*.

(B) His words are;

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?

(49) *Vide Hiſtor. Univerſ. Vol* IX. *p.* 233, *&* *ſeq.* (50) *Ovid. Triſt. l. iii. eleg* 9.

ſtery

ſtery (C). The pretence *Auguſtus* made uſe of for baniſhing him was, the poiſonous books he had wrote of the *art of love*, whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* and others aſcribe his diſgrace to the lewdneſs of his muſe, as he does himſelf in ſeveral places of his works out of compliaſance to *Auguſtus*, and to prevent any farther inquiries. But it is very certain, that he was in high favour with *Auguſtus* long after he had publiſhed his books *of love*; for which we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the emperor would have inflicted ſo ſevere a puniſhment on the poet, after he had written himſelf verſes of that nature, ſome of which have reached our times, and are more ſcandalous than any we read in *Ovid*. As for *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s daughter, ſhe had been many years in baniſhment before *Ovid*'s misfortune, and all the accomplices of her debaucheries puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But whatever was the true cauſe of his diſgrace and baniſhment, he was confined to an inhoſpitable climate, and there lived, or rather pined, to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to

(C) *Auguſtus*, though ſtricken in years, had not yet renounced the vices of his youth, but carried on an amour with a lady of great diſtinction, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The lady's huſband, either out of fear or complaiſance, pretended for a long time to be quite unacquainted with the whole affair; but at length the ſcandal becoming public, he grew very uneaſy, and imparted his concern, and the cauſe of it, to one *Athenodorus*, who had been preceptor to *Tiberius*, and was in great favour with *Auguſtus*. Not long after *Auguſtus* ſent a covered litter for the lady, and *Athenodorus*, who happened to be with the huſband when the meſſenger arrived, in order to deter *Auguſtus* from ſuch ſcandalous practices, and warn him of the danger, to which they expoſed him, diſguiſed himſelf in the lady's dreſs, and covering his face, placed himſelf in the litter, and was coveyed in that attire to the emperor's apartment, who was no leſs frightened than ſurpriſed to ſee, inſtead of the lady, whom he impatiently expected, a man with a drawn ſword in his hand ſtart out of the litter; but *Athenadorus*, diſcovering himſelf in that inſtant, *You ſee*, ſaid he, *to what dangers your unſeaſonable paſſion expoſes you; an enemy inſtead of a friend might have laid hold of this opportunity to deprive the republic of ſo gracious a prince.* *Auguſtus* took his advice in good part, and returned him thanks; but whether he reformed his conduct we know not (51). Some writers conjecture, that to this adventure was owing *Ovid*'s misfortune, who, as he had free acceſs to the emperor, might have been an eye-witneſs of his fright and ſurpriſe; a conjecture which we dare neither warrant nor reject.

(51) *Zonar. l.* x. *ſub. fin.*

mitigate

mitigate the rigour of the firſt ſentence by removing him to a more friendly climate (D).

The

(D) *Ovid* was born in the conſulſhip of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, as he himſelf atteſts, and conſequently was fifty complete when he was baniſhed. This he deſigned to tell us in the following lines:

Poſtque meos ortus Piſæa vinctus oliva,
Abſtulerat decies præmia victor eques;
Cum maris Euxini poſitos ad læva Tomitas
Quærere me læſi principis ira jubet. (52).

That is, as he expreſſes himſelf better in his book, *In Ibem*, which he wrote on his firſt going to *Tomos* againſt his accuſers;

Tempus ad hoc luſtris mihi jam bis quinque peractis.

For by no ſmall miſtake he frequently confounds the olympiads, which contained the ſpace of four years, with the *Roman* luſtra, containing the ſpace of five. Had he lived but ten olympiads, he had been only forty, but ten luſtra make him fifty. In his third book *Triſtium*, he tells us, that he had paſſed his firſt winter in *Pontus*, that is, the firſt year of his baniſhment; for he had ſpent the former winter in his journey:

Frigora jam zephyri minuent; annoque peracto,
Longior antiquis viſa Mæotis hyems:
Impoſitamque ſibi quæ non bene pertulit Hellen,
Tempora nocturnis æqua diurna facit (53).

In the ſixth book he ſpeaks of the ſecond year of his baniſhment;

Ut patria careo, bis frugibus area trita eſt;
Diffluit nudo preſſa bis uva pede (54).

In his fifth book he mentions the beginning of his third winter in *Pontus*:

Ut ſumus in Ponto, ter frigore conſtitit Iſter;
Facta eſt Euxini dura ter unda maris (55).

In his firſt book of *Pontus* he takes notice of the fourth winter he lived in exile in the following lines:

Hic me pugnantem cum frigore, cumque ſagittis,
Cumque meo fato, quarta fatigat hyems (56).

(52) *Ovid. Triſt. l.* iv. *eleg ultima.* (53) *Idem Triſt. l.* iii. *eleg.* 12. (54) *Idem, l.* vi. *ibid. eleg.* 4. (55) *Eleg.* 10. (56) *Eleg.* 2.

The

THE next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *T. Statilius Taurus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus* publiſhed an edict, forbidding all augurs, aſtrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of any perſon whatſoever; not that he was under any apprehenſion himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, for he had cauſed his nativity to be calculated, and publicly expoſed, but on account of the diſturbances which theſe impoſtors had occaſioned in ſome noble families. He likewiſe revived the edict forbidding any of the equeſtrian order to fight in the *arena*, threatening ſuch as ſhould dare to tranſgreſs it, with infamy, the confiſcation *Several laws published by Auguſtus.*

The fifth elegy of the fourth book *De Ponto* is addreſſed to *Sextus Pompeius*, who with *Sextus Apuleius* was conſul the year *Auguſtus* died, and in the ſixth of the ſame book, inſcribed to *Brutus*, he mentions the death of *Auguſtus*, and alſo of *Fabius Maximus*, who died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (57), in the firſt year of *Tiberius*'s reign; at which time the poet had paſſed the fifth year of his baniſhment, and was then in the ſixth, as appears from the following verſes;

In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta eſt,
Jam tempus luſtri tranſit in alterius.

The ſixth year he mentions alſo in the beginning of the tenth elegy to *Albinovanus*;

Hæc mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur æſtas
Littore, pellitos inter agenda Getas.

And in the thirteenth to *Carus*;

——ſed me jam, Care, nivali,
Sexta relegatum bruma ſub axe videt.

In the ſame elegy he ſpeaks of a poem, written by him on the apotheoſis of *Auguſtus* in the language of the *Getæ*;

Ah! pudet, & Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum,
Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
Et placui, gratare mihi, cæpique poetæ
Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.

He died in the ſeventh, or, as others will have it, in the eighth year, of his baniſhment, and was buried near the city of *Tomos* (58).

(57) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 5. (58) *Hieronym. in Chronico.*

of

of their eſtates, and death itſelf. He extended his care to the diſtant provinces, ordering, that no public honours ſhould be beſtowed on the governors ſent thither, during the time of their adminiſtration, nor within ſixty days after their departure. The haughty and imperious airs which ſome proconſuls and proprætors had aſſumed, gave riſe to this edict, the emperor judging that the extraordinary honours, which were often conferred upon them, inſpired them with pride, and made them look upon thoſe, over whom they were placed, with an eye of contempt. As there were this year ſixteen perſons of diſtinction who ſtood for the prætorſhip, *Auguſtus*, unwilling to diſguſt any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity, but the next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raiſed *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius* by his firſt wife *Vipſania Agrippina*, to the quæſtorſhip, though he had not yet attained the age required for the diſcharge of that employment, and named *Germanicus* conſul for the enſuing year [p].

Tiberius and Germanicus ſent into Germany.

After this he ſent both *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* into *Germany* at the head of two very numerous armies, but, during the whole campaign, they did nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth recording: they paſſed the ſummer on, or near, the banks of the *Rhine*, contenting themſelves to keep the *Germans* in awe at a diſtance, and to prevent them from invading *Gaul*. About the middle of the autumn, they repaſſed the *Alps*, and returned to the capital, without having ſo much as attempted the reduction of the provinces, which had ſhaken off the yoke, and brought ſo dreadful a calamity upon *Rome*. Upon their return *Auguſtus* honoured *Tiberius*, for what exploits we know not, with a triumph, which he had formerly refuſed him, when he had a far better claim to it [q].

Tiberius triumphs.

Is aſſumed by Auguſtus for his collegue in the ſovereign power.

And now *Auguſtus*, not being able, on account of his great age to bear the whole burden of public affairs, aſſumed *Tiberius*, we may ſay, for his collegue in the ſovereign power, inveſting him with a far more ample and extenſive authority, than he had ever granted to his ſon-in-law and faithful miniſter *Agrippa*. The decree which the conſcript fathers paſſed, at the emperor's requeſt, in favour of *Tiberius*, was couched in the following terms: *At the requeſt of the people of* Rome *we grant to* Caius Julius Cæſar Tiberius *the ſame authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the* Roman *ſtate, which* Auguſtus *has held, which he ſtill retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy* [r]. This decree, which put

[p] Dio. ibid. p. 586. [q] Suet. Dio. ibid. [r] Vell. Paterc. l. ii, c. 121.

Tiberius,

Tiberius in a manner, upon the level with *Auguſtus*, was propoſed, according to *Suetonius*, by the conſuls [f], no doubt at the requeſt, or rather by the command, of *Auguſtus*. The next year, *Germanicus Cæſar* and *Fonteius Capito* being conſuls, *Auguſtus*, by a ſpecial edict, declared the authors of all lampoons, and ſatirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any perſon whatſoever, guilty of high treaſon, and puniſhable with death. In the times of the republic actions indeed were puniſhed, ſays *Tacitus*, but words were free; *Auguſtus* was the firſt who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majeſty, or of treaſon [g]. By the ſame edict, the ædiles in the city, and the governors in the colonies and municipia were ſtrictly enjoined to make a diligent ſearch after all libels and lampoons, to commit them to the flames, and to proceed with the utmoſt rigour againſt the authors of them. This put a ſtop to the liberty or rather licentiouſneſs of the libellers, but was attended by moſt dreadful conſequences under the ſucceeding emperors, who abuſed this wreſted law to the deſtruction of many innocent perſons, whom on other accounts they diſliked.

Libels brought under the law of majeſty.

Towards the end of this year, *Auguſtus* wrote two letters, one to the ſenate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conſcript fathers, and another to *Tiberius*, recommending the ſenate to him, which was generally looked upon as an open declaration on the part of *Auguſtus*, that he deſigned to leave the ſame authority to *Tiberius* over the ſenate, which he himſelf had enjoyed, but would have all others, thoſe of his own family not excepted, to pay an intire obedience to that venerable body. In his letter to the ſenate he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble for the future of waiting upon him, according to their cuſtom, at his houſe, adding, that he hoped they would diſpenſe with him for not attending in the ſenate-houſe as formerly, ſuch an attendance being very inconvenient to him by reaſon of his age; he deſired they would appoint him twenty counſellors out of their body, with whom he might adviſe in matters of importance relating to the ſtate; the ſenate readily granted him his requeſt, and moreover decreed, that whatever he ſhould reſolve upon with the twenty ſenators aſſigned him, the conſuls for the year, the conſuls elect, and his adopted ſon and nephew, ſhould have the ſame force as if voted and paſſed in the ſenate [u]. The following year, when *C. Silius* and *L. Munacius Plancus* were conſuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near

Auguſtus *recommends the ſenate to* Tiberius, *and* Germanicus *to the ſenate.*

[f] SUET. in Tiber. & TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 3. [g] TACIT. annal. l. i. [u] DIO. ibid. p. 588.

Renews his term of ten years the fifth time.

ended, he accepted, though much againſt his will, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and at the ſame time renewed the tribunitial power in favour of *Tiberius* for the like ſpace of years [w]. As for *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius*, he impowered him to ſtand for the conſulate after two years, though he had not yet diſcharged the office of prætor; but as both he and *Germanicus* had places in the ſenate, and it was natural to ſuppoſe that their ſentiments were thoſe of *Auguſtus*, which none of the conſcript fathers would dare to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or any ways declare their opinion, in ſuch matters as were debated by the conſcript fathers. *Auguſtus* having thus ſettled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the veſtal virgins, reſolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging the death of *Varus*, and the loſs of his legions. With this view he raiſed two numerous armies, the one to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. The latter was ordered to march this very year into *Gaul*, and from thence to invade the countries, which at the inſtigation of *Arminius* had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. As for *Tiberius*, he was appointed to lead his army into *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that ſide into the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, which the *Romans* had not yet ſubdued. *Auguſtus* however kept him at *Rome* all this and part of the following year, when *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* were raiſed to the conſulate: the former was grandſon to the famous *Sextus Pompeius*, whoſe war with *Auguſtus* we have deſcribed in this volume: his collegue *Apuleius* was one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, and is ſaid to have prevailed upon him to change the ſentence of death, which he firſt pronounced againſt *Ovid*, into that of perpetual baniſhment.

Sends Germanicus into Germany.

Makes a third cenſus.

During their adminiſtration, *Auguſtus*, taking *Tiberius* for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, made a third cenſus, by which it appeared, that the number of the *Roman* people amounted to four millions one hundred and thirty ſeven thouſand, counting women and children as well as men [x]. *Euſebius* makes the number of *Roman* citizens amount to nine millions three hundred and ſeventy thouſand, counting probably thoſe who lived both at *Rome*, and in the provinces [y]. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was obſerved to fly ſeveral times round *Auguſtus*, and then light on a neighbouring temple over the firſt letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon not only by the

w Idem ibid. [x] Suet. l. ii. c. 97. Gruter. inſcript. p. 230. [y] Euseb. in chron.

multitude

multitude, but by *Auguſtus* himſelf, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his collegue *Tiberius* to make the vows which were uſual at the time of the cenſus, *for the ſafety of the* Roman *ſtate, and the proſperity of the citizens*, ſaying, that he would not make vows which he ſhould not live to perform [z]. He was confirmed in this opinion by ſeveral other prodigies: the firſt letter of his name in an inſcription on the pedeſtal of one of his ſtatues was ſtruck off with lightning, and the ſooth-ſayers, who were conſulted on that occaſion, declared, that he had only a hundred days to live, the letter C ſtanding for that number among the *Latins*; they added, that after his death he would be ranked among the gods, the word *æſar*, which was the remaining part of his name, ſignifying a *god* in the *Hetruſcan* language [a]. To theſe two omens *Dion Caſſius* adds a third, which in his opinion plainly preſaged his imminent death. It had been cuſtomary ever ſince the death of *Julius Cæſar*, to place his chair with a crown upon it at the public ſports. In this chair *Auguſtus* uſed to ſit, when he aſſiſted at the ſhows; but it happening to be empty while the ſports were exhibiting this year in honour of *Auguſtus*, a fool placed himſelf in it, and taking up the crown, put it upon his head; and hence it was concluded, that the ſovereign power, ſignifyed by the crown, would ſoon paſs into other hands [b]. In the mean time, *Auguſtus* wrote a ſhort account of the chief actions of his life, which he cauſed to be engraved on braſs, and placed over his tomb [c]. Great part of this valuable monument has been tranſmitted to us in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, and is to be ſeen in the inſcriptions of the learned *Gruter* [d].

Prodigies preſaging his death.

As *Auguſtus* viſibly declined every day both in his health and ſtrength, ſo that no body could doubt but his end was at hand, ſome few there were who began to talk of reſtoring the republic to its former liberty; but far the greater part, dreading a civil war, were for tamely ſubmitting to the perſon, whom *Auguſtus* ſhould think fit to place over them. All the zealous republicans had been ſlain in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*; their poſterity had been long inured to the yoke, there being ſcarce any living now who had beheld the old free ſtate, and as for the *Roman* people, they were become a mere mob, addicted to idleneſs, void of all ſentiments of honour or virtue, without any traces of the antient *Roman* ſpirit, or any attachment to the virtuous inſtitutions of their an-

The Romans *laid aſide all thoughts of attempting the recovery of their liberty.*

[z] SUET. ib. [a] Idem ibid. DIO. l. vi. p. 589. [b] DIO. ibid. [c] SUET. l. ii. cap. ult. DIO. p. 591. [d] GRUTER. inſcript p. 220.

ceſtors. The zealous republicans therefore, who were very few, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and laying aſide all hopes of ever ſeeing the antient free ſtate reſtored, reſolved to ſubmit to the heir and ſucceſſor whom *Auguſtus* ſhould name, and bear with patience the evils which it was not in their power to prevent or redreſs [c].

Auguſtus *goes to* Naples.

And now it being high time for *Tiberius* to leave *Rome*; and ſet out for *Illyricum*, *Auguſtus*, to the great ſurprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as far as *Beneventum*, and purſuing his journey from thence to *Naples* in *Campania*, in order to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ſports which were to be exhibited there on his approaching birth-day. As he found his ſtrength decaying apace, he promiſed himſelf no ſmall benefit from the wholeſome air of *Campania*; eſpecially of *Naples*, whither many *Romans* uſed to reſort, even in thoſe days, for the recovery of their health; and this was, as is ſuppoſed, the true motive of this ſudden and unexpected reſolution, though he did not think fit to own it. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulneſs and alacrity, being attended by his beloved *Livia*, who, as we may well imagine, was very aſſiduous about him in ſo critical a juncture. At *Beneventum* he parted with *Tiberius*, and purſued his journey to *Naples*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. After he had ſpent ſome time at *Naples* very agreeably, and aſſiſted there at the public ſports,

Is taken ill on his return.

he was ſeized with a diarrhæa, a dangerous diſtemper in a perſon of his years. He therefore reſolved, before his ſtrength failed him, to return to *Rome*, and accordingly, leaving *Naples*, ſet out for his capital; but his illneſs increaſing in ſpite of all the remedies preſcribed him by the phyſicians who attended him, he was obliged to ſtop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there betake himſelf to his bed. In the mean time, *Livia*, well appriſed that his end was at hand, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the ſtate of the emperor's health, and preſſing him to return with all poſſible expedition. *Tiberius*, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately left *Illyricum*, and flew to *Nola*, not with any private views, ſays *Velleius*, but merely out of the great tenderneſs and filial affection he had for *Auguſtus*, whom he found alive, if that author is to be credited, and had long conferences with him: in one of which, the dying emperor, after having publicly declared him his ſucceſſor in the ſovereign power, deſired him to maintain all his acts in their full vigour, and to purſue the ſame methods

Tiberius *ſent for by* Livia.

[c] Tacit. annal. l. i.

of

of government which he had uſed[f]. But *Tacitus* tells us, that it was never well known, whether *Tiberius* on his arrival at *Nola* found the emperor dead, or ſtill alive; *Livia* having carefully beſet the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards, and given out from time to time good news of the emperor's recovery. He adds, that when ſhe had taken all neceſſary meaſures in ſo nice a juncture, in one and the ſame moment were publiſhed the death of *Auguſtus*, and acceſſion of *Tiberius*[g]. But to return to *Auguſtus*; finding his end approaching, he looked death in the face with greater intrepidity than was expected from one who had ever carefully avoided it in the field. He diſcourſed very chearfully with his intimate friends and chief favourites, giving them many wiſe and uſeful inſtructions, relating to the management of their private affairs, and thoſe of the public. In ſpeaking of his own actions, he told them, that *he had found* Rome *of brick, but left it of marble*; alluding by this expreſſion, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, not ſo much to the beauty and ſtatelineſs of the buildings, as to the majeſty, grandeur, and firmneſs of the empire. And now finding his ſtrength quite failed him; he called for a looking-glaſs, and having cauſed his hair to be ſet in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be ſmoothed, as was cuſtomary among the ſtage-players, he aſked his freinds with a languiſhing voice, *Whether he had acted his part well?* and they anſwering, *he had, Then clap me* ſaid he, *for I have ended my part.* After this fixing his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, he deſired her *to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts ſo long united*, and then quietly expired[h]. Thus died the celebrated *Auguſtus* on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, which month was ſo named from him, the ſame day on which he had entered upon his firſt conſulſhip. He had lived ſeventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-ſix days, and reigned from his firſt conſulſhip fifty-ſix years, but from the battle of *Actium* only forty-three. *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* obſerve one very remarkable circumſtance of his death; for he died in the ſame town, as theſe two writers tell us, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame chamber, where his father *Octavius* died[i]. *Livia* was ſuſpected of having haſtened the emperor's death, fearing he might be reconciled on his return to *Rome* with his grandſon *Agrippa Poſthumus*, whom he had privately viſited ſome months before, ſailing over to the

He dies at Nola. *Year of the flood*, 2014. *After Chriſt*, 15. *Of* Rome, 763.

Livia *ſuſpected of having haſtened his death.*

[f] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 128. [g] TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 5.
[h] SUET. ibid. c. 98. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. DIO. p. 590.
[i] TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 5. DIO, p. 589.

the

the iſland of *Planaſia* with *Fabius Maximus* alone, without the privity of *Livia*, *Tiberius*, or any other of his moſt faithful and truſty favourites. This *Fabius* diſcloſed to his wife *Martia*, and ſhe to *Livia*, and thence the emperor knew that the ſecret was betrayed; which ſo provoked him againſt *Fabius*, that he baniſhed him his preſence for ever, bidding him, when he came to wait upon him the next morning, *an eternal farewel.* *Fabius* did not long ſurvive his diſgrace; but ſoon after laid violent hands on himſelf [k]. We are told, that, in the interview between *Auguſtus* and his grandſon *Agrippa*, many tears were ſhed on both ſides, and many tokens of mutual tenderneſs ſhewn, which gave the unhappy youth hopes of being reſtored to his own place in his grandfather's family. This *Livia* dreaded, and in order to prevent it, haſtened her huſband's death, as ſome authors write, with poiſoned figs [l]. The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried from *Nola* to *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, on the ſhoulders of the chief magiſtrates of the colonies and municipal towns on the road. At *Bovillæ* it was received by the *Roman* knights, and by them conveyed to *Rome*, and expoſed in the porch of the imperial palace on mount *Palatine*. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted, appointed the ſenate to meet the next day, but would ſuffer no other buſineſs to be tranſacted, except what related to the funeral of his deceaſed father. In the firſt place, his laſt will was brought in by the veſtal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius* one of *Auguſtus*'s freedmen. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleaſed to deprive me of my grandchildren* Caius *and* Lucius, *I declare* Tiberius *my heir*, &c. (E). By the

His body conveyed to Rome.

[k] Tacit. ibid. [l] Tacit. ibid. Anonym. de vita Aug. & l. de garrulitate. Oros. Zonar. &c.

(E) From this preamble it is manifeſt, that *Auguſtus* would never have adopted *Tiberius*, or appointed him his ſucceſſor, had thoſe two young princes, or either of them, lived. Some writers tell us, that *Auguſtus* was well acquainted with the bad qualities and tyrannical temper of *Tiberius*, and that on his death-bed he could not help pitying the *Roman* people, who, to uſe the expreſſions aſcribed to him, *Were to be under ſo ſlow a pair of grinders*; *Miſerum populum Romanum, qui ſub tam lentis maxillis erit.* What then prompted him to adopt for his ſon, and name for his ſucceſſor, one whom he knew to be no ways qualified for ſo great a charge? To this queſtion ſome writers anſwer, that the promotion of *Tiberius* was intirely owing to his mother *Livia*, who had gained an abſolute aſcendant over *Auguſtus*, eſpecially in his old age: others ſay, that he was acted

the ſame will *Tiberius* and *Livia* were appointed his firſt heirs, his grandchildren and their children his ſecond, and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs: *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Auguſta*. As for the great men of *Rome*, *Tacitus* tells us, that *His will.*

acted therein by a ſecret ambition of making his death more regretted by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor. But *Suetonius* cannot perſuade himſelf, that a prince of *Auguſtus*'s ſagacity and prudence could proceed upon motives of this nature, in an affair of ſo great importance; he is rather inclined to believe, that having weighed both his vices and virtues, he thought the latter overbalanced the former; and hence, when he adopted him, he ſolemnly declared upon oath, that he was prompted thereunto by no other motive but that of the public welfare, and often commended him in his letters not only as an excellent commander, but as the only ſtay and ſupport of the *Roman* people. Out of theſe letters *Suetonius* inſtances ſome of his expreſſions: *Farewel*, ſays he, in one of them, *my dear* Tiberius; *may you be happy in your enterpriſes, fighting, as you do for me and the muſes: may I be happy, as you are a moſt valiant and accompliſhed commander. Farewel, take care of your ſummer-quarters: as for my own part, my dear* Tiberius, *I confidently believe, that amongſt ſo many difficulties and diſorders, in the midſt of ſo much remiſſneſs and cowardice in the army, no man could have behaved with more prudence than you have done; inſomuch, that all thoſe, who have had the honour of attending you, do unanimouſly acknowledge, that this verſe cannot more properly be applied to any man living, than to yourſelf:*

Unus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem.

And in another letter; *Whether I ſeriouſly conſider of an affair, or any thing falls out which I ought to reſent, I want my* Tiberius *immediately, and this ſaying comes conſtantly into my mind, By this man's conduct and prudence we might both eſcape even out of the fire. As often as I am told how much you are fallen away by your indefatigable labour, may I periſh if I do not tremble to hear it. Let me deſire you therefore to have more care of yourſelf for the future, leſt the firſt news of your ſickneſs be the death of your mother and me, and the people of* Rome *be in great danger of loſing their empire. I do not value my own health, unleſs you be well too. I beg the gods to preſerve you for our good, if they bear no prejudice or grudge to the* Roman *people* (59). From theſe letters it plainly appears, that *Auguſtus* had a real value and ſincere affection for *Tiberius*, that he looked upon him as the only perſon capable of ſupporting with dignity the title of emperor, and conſequently that it was not out of complaiſance to *Livia*, nor a ſecret ambition of inhancing his own reputation with poſterity by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor, that he choſe him.

(59) *Suet. in Tiber.*

he

he hated them, but nevertheleſs named them out of vanity.

And legacies.

To the *Roman* people he left by way of legacy four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; to the populace thirty five thouſand; to every common ſoldier of the prætorian guards a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces; and to every ſoldier of the *Roman* legions three hundred.

Four writings left by him.

His laſt will being read, *Druſus* produced to the conſcript fathers four ſmall books wrote by the deceaſed emperor; the firſt of which contained regulations relating to the ceremony of his obſequies; the ſecond was a journal of the moſt memorable actions of his life, which by his laſt will he ordered to be engraved on the piliars of braſs, which ſupported the frontiſpiece of his ſtately mauſolæum. Great part of this journal has been preſerved in an ancient marble found about a hundred and fifty years ſince in the city of *Ancyra*[m]. The third book contained a ſummary of the ſtrength and income of the empire, the number of the *Romans* and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the ſeveral kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the ſtate of the treaſury, the expences of the empire, and the demands upon the public. This regiſter, as we may call it, was all writ with *Auguſtus*'s own hand. The fourth book was a collection of inſtructions for the uſe of *Tiberius*, and the other governors and magiſtrates of the republic, whom he adviſed to lay aſide all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conqueſts[n]. But whether this advice was dictated by his love for the public, ſays *Tacitus*, or by envy and jealouſy of the glory of his ſucceſſors, is uncertain[o].

Opinions of the ſenators relating to his funeral honours.

The funeral honours were next conſidered, when *Aſinius Gallus* moved, that the funeral ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate; *Lucius Arruntius*, that the titles of all the laws he had made, and the names of all the nations he had conquered ſhould be carried before the corpſe; ſome were of opinion, that on the day of his funeral all the magiſtrates and knights ſhould, in token of their grief, wear iron rings inſtead of their gold ones, and that, to eternalize his memory, not only the month *Sextilis*, but the whole time he had lived, ſhould bear his name, and be ſtyled *Seculum Auguſtum*, that is, *the age of* Auguſtus. *Valerius Meſſala*, departing from the matter in queſtion, added, that the oath of allegiance to *Tiberius* ſhould be renewed every year. *Tiberius*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, aſked him, whether he had made that motion at his inſtigation? *I ſpoke it*, anſwered

[m] Vide Gruter. inſcript. p. 130.
[n] Dio. Suet. ibid.
[o] Tacit. annal. l. 1. c. 11.

Meſſala,

Meſſala, with a new turn of flattery, *as my own opinion, nor will I ever be controuled by any man in things which concern the welfare of the public, let who will be provoked at my freedom* [p], The ſenators at length all agreed to carry the body of the deceaſed emperor to the funeral pile on their ſhoulders; but this *Tiberius* would not ſuffer; nay he cautioned the people by an edict to refrain their zeal, and not to inſiſt upon having his body burnt, as *Julius Cæſar*'s had been, rather in the forum, than in the field of *Mars*, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was performed with the greateſt pomp and magnificence, that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. *Druſus* read from the roſtra a ſhort elogium of the deceaſed emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applauſe it well deſerved, it being a maſter-piece of the kind [q]. When fire was ſet to his pile, an eagle was let looſe from the top of it, as it were to carry his ſoul to heaven. *Livia*, and with her ſome of the chief men among the knights, continued for five days together in the field of *Mars*, gathering up the aſhes and the bones which the flames had ſpared. Theſe *Livia* put into an urn of gold, which ſhe repoſited in the magnificent mauſolæum, which *Auguſtus* had long before built for himſelf in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. It was decreed that men ſhould mourn for him according to cuſtom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably for *Livia*'s ſake. As ſoon as the funeral was over, divine worſhip was decreed him with a temple and prieſts: the houſe, in which he was born, that in which he died, and moſt of the houſes, in which he had lived, were changed into ſanctuaries. *Livia*, now *Julia Auguſta*, took upon her to be the chief prieſteſs of the new deity, and made a preſent of ten thouſand great ſeſterces to a ſenator, named *Numerius Atticus*, who ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had ſeen the ſoul of *Auguſtus* aſcend up to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which *Julius Proculus* had many ages before publiſhed concerning *Romulus*, was ſoon ſpread and credited in all the provinces ſubject to *Rome*: temples were every-where erected in honour of the deified *Auguſtus*, and a new order of prieſts inſtituted. *Tiberius* conſecrated a ſanctuary to his deceaſed father in his own palace, and choſe twenty one prieſts from among the ſenators, naming himſelf, his ſon *Druſus*, and his nephew *Germanicus*, among the firſt [r]. It was not out of any principle of religion, or any regard to *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus*

His body burnt in the campus Martius.

Divine honours decreed him.

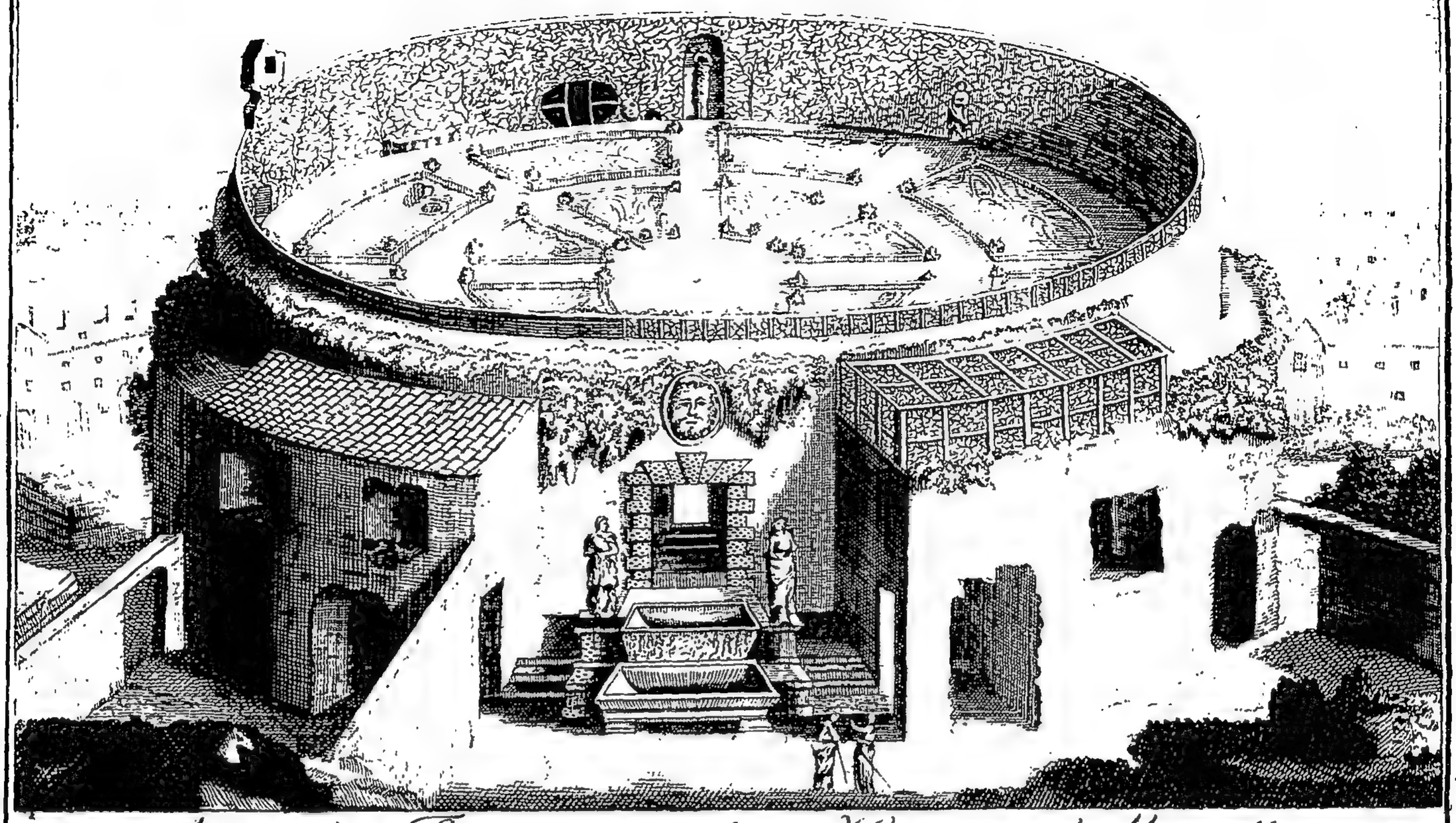
[p] Idem ibid. [q] Vide Dio. l. lvi. p. 598. [r] Dio. p. 598—600. TACIT. ibid. c. 11. 15. 78.

well obſerves, that *Tiberius* procured the deification of *Auguſtus*, but becauſe it nearly concerned him, to have all the laws and acts of one who had left him his ſucceſſor paſs for ſacred. Beſides, in promoting this kind of ſuperſtition, he had another view, which was to rivet the public ſlavery, evidently included in religious worſhip paid to a prince who had inthralled his country.

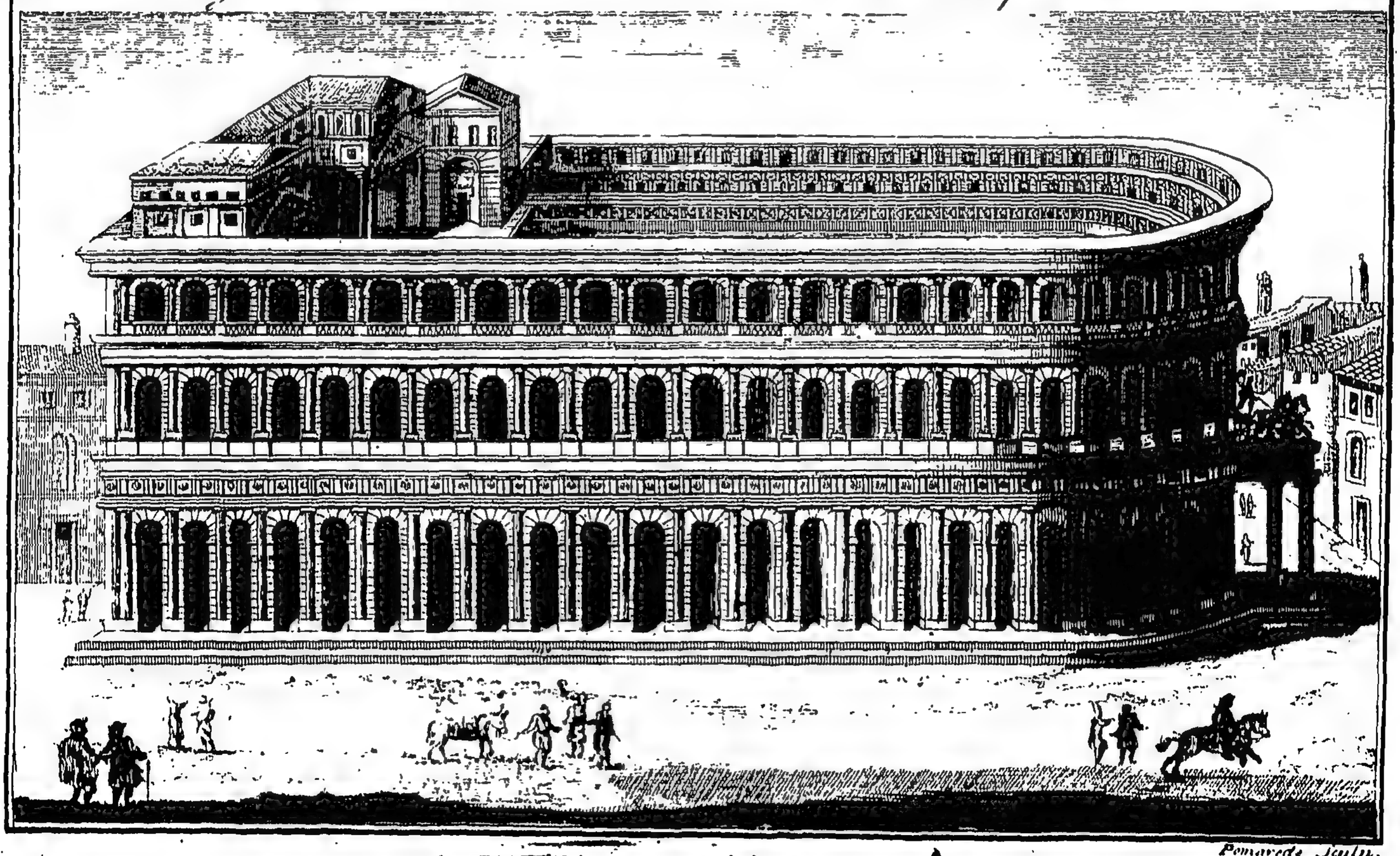
His character.

Auguſtus was a man of a ſound judgment, and great penetration, had a particular turn for buſineſs, and a wonderful talent in improving opportunities, and applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of riſing, and acquiring fame, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite deſtitute of the former, being bold indeed in council, but a coward in the field; and as to his eloquence, it was, according to *Tacitus*, eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a prince, but no-ways fit to move or controul the ſpirit of republicans. He did not make his way to the throne, but found it already made by his great uncle *Julius*, who happily accompliſhed what he would never have thought of attempting. He had, 'tis true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himſelf. Thus by the bravery of *Antony* he conquered *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and by the valour of *Agrippa* he conquered *Antony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it, the *Roman* ſpirit being intirely broken, and all thoſe cut off either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*, or by bloody proſcriptions, who had courage enough to ſtand up for defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to ſatisfy his revenge, which the great heart of *Cæſar* would have ſcorned. We meet with no inſtances of his ſo much boaſted clemency and moderation, till he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy all thoſe whom he either feared or ſuſpected. When he had thoroughly maſtered the ſtate, utterly extinguiſhed all maxims of liberty, and inhumanly maſſacred ſuch as he thought capable of thwarting his deſigns, or diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of his uſurped power, he then governed with great mildneſs, and diſcharged all the duties of an excellent prince; which gave riſe to the ſaying, that *he ſhould never have been born, or never have died.* As he ſtuck at no wickedneſs to gain power, we cannot help thinking but that he would have committed more to maintain it, if he had found more to be neceſſary. He made, 'tis true, a feint or two to abdicate the ſovereignty; had he been in earneſt, he might at leaſt have left for a legacy to the *Roman* people

The Mausoleum of Augustus



Augustus's Theatre erected in Honour of Marcellus



Pomarede Sculpt.

people that liberty of which he had robbed them. But inſtead of reſtoring to them that dominion over themſelves, which none but themſelves had any right to exerciſe, he provided by a long train of ſucceſſors againſt any poſſible recovery of liberty. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife, and their ſons; which plainly ſhews, that he was determined to intail ſlavery upon his country, and extend his uſurpation even beyond his grave. Some writers to excuſe him tell us, that the ſtate was irretrievable, and that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one man. But *Auguſtus* himſelf judged otherwiſe; for by propoſing to reſign, however inſincere this propoſal was, he at leaſt ſhewed that he thought the reſettling of the republic practicable. *Druſus*, brother to *Tiberius*, declared his deſign to effect it; nay, it was what *Tiberius* himſelf, after he was emperor, pretended to do. *Auguſtus* might, without all doubt, by his abſolute authority have reduced the commonwealth to her firſt principles and firmneſs. This would have been true glory, the only true uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it. But inſtead of reſtoring the ſtate to its antient luſtre, he did all that lay in his power to perpetuate ſlavery, to extinguiſh all maxims of liberty, and to render his ſucceſſors as abſolute as himſelf. But not to dwell any longer on this ſubject, we ſhall conclude with *Dion Caſſius*, that *Auguſtus* would have been deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, had he not uſurped, but received, the ſovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his anceſtors. But whether the wiſe laws he publiſhed, and the mildneſs with which he governed, after his ſovereignty was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, ſufficiently atoned for his uſurpation, and the many crimes attending it, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of our readers (F).

THE

(F) The news of *Auguſtus*'s death, when firſt brought to *Rome*, gave occaſion to various diſcourſes and obſervations concerning him, which it wou'd be an unpardonable omiſſion in us not to take notice of, ſince they acquaint us with the ſentiments, which his friends as well as his enemies entertained of him, and have been tranſmitted to us by one of the moſt judicious and accurate writers of antiquity (60), in whoſe words we ſhall deliver them. 'The ſuperſtitious 'multitude, ſays that writer, admired the fortuitous events of his

(60) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 6.*

Tiberius. THE firſt feat of the reign of *Tiberius* was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom he cauſed to be diſpatched by

' life, the laſt day of which and the firſt of his reign was the ſame;
' he died at *Nola*, in the ſame town, in the ſame houſe, and in the
' ſame chamber, where his father *Octavius* died. They obſerved
' to his glory his many conſulſhips, equal in number to thoſe of
' *Valerius Corvinus* and *Caius Marius* put together; that he had
' exerciſed the tribunitial power for thirty ſeven years ſucceſſively;
' that he had been proclaimed emperor twenty one times, and that
' he had enjoyed many honours, ſome of which had been conferred
' upon others, and ſome created for him. Men of penetration en-
' tered further into his life, but differed about it. His admirers
' ſaid, that his filial piety, and the diſorders which reigned in the
' republic, and had got the better of the laws, forced him to en-
' ter into a civil war, which can never be carried on without
' dreadful diſturbances; that to be revenged on thoſe who had
' murdered his father, he had been obliged to comply with the
' violent temper of his collegues, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and give up
' to their revenge and jealouſy many illuſtrious citizens; that when
' *Antony* was loſt in ſenſuality, and *Lepidus* in ſloth and idleneſs,
' there was no other remedy for the diſtracted ſtate, rent into par-
' ties and factions, but the ſovereignty of one; *Auguſtus*, however,
' did never take upon him to rule over his country as king or
' dictator, but ſettled the government under the legal title of
' prince of the ſenate; he extended the bounds of the empire, and
' ſet for its limits the diſtant ocean, and remote rivers; the ſeveral
' parts and forces of the ſtate, the legions, the provinces, and the
' navy, were well connected and governed; the citizens lived
' peaceably under the protection of the laws, the allies reſpected the
' *Roman* name, and *Rome* herſelf was adorned with magnificent
' ſtructures; he had indeed on ſome occaſions exerted his arbitrary
' power, but in very few, and then only to ſecure the peace of the
' whole. In anſwer to all this, others, who did not entertain ſo
' good an opinion of the deceaſed emperor, urged, that his filial
' piety, and the diſtractions of the republic, were mere pretences;
' but his luſt of reigning the true and only motive, which prompted
' him to kindle a civil war in the bowels of his country; that in or-
' der to get the whole power of the ſtate into his hands, he gained
' over by bribery a body of veterans; and though a private youth,
' levied an army in defiance of the laws; that for the baſe purpoſe
' of power, he debauched the *Roman* legions under the command
' of the conſuls, as if he deſigned to join *Pompey*'s republican party:
' that ſoon after, when he had obtained of the ſenate, or rather
' uſurped, the prætorſhip, the two conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa* being
' ſlain, he ſeized both their armies; that it was doubted whether
' the conſuls were killed by the enemy, or their own men, *Hirtius*

' in

by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, before he ſuffered *Auguſtus*'s death to be made public. Agrippa Poſthumus *murdered.*

'in the battle, and *Panſa* after it, by having poiſon poured into 'his wounds, and whether young *Cæſar* was not the author of this 'execrable treaſon; that he extorted the conſulſhip in ſpite of the 'ſenate, and employed againſt the commonwealth the very arms 'with which ſhe had truſted him for her defence againſt *Antony*. 'To all this they added, his bloody proſcriptions, the maſſacre of 'numberleſs citizens, his robbing the public of ſo many lands and 'poſſeſſions, and diſtributing them among his own creatures; 'a piece of injuſtice ſo notorious, that even thoſe who were gain-'ers by it, could not help condemning it. But allowing him to have 'had no other view in the deſtructive war he carried on againſt '*Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but to revenge by their death the murder of 'the dictator, though it had been more to his reputation to ſacrifice 'his private reſentment to the public welfare, did he not betray 'young *Pompey* by a deceitful peace? Did he not enſnare *Antony* 'firſt by treaties, *viz* of *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, then by a mar-'riage, that of his ſiſter *Octavia?* And did not this perfidious al-'liance at length coſt *Antony* his life? After this, 'tis true, there 'was peace, but a bloody peace in the defeat of *Lollius* and *Varus* 'in *Germany*; and at *Rome* the *Varrones*, the *Egnatii*, the *Julii*, 'illuſtrious citizens, were put to death. Neither was his domeſ-'tic life ſpared on this occaſion; he had arbitrarily robbed *Nero* 'of his wife, when ſhe was big with child, and in deriſion of the 'gods conſulted the prieſts, whether he might marry her before, or 'was obliged to wait till after her delivery. His favourites, *Tedius* 'and *Vedius Pollio* had lived in exceſſive luxury; his wife *Livia*, 'who had an abſolute ſway over him, had proved a cruel governeſs 'to the republic, and a more cruel ſtep-mother to the *Julian* fa-'mily; he had even uſurped honours peculiar to the gods, and, 'raiſing temples to himſelf, would be adored as a deity with all 'the ſolemnity of prieſts and ſacrifices; he adopted *Tiberius* for his 'ſucceſſor, not out of affection to him, or any concern for the re-'public, but having diſcovered in him a cruel and haughty 'temper, he ſought glory from the compariſon of their 'reigns.' Such were the ſentiments and obſervations of the *Romans* on the deceaſed emperor. But after all, it muſt be owned, that *Auguſtus*, whether we conſider him as a magiſtrate at the helm of the republic, or as a private citizen in his domeſtic life, had many good qualities, which few perſons in either ſtation have ever ſince his time poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree. Theſe together with his vices we ſhall here without any prejudice or partiality expoſe to the conſideration of our readers, that they may the better be able to form a right judgment of the famous and ſo much celebrated *Auguſtus*.

In

lic. *Tiberius* avoided mentioning this tranſaction in the ſenate, and would have the world believe, that it was done by the

In the firſt place, when his authority was once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he made it his whole ſtudy to redreſs the public grievances, to ſuppreſs the diſorders which had been introduced by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery during the civil wars, to ſettle in all the provinces a laſting peace, and to promote the happineſs and welfare of his ſubjects. That he had nothing more at heart than to ſee the republic flouriſh, he frequently declared in his private diſcourſe, but more remarkably in one of his edicts in the following words: *I wiſh I may be able to eſtabliſh the commonwealth on its proper baſis, and reap ſuch fruits of my labour as I deſire, that I may hereafter be reputed the founder of ſo excellent a fabric, and carry this hope with me to the grave, that the commonwealth will continue and flouriſh upon the foundations which I have laid.* Some writers have thought, that he would have reſigned after his firſt illneſs, or at leaſt left *Rome* free at his death, had he not been perſuaded, that other pretenders would have riſen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners, and extirpation of vice; and it may be truly ſaid, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His ſumptuary laws, his laws againſt bribery, adultery, unnatural luſt, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city. In order to this, he raiſed many public buildings, among which the chief were, the *forum*, or *court of juſtice*, the temple of *Mars the avenger*, the temple of *Apollo in Palatio*, the temple of *Jupiter the thunderer* in the capitol, the portico of *Lucius* and *Caius*, the palaces of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the theatre of *Marcellus*. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt many, which had been deſtroyed either by time or fire, inriching both them and the reſt with moſt magnificent preſents. To the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, not to mention others, he gave at once ſixteen thouſand pounds weight of gold, beſides jewels and precious ſtones, to the value of fifty millions of ſeſterces. He often exhorted the principal and moſt wealthy citizens to repair or erect ſome monument or other, which might ſerve as an ornament to the city: and upon his perſuaſion *Marcius Philippus* built the temple of *Hercules Muſarum*, *L. Cornificius* the temple of *Diana*, *Aſinius Pollio* the *court of liberty*, *Munatius Plancus* the temple of *Saturn*, *Cornelius Balbus* a theatre, *Statilius Taurus* an amphitheatre, and *Marcus Agrippa* a great number of moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures. In order to ſecure the city, thus embelliſhed, againſt fires and inundations, to which it was ſubject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointing a peculiar magiſtrate for each ward, and committing the care

the command of *Auguſtus*, as if he had tranſmitted orders to the tribune, who guarded the youth, to diſpatch him upon

care of each ſtreet to ſome citizen of diſtinction. Theſe had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other diſorders; againſt the inundations of the *Tiber*, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleanſed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbiſh, and the ruins of houſes; and, that the city might be the more acceſſible on all ſides, he took upon himſelf the reparation of the *Flaminian* way as far as *Ariminum*, leaving the reſt of the public ways to be mended by ſuch as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the ſpoils of the enemy.

He ſhewed high regard for the *Roman* name, and was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of citizens; whereof we have the two following inſtances; *Tiberius* having deſired him to grant the citizenſhip of *Rome* to a certain *Greek*, who was one of his clients, he wrote him this anſwer; that *he would not comply with his requeſt, unleſs he came himſelf, and ſatisfied him of the juſtice of it:* in like manner *Livia* interceding for a *Gaul*, he peremptorily rejected her petition, but granted the *Gaul* an exemption from his tribute, with this declaration; that *he would rather condeſcend to a diminution of the public revenue, than to proſtitute the honour of the* Roman *name*. As he had a particular veneration for the memory of thoſe heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the *Roman* empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inſcriptions, and dedicating their ſtatues in the two portico's of his forum; on which occaſion he declared in an edict, that *his deſign was to propoſe them as a pattern and example, by which he himſelf, and the princes, who ſhould ſucceed him, might frame themſelves, and regulate their conduct.*

As he had no great talent for war, he commanded the army in perſon but twice againſt a foreign enemy, *viz.* in *Dalmatia*, when he was but young, and in his expedition againſt the *Cantabrians*. The other wars he managed by his lieutenants, who under his auſpices, reduced the *Cantabrians*, *Aquitans*, *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Illyrians*, *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, *Salaſſians*, and the *Germans* inhabiting the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loſs feared; *for thoſe who hazard much*, ſaid he, *to gain but little, are like men who fiſh with hooks of gold, the loſs of which will hardly be repaired by what they catch.* He uſed to ſay, that raſhneſs and precipitancy were the greateſt faults in a general; whence he had this ſaying frequently in his mouth, *Feſtina lente*, which is much the ſame in ſenſe with our common proverb, *No more haſte than good ſpeed.* He was very ſevere in keeping

on the firſt intelligence of his death. The better to ſupport this ſtory, when the tribune, according to the cuſtom of

keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, not ſuffering, but with much difficulty, even his lieutenants to quit the camp, and return to *Rome*; and that only when the troops were in winter-quarters. A *Roman* knight, having cut off the thumbs of two of his ſons, to diſable them from ſerving, he condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, and confiſcated his eſtate. He diſbanded the tenth legion only for betraying an unwillingneſs to obey his commands, and diſmiſſed others, without the rewards due to veterans, for having demanded their diſcharge. If in an engagement any cohort or legion gave ground, or were even put into confuſion, he ordered every tenth man by lot to be executed, and allowed the reſt nothing but barley. The centurions and tribunes likewiſe, abandoning their poſts, were immediately puniſhed with death. For ſmall offences he contented himſelf with condemning them to ſtand all day before his prætorium, ſometimes ungirt in their tunics only, and ſometimes with long poles in their hands. After the civil wars he never called thoſe who ſerved under him *fellow-ſoldiers*, but only *ſoldiers*, nor would he ſuffer his own or his wife's children to call them otherwiſe, thinking it inconſiſtent with military diſcipline, with the tranquillity of thoſe times, and the grandeur of his family, to treat them with familiarity.

He was no leſs careful in adminiſtering juſtice, than ſevere in exacting military diſcipline; for he not only appointed ſuch judges as were men of known integrity, but was himſelf very aſſiduous in hearing cauſes, often ſitting up with great patience the beſt part of the night; when he was by any indiſpoſition confined to his palace, he uſed then to hear cauſes in his own room lying upon a couch, thinking the adminiſtration of juſtice the chief and indiſpenſable duty of a prince. Notwithſtanding his aſſiduity in hearing cauſes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meaneſt of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and becauſe one preſented him his requeſt ſomewhat timorouſly, he pleaſantly rebuked him, ſaying, *That he had delivered his petition to him, as if he had been preſenting ſomething to an elephant.* To encourage perſons of all ranks to recur freely to him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur; hence he very ſeldom entered, or left any city, but in the night-time, to avoid all formalities, and the attendance of the inhabitants. He never went to the ſenate without ſaluting all the ſenators, in the order they ſat, each of them by his own name; and at his departure took his leave of them in the ſame manner. He aſſiſted in perſon at all public and private feaſts and entertainments till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniencies of a croud He had ſo great an averſion to the title of *dominus* or *lord*, that he looked upon it as a reproach

of the army, acquainted *Tiberius*, that his commands were executed, he anſwered, that he had given no ſuch commands, and

reproach, and even publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grand children not excepted, to give him that title. In the aſſemblies held for the election of magiſtrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and in the courts of judicature, he not only ſuffered himſelf to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates, of the adverſe party, to object againſt his depoſition. How great and powerful ſoever his favourites were in *Rome*, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accuſed perſons in his time, he ſaved but one, by whoſe means he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him, and him he preſerved by prevailing, with his intreaties, upon his accuſer to withdraw his accuſation. The antients give us ſeveral inſtances even of his clemency, after his authority was thoroughly eſtabliſhed. One *Junius Novatus* publiſhed a letter full of bitter invectives againſt him in the name of young *Agrippa*, for which offence *Auguſtus* only laid a ſmall fine upon him. One *Caſſius Patavinus* declared boldly at a public entertainment, that *he neither wanted will nor courage to rid* Rome *of her new monarch*; and *Auguſtus* contented himſelf only with ordering him to depart *Rome*. *Æmilius Ælianus* being accued among other things of ſpeaking of him with great contempt, the emperor turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, *I wiſh with all my heart you could prove it*, ſaid he: *if you did, I would make* Ælianus *know, that I have a tongue as well as he, and can ſay twice as much of him*; and reſented it no further. *Tiberius* likewiſe complaining in a letter to him of the inſolence of *Ælianus*, he returned him this anſwer; *Do not, my dear* Tiberius, *indulge too much in this caſe your paſſion; let us deſpiſe words, and think ourſelves happy if they can do us no greater harm.*

As for his liberality, it knew no bounds; he conſtantly ſupplied with corn above a hundred thouſand families, which he cauſed to be diſtributed monthly among them: he frequently preſented the people with large ſums, giving them ſometimes two, ſometimes three, and ſometimes four hundred ſeſterces a-head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend without intereſt, any ſum to ſuch perſons as were able to ſecure him his principle by double the value. When he publiſhed the law excluding from the ſenate ſuch as were not worth twelve hundred thouſand ſeſterces, out of compaſſion for many noble families, he made up that ſum with his own money. He exhibited at an immenſe charge twenty-four ſhows in his own name, and twenty-three for other magiſtrates who were either abſent, or not able to bear the expence attending them.

:nd that he ſhould be anſwerable to the ſenate for what he had

Thus far of *Auguſtus* as a public magiſtrate: as to his domeſtic and private life, *Suetonius* repreſents him as a tender and careful parent, a conſtant friend, and both a ſevere and gentle maſter. He brought up his daughter and her children with the utmoſt care, not allowing any but perſons of unblemiſhed characters to have acceſs to them: his grandchildren he taught himſelf the rudiments of learning, promiſing himſelf great happineſs from his iſſue, and the care he took of their education; but he was therein, to his inexpreſſible grief, greatly diſappointed, as we have related in the hiſtory of his reign. His friendſhip, when once acquired, was firm and conſtant: he not only rewarded his friends ſervices, but patiently bore with their faults. Of all of them none ever received any ill treatment at his hands, except *Salvidienus Rufus*, and the famous poet *Cornelius Gallus*, who well deſerved it, as we have related above. The reſt of his favourites flouriſhed in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domeſtics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon ſuch of them as behaved well; but *Proculus*, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he cauſed to be put to death, for carrying on intrigues with married women. *Thallus*, another freedman, and his amanuenſis, having betrayed ſome ſecrets for five hundred *denarii*, had his legs broke by his order. Several of his grandſon *Caius*'s attendants he ordered to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money in their maſter's province without his knowledge. He choſe rather to turn into mirth the timorouſneſs of *Diomedes*, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious deſign, when walking with him alone, a wild boar coming ſuddenly upon them, *Diomedes*, to ſecure himſelf, made bold to thruſt his maſter to the boar.

He applied himſelf from his youth to the ſtudy of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of *Modena* he is ſaid not to have paſſed a day in the midſt of his moſt important affairs without reading, writing, and declaiming. He wrote ſeveral books upon different ſubjects; viz. *An anſwer to* Brutus's Cato; *exhortations to the ſtudy of philoſophy*; *the hiſtory of his life* to the *Cantabrian* war in thirteen books; an epic poem intitled *Sicilia*; and a book of epigrams, which he compoſed for the moſt part in his baths: he began a tragedy in a lofty ſtyle, but finding he could not hold out at that rate, he expunged what he had wrote, and being aſked by his friends what was become of *Ajax*, who was the ſubject of the performance, he anſwered, *Ajax has diſpatched himſelf with a ſponge*. Though he was well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, yet he neither ſpoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compoſe any thing in it; when he was obliged to uſe that language, he firſt wrote down in *Latin* what he had a mind to ſay, and then gave it to another to tranſlate into *Greek*. In peruſing the authors of both languages, his chief obſervation was what precepts and examples he might collect

collect for the public or private inſtruction of his ſubjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he copied them word for word, and ſent them to his domeſtics, the governors of the provinces, or the magiſtrates of the city, as any of them wanted admonition; nay, ſometimes he read whole books to the ſenate, and recommended them afterwards to the people by proclamation. His generoſity to men of learning knew no bounds, and hence ſo many famous writers flouriſhed in his time, that the age of *Auguſtus* will ever be looked upon as the age of elegancy and politeneſs; and every admirer of the poets and hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in thoſe days, will be an admirer of *Auguſtus*, who was ſo generous to them, and is the chief ſubject of their panegyrics.

But his virtues were not without the allay of ſome vices highly unbecoming a perſon in his ſtation. He abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, without renouncing even in his old age the vices of his youth: his ſevere laws againſt adultery were no check upon him, no more than the ſacred ties of friendſhip; for he did not ſpare the wife even of his own favourite and faithful counſellor *Mæcenas*. It was not extreme prudence in ſo great a politician to be daily violating his own laws, eſpecially after he had, by ſentencing thoſe to death, who were guilty of adultery, declared how heinous and unpardonable a crime he thought it. *Marc Antony* in one of his letters to him before they quarrelled, rallies him upon his intrigues with ſeveral married women of great diſtinction, whom he names. His friends, to excuſe thoſe ſcandalous practices, which were too notorious to be denied, pretended, that he courted the favour of the wives to diſcover by their means the plots and deſigns of their huſbands. He is ſaid to have divorced *Scribonia* for reſenting the authority of one of his concubines: As for *Livia*, ſhe out of policy indulged his vicious inclinations ſo far, as to make it her buſineſs to bring him acquainted with ſuch women as ſhe thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the ſame vile miniſtry, which gave occaſion to ſeveral lampoons and ſharp ſatyres. *Marc Antony* reproached him with having gained the favour of his great uncle *Julius Cæſar* at the expence of his modeſty, and his brother *Lucius Antonius* charged him with abandoning himſelf, while he was in *Spain*, to the will of *A. Hirtius*, who was afterwards conſul, for three hundred thouſand ſeſterces; hence the people at a comedy not only interpreted to his diſhonour, but applauded, the following expreſſion ſpoke of a prieſt of *Cybele*, playing upon his timbrel, as if it had been ſpoken of him, *Videſne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet? Don't you ſee how the catamite governs the world with one finger?* Some writers have alſo repreſented him as covetous of rich furniture, eſpecially of *Corinthian* veſſels; and tell us, that in the time of the proſcription the following paſquinade was writ under his ſtatue, *Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius*, that is, *My father dealt in money, and I in* Corinthian *veſſels*; for it was ſuppoſed, that ſeveral perſons had been proſcribed for their plate, and that his father had been a banker, which laſt ſuppoſition was intirely groundleſs, for his father was raiſed very early to the high-

eſt honous in the republic. As for his immoderate deſire of rich furniture, *Suetonius* clears him from this imputation, by telling us, that the goods and furniture, of his houſe, which were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, were not rich enough for a private perſon of any taſte, and adding, that at the taking of *Alexandria*, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reſerved for himſelf only a porcelain cup. He was given to gaming, and took great pleaſure in playing at dice, which gave occaſion to the following diſtich, which was made during the war in *Sicily* :

Poſtquam bis claſſe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit aſſidue aleam.

That is, *having loſt his fleet twice at ſea, he plays daily, that he may at laſt win.* But *Suetonius* tells us, that he played only for his diverſion, and not out of a deſire of winning his friends money ; to this purpoſe he quotes one of his letters to *Tiberius*, wherein he tells him, that he had paſſed the feaſt of *Minerva* merrily, and played every day at dice ; Your brother, ſays he to *Tiberius*, was at firſt a great loſer, but in the end came off pretty well, having recovered himſelf beyond expectation : I loſt twenty thouſand ſeſterces ; but had I exacted what was owing to me, or kept what I gave away, I ſhould have won above fifty thouſand. He was naturally very ſuperſtitious, a great obſerver of dreams, and looked upon the flight or chattering of birds as infallible preſages. If in the morning his ſhoes were given him wrong, or the right foot ſhoe preſented to him for the left, he counted it ominous. If it rained when he was ſetting out on a journey, he reckoned it a ſign of a ſpeedy and happy return : he would never begin a journey the day after the *nundinæ*, nor undertake any buſineſs of conſequence upon the *nones* ; he was ſo afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a ſeal's ſkin always about him, imagining, as was then generally believed, that it had we know not what ſecret virtue againſt thunder ; but nevertheleſs, for his greater ſecurity, upon the leaſt apprehenſion of an extraordinary ſtorm, he uſed to ſeek for ſhelter in a vault or cellar under-ground.

Such were the virtues, ſuch the vices of the famous *Auguſtus*. As for his conduct during the civil war, it was ſuch as brought, we may ſay, diſgrace upon uſurpation itſelf. He ſtuck at no crime, however heinous ; but after he had, either by public proſcriptions, or private aſſaſſinations, cut off all thoſe who gave him umbrage, he reigned with moderation over the reſt. He reigned long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace, a great relief after ſo long and deſtructive a war. In this long tranquility, the calamities which had been occaſioned by the war were forgot, and *Auguſtus* cried up as the author of the bleſſings they enjoyed in a profound peace at home. Beſides, the badneſs of his ſucceſſors was a ſignal advantage to his name and memory ; for in proportion as they were deteſted, he was regretted.

had done. This alarmed *Criſpus Salluſtius* (G), who was privy to all the ſecret counſels of *Tiberius*, and had ſent the tribune the warrant: he knew it was equally dangerous to confeſs the truth, and charge the emperor, or to clear the emperor, and accuſe himſelf. In this perplexity he had recourſe to *Livia*, adviſing her, *by no means to divulge the ſecrets of the palace, the counſels of the miniſters, or the ſervices of the ſoldiery*, adding, *that* Tiberius *ſhould beware of weakening the ſovereign authority by referring all things to the ſenate, the nature of abſolute power being ſuch as could not be preſerved intire but in one perſon* [r]. *Livia* followed the advice of *Salluſtius*, and no further mention was made of the murder of the young prince (H).

As

[r] TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 6. DIO, l. lvi. p. 590.

(G) *Criſpus Salluſtius* was born of an equeſtrian family, great-nephew by a ſiſter to the famous hiſtorian *Caius Salluſtius*, and by him adopted; he might have riſen to the greateſt honours in the ſtate, but in imitation of *Mæcenas*, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, he contented himſelf with the title of a *Roman* knight, though he excelled in power many, who had been diſtinguiſhed with conſulſhips and triumphs. In *Mæcenas*'s life-time he was next in favour with *Auguſtus*, and upon the death of that faithful counſellor, he became the chief confident firſt of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards of *Tiberius*, who repoſed an intire confidence in him: he was extreme nice in his dreſs, expenſive in his manner of living, and no ways inferior in luxury and magnificence to *Mæcenas* himſelf; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greateſt affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and ſloth (62).

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Agrippa* was killed by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, after he had read the warrant for his execution to him; which warrant, adds that writer, whether left by *Auguſtus* when he died, to prevent any troubles which might happen upon his death, or contrived by *Livia* in *Auguſtus*'s name, with or without the privity of *Tiberius*, is a thing uncertain to this day (63). But *Tacitus* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Auguſtus* never dipt his hands in his own blood; neither does he think it credible, that he would barbarouſly ſacrifice the life of his grandſon to the ſecurity of his ſtep-ſon. It is therefore more probable, ſays that author, that this haſty murder was purely the work of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and that the young prince fell thus untimely to ſatiate the hatred which *Livia* bore him, and to deliver *Tiberius* from a troubleſome rival. Though the aſſaſſin, who was charged with the execution of this cruel order, was a bold and reſolute cen-

(62) *Tacit annal. l. i.* (63) *Suet. in Tiber. c. 22.*

turion

As ſoon as the death of *Auguſtus* was known at *Rome*, the conſuls, ſenators, and knights, ran headlong into ſlavery, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it. With ſervile flattery they took care to frame their faces ſo as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of *Tiberius*, with feigned grief for the loſs of *Auguſtus*. The two conſuls *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* took firſt the oath of fidelity to *Tiberius*, and then adminiſtered it to the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery; for *Tiberius* affected to derive all his authority from the conſuls and ſenate, as if the antient republic ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet in ſuſpenſe about accepting or rejecting the ſovereign power: he even owned in his edict for ſummoning the ſenate, that he iſſued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under *Auguſtus*, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title for having a ſhare in the public adminiſtration. But notwithſtanding this pretended modeſty, from the moment *Auguſtus* expired, he aſſumed all the prerogatives of an abſolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his perſon, went guarded in the ſtreets, and to the ſenate, and writ letters to the ſeveral armies in the undiſguiſed ſtyle of one who was already maſter of the *Roman* empire, and had under his command all its forces. This he did to prevent the armies in diſtant provinces from declaring for *Germanicus*, who was then in *Germany* at the head of ſeven legions, and a great body of allies. But with the ſenate he proceeded in a quite different manner; when the conſcript fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuſe it, though he had already ſecured it to himſelf, and with a great deal of artifice began to diſcourſe of the greatneſs of the *Roman* empire, and in modeſt terms of his own inſufficiency; telling them, *That the divine genius of* Auguſtus *alone was equal to ſo great a charge; that as for himſelf, he knew by experience, having borne part of* Auguſtus's *cares, how many difficulties, contingencies and dangers, are inſeparably annexed to rule and ſovereignty; that ſince the city was ſo happily repleniſhed with great numbers of illuſtrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden of the adminiſtration upon one perſon, but divide it among many*, &c. When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, and throwing themſelves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him in the moſt low and ſervile manner

Tiberius *affects modeſty.*

He affects to decline the ſovereign power.

turion, or tribune, as *Suetonius* calls him, and found young *Agrippa* unarmed, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he diſpatched him. In him ended the family of *Auguſtus*.

imaginable

imaginable not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himſelf was equal. Then *Tiberius*, pretending to yield to their importunity, *I am*, ſaid he, *unequal to the weight of the whole government; but if you think fit to intruſt me with any particular part, whatever it be, I am ready to undertake it.* Hereupon *Aſinius Gallus* (I) riſing up, *I beg to know*, Cæſar, ſaid he, *what part of the government you deſire for your ſhare?* This unexpected demand ſtartled *Tiberius*, who for a while ſtood mute; but recovering himſelf, anſwered, that *it ill became his modeſty to chuſe or reject any particular branch of the adminiſtration, when he deſired to be excuſed from the whole.* *Gallus*, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that queſtion, as if he deſigned to divide what was in itſelf indiviſible, but to convince him by his own confeſſion, that the commonwealth was but one body, and conſequently could not be governed but by the wiſdom of one perſon: then continuing his ſpeech, he made a long deſcant upon the great merits and accompliſhments of *Tiberius*, of his many victories and conqueſts, of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation, *&c.* but this did not aſſuage the wrath of *Tiberius*, who had long hated *Gallus* for having married *Vipſania Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, whom *Tiberius*

Several ſenators incur his diſpleaſure.

(I) *Aſinius Gallus* was the ſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, the favourite of *Auguſtus*, and great patron of learning, and men of letters. He had been conſul eleven years before, with *Caius Marcius Cenſorinus*, and had alſo borne the office of *triumvir monetalis*, or *overſeer of the coinage*, as appears from one of *Auguſtus*'s medals with this legend on the reverſe, *C. Aſinius Gallus* III. vir. A. A. A. F. F. that is *triumvir, auro, argento, ære, flando, feriundo.* At firſt the conſuls took upon themſelves the care of the mint, and joined two ſenators with them in this office; but afterwards the heads of the republic were eaſed of this trouble, and ſometimes two, ſometimes three, ſometimes four, perſons were appointed to direct and inſpect the coinage, and were called, according to their number, *duumviri, triumviri, quatuorviri monetales, æris, argenti, auri, flatores* (64). Theſe magiſtrates are ſometimes deſcribed on medals which were probably the current coin of the *Romans*, thus; *Cur. X. Fl.* that is, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*, and they were ſo called till the *triumviri montales* were created. But to return to *Aſinius Gallus*, *Suetonius* aſcribes to him a ſmall performance, containing a parallel or compariſon of *Cicero* and his father *Aſinius Pollio*, in which he gave the preference to the latter; in anſwer to this work, the emperor *Claudius* publiſhed a book which he intitled, *A Defence of* Cicero *againſt the writings of* Gallus.

(64) *Vide Pompon. l. ii. de orig. juris.*

rius

rius had been obliged by *Auguſtus* to divorce, to make room for his daughter *Julia.* He ſuſpected that *Aſinius Gallus* by this match deſigned to raiſe himſelf above the rank of a ſubject, and therefore upon this new provocation reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of delivering himſelf from his fears by the death of his ſuppoſed rival. *Lucius Arruntius* (K), *Quintus Haterius*, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, likewiſe incurred on this occaſion the diſpleaſure of *Tiberius*; *Arruntius*, by a ſpeech not much unlike that of *Gallus*; *Hirtius*, by aſking him, *How long*, Cæſar, *will you ſuffer the commonwealth to remain deſtitute of a head?* and *Scaurus*, for ſaying by way of raillery, *There is room to hope, that* Tiberius *will at length yield to the intreaties and prayers of the ſenate, ſince he has not oppoſed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial power, the motion of the conſuls in his behalf.* The ill-timed pleaſure, which theſe illuſtrious citizens took in ſhewing themſelves well appriſed of *Tiberius*'s real intentions, coſt them dear; for he afterwards ſacrificed them all, under various pretences, to his jealouſy and ſuſpicions. Some other ſenators ſpoke ſtill more boldly; and yet we do not find that *Tiberius* ever reſented the liberty they had taken; they were not, in all likelihood, ſo conſiderable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of theſe one, no longer able to bear the ambiguity of his anſwers, with which he held the ſenate in ſuſpenſe, who were all the while at his feet, cried out,

The boldneſs of ſome ſenators.

(K) *A. Lucius Arruntius* was deſcended of an antient and noble family, indowed with extraordinary talents, poſſeſſed of great wealth, and in high favour with the people. *Auguſtus* was well acquainted with his abilities, and not long before his death, in a familiar converſation with his friends, declared his opinion of him; for the diſcourſe turning upon the great men in *Rome*, who were equal to the ſupreme power, and ſome naming *Marcus Lepidus*, others *Aſinius Gallus*, and ſome *Lucius Arruntius*; *Marcus Lepidus* replied *Auguſtus, is indeed capable of the ſupreme power, but will not, in my opinion, accept of it*; Aſinius Gallus *will aſpire at it, but is not qualified for it*; *as for* Lucius Arruntius, *he is both equal to ſo great a charge, and will not fail, upon a proper occaſion, to ſeize it* (65). That he ſpoke thus of *Lepidus* and *Aſinius* is agreed on all hands, but ſome writers, quoted by *Tacitus*, inſtead of *Arruntius* name *Cneius Piſo*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign. All theſe great men, except *Lepidus*, were ſoon cut off by *Tiberius*'s orders, being charged with various crimes feigned by him on purpoſe to get rid of all competitors to the ſovereign power (66).

(65) *Tacit. ibid.* (66) *Idem ibid.*

Let

Let Tiberius *either accept of the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejects it.* Another boldly addreſſing him, *Other men,* ſaid he, *perform ſlowly what they readily promiſe; but you promiſe ſlowly what you have already performed* [t]. And indeed he reigned already, having from the moment *Auguſtus* expired aſſumed all the prerogatives of a ſovereign; but in this myſterious way of dealing with the ſenate, he had two things in view; the firſt was to make the world believe that he had been by the commonwealth choſen, and called to the empire, which was more glorious for him than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a ſuperannuated prince; the ſecond thing he had in view was to diſcover the deſigns and intentions of the great men, and by that means be able to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes [u]. At length pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conſcript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he began to yield by degrees to their requeſt, and in the end accepted the government, but ſo as to give them hopes that he would one day reſign it; his words were, *I accept the empire, and will hold it till ſuch time as you conſcript fathers in your great prudence ſhall think fit to give repoſe to my old age.* Thus was *Tiberius Claudius Drujus Nero* (L), in the

Tiberius *takes upon him the empire.*

[t] TACIT. ibid. c. 11, 12. SUET. ibid. DIO. l. lvii. p. 602.
[u] TACIT. ibid.

(L) The *Claudian* family, of which *Tiberius* was deſcended, was one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*. They were originally of *Regillum*, a city of the *Sabines*, whence, according to ſome writers, they removed to *Rome*, in the time of *Romulus*, being invited thither by *Titus Tatius*, who reigned jointly with him; according to others, whom we have followed (67), in the fourth conſulſhip of *Poplicola*, when they were brought to *Rome* by *Attius Clauſus*, chief of the family, and received into the number of the patricians by the ſenate, who aſſigned them a certain portion of land beyond the *Anio*, and a burying place under the capitol. *Attius Clauſus*, on his arrival at *Rome*, whither he came with five thouſand families of his friends and dependents, changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, and was immediately admitted into the ſenate. In proceſs of time the *Claudian* family was honoured with twenty-eight conſulſhips, five dictatorſhips, ſeven cenſorſhips, ſix triumphs, and two ovations. They were diſtinguiſhed among themſelves by ſeveral Names and ſurnames, but they agreed abſolutely to renounce the name of *Lucius*, which was common in their family, two of that name having been condemned and executed, and to take the name of

(67) *Vide Hiſt Univerſ Vol. XI. p.* 261, 262.

the fifty ſixth year of his age, raiſed to the empire, and inveſted by the ſenate and people with the ſame unbounded power which *Auguſtus* had enjoyed.

Tiberius

Nero in its ſtead, which in the *Sabine* language ſignifies *ſtrong* and *valiant*. Of this family were the famous *Appius Cæcus*, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, *Appius Claudius Nero*, *Appius Claudius* the decemvir, *Appius Claudius Druſus*, *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, of whom we have ſpoken at length in different Places of this work. Of the ſame family were the two celebrated *Claudiæ*, one of whom diſengaged the veſſel, which was ſtranded at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and laden with the ſacred image and the utenſils of the great mother of the gods; the other was arraigned of high treaſon before the people, which had never happened before to any woman, for ſaying, as ſhe paſſed in her chariot through the ſtreets which were much crouded, *I wiſh my brother* Pulcher *were alive, and that by loſing another ſea-fight, he might clear the ſtreets of that throng, and make more room for my chariot:* for *Claudius Pulcher*, as we have related elſewhere (68), having engaged the *Carthaginians* at ſea contrary to the opinion of all his officers, was by them entirely defeated with the loſs of ninety galleys, and twenty-eight thouſand men, killed, drowned, or taken priſoners. *P. Claudius*, the declared enemy of *Cicero*, was likewiſe of this family; but in order to obtain the tribuneſhip, and by the power annexed to that office enable himſelf effectually to deſtroy the *Roman* orator, he renounced his nobility, and got himſelf adopted by a mean plebeian into a very low family. The reſt were all patricians, and had ever been the principal aſſertors of the power and dignity of that order. *Tiberius* was of the patrician family of the *Claudii*, both by the father's ſide, who was deſcended from *Tiberius Nero*, the ſon of *Appius Cæcus*, and by the mother's, who was the daughter of *Appius Pulcher*, brother to the ſaid *Tiberius Nero*. He was alſo allied to the family of the *Livii*, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather. The *Livian* family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheleſs honour'd with eight conſulſhips, two cenſorſhips, one dictatorſhip, and three triumphs. To this family *Rome* was indebted for many citizens of great proweſs and renown, among whom we may well reckon *Livius Salinator*, and *Livius Druſus*; of *Livius Salinator* we have ſpoke elſewhere (69); as to *Livius Druſus*, he is ſaid to have killed in a ſingle combat a general of the enemy, named *Drauſus*, and to have in memory of that exploit aſſumed and tranſmitted to his poſterity the name of *Druſus*. In his prætorſhip he recovered, according to ſome writers, and brought back, the gold which had been given to the *Senones*, when they beſieged the capitol. The father of *Tiberius* was quæſtor to *Julius Cæſar*, and commanded his fleet in the

(68) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XII. p.* 41, 42. (69) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XII. p.* 77. 162.

Alexandrian

Tiberius had no ſooner accepted the empire, than the ſenators, to curry favour with their new ſovereign, were for heaping

Alexandrian war; after which he was by the dictator rewarded for his eminent ſervices, and appointed firſt pontifex in the room of *Publius Scipio*, and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which were ſent into *Gaul*. However, when the dictator was ſlain, and moſt of the ſenators apprehenſive of new troubles, were for paſſing an act of oblivion, *Tiberius*, not thinking that enough, moved, that rewards might be beſtowed on the tyrannicides. In the *Peruſian* war he ſided with *Lucius Antonius* againſt *Octavianus*, and though the reſt abandoned *Lucius*, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forſake him; ſo that he was the only perſon who continued with him to the laſt. When the city of *Peruſia* ſurrendered, he found means to make his eſcape firſt to *Præneſte*, and from thence into *Campania*, where he armed the ſlaves with a deſign to make a ſtand againſt *Octavianus*; but his undiſciplined troops betaking themſelves to flight at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious legions, he was forced to ſhelter himſelf in *Sicily*, where he ſtaid a very ſhort time being diſguſted with *Pompey*, who neither deigned to admit him into his preſence, nor would allow him to have the faſces carried before him, though the time of his prætorſhip, was not yet expired. From *Sicily* he retired into *Greece*, where he was kindly received by *Marc Antony*, and entertained by him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, till a peace being concluded between *Antony*, *Octavianus*, and *Pompey*, and a general amneſty granted, he returned to *Rome* with the reſt of the exiles; where *Auguſtus* falling in love with his wife *Livia Druſilla*, obliged him to yield her to him, though ſhe had already brought him children, among the reſt *Tiberius*, and was then big with child. He died ſoon after, leaving behind him two ſons, *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, ſurnamed *Nero*'s, as we have related above.

Some authors have written, that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, a city of the *Auſones* between *Terracina* and *Formia*; but the moſt credible writers aſſure us, that he was born at *Rome* on mount *Palatine*, the ſixteenth Day before the kalends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being conſul the ſecond time with *L. Munatius Plancus*. In his infancy he ſuffered great hardſhips, and was expoſed to frequent dangers, his parents having taken him along with them in their flight and exile; nay, his mother *Livia*, in their painful journeys round *Sicily* and *Greece*, is ſaid to have carried him great part of the way in her arms, her huſband being abandoned by all his friends, and even his domeſtics, on account of his ſteady adherence to the republican party. Some time after his return to *Rome* one *M. Gallius*, a ſenator, adopted him by his laſt will, and appointed him his heir: *Tiberius* accepted of the eſtate, but declined aſſuming the name of his benefactor, becauſe he had been formerly a zealous ſtickler for the republican party. He made a a funeral oration for his father, when he was but nine years old,

heaping extraordinary honours on his mother: ſome propoſed decreeing her the general title of *mother*, others that of *mother of her country*, and almoſt all moved, that to the name of *Tiberius* ſhould be added, *the ſon of* Livia. But *Tiberius*, jealous of his mother's glory, anſwered, that public honours ought to be conferred upon women warily, and with a ſparing hand, adding, that he would uſe the ſame moderation in re-

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

ceiving which was received with great applauſe. In *Auguſtus*'s triumph for his victory over *Antony* at *Actium*, he attended him on horſe-back with *Marcellus* the ſon of *Octavia*. He afterwards commanded the young noblemen in the *Trojan* ſolemnities, or tournament called *Troy*, which were celebrated in the circus, preſided in the *Actiac* games, inſtituted in memory of *Auguſtus*'s victory at *Actium*, and exhibited ſeveral combats of gladiators in honour of his father *Tiberius*, and grandfather *Druſus*, in one of which he engaged, with three hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſome of the *rudiarii*, or gladiators who had been diſcharged and exempted from fighting, to return to the arena. He entertained the people with ſeveral other magnificent ſhows, partly at the expence of his mother, and partly of his father in-law. His firſt wife was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, and granddaughter of the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, by whom he had his ſon *Druſus*; but though ſhe was with child again, he was obliged much againſt his will to divorce her, and marry *Julia*, the daughter of *Auguſtus*, by whom he had one ſon, who died while he was yet an infant. *Julia* had in her firſt huſband's life-time, expreſſed a great paſſion for *Tiberius*; but after their marriage ſhe deſpiſed him, and was, as is commonly belived, with her ſcandalous and lewd life, the chief cauſe of his ſudden retreat to *Rhodes*.

He firſt ſerved under *Auguſtus* in quality of military tribune in the *Cantabrian* war; ſome time after he was appointed commander in chief of the army, which was ſent into *Armenia* to place *Tigranes* on that throne. On his return from that expedition *Auguſtus* raiſed him to the prætorſhip, and took him with him into *Gaul*, whence he ſent him againſt the *Rhætians* and *Vindelicians*, whom he conquered, reducing their country to a *Roman* province, as we have related above. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt the *Pannonians* and *Germans*, whom he obliged to ſue for peace. *Auguſtus* rewarded his victories with a triumph, which he obtained in his ſecond conſulſhip. But in the height of his glory he left *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*, whence after ſeven years baniſhment, as we may call it, he was allowed to return to *Rome*, reinſtated in the favour of *Auguſtus* by the intereſt of his mother *Livia*, appointed to command the armies in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Illyricum*, made in ſome degree partner of the empire with *Auguſtus*, and in his laſt will named his chief heir (70).

(70) *Vide Suet. in Tiber. & Dio. l.* lvi.

ceiving the honours which ſhould be offered to himſelf. He could not be prevailed upon to ſuffer ſo much as a lictor to be decreed her, tho' every veſtal enjoyed that mark of diſtinction; nay, he prohibited the raiſing her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the *Julian* family, or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus from the very beginning of his reign, he requited with the utmoſt ingratitude the infinite obligations he owed his mother, being aſhamed, as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himſelf indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman [w]. He proved a no leſs cruel huſband, than an undutiful ſon. *Julia* had been long ſince baniſhed by her father into the iſland of *Pandataria* on account of her ſcandalous lewdneſs, and from thence ſome years after removed to the city of *Rhegium* on the ſtraights of *Sicily*, where ſhe ſuffered a leſs painful exile. *Tiberius* in *Auguſtus*'s life-time had ſhewn great tenderneſs and compaſſion for his unhappy wife, and often ſolicited the prince to recall her, and reinſtate her in his favour. But he was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſtopt the ſmall penſion which her father paid her yearly for her ſupport; ſo that the unfortunate princeſs, after a long ſeries of miſeries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her baniſhment [x] (M). At the ſame time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was by *Tiberius*'s orders put to death in the iſland of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Auguſtus*. He was deſcended of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engageing addreſs and behaviour. With theſe parts he had captivated the heart of *Julia*, and debauched her while ſhe was yet *Agrippa*'s wife; *The death of Julia.*

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. c. 53. SUET. l. iii. c. 11.

(M) *Auguſtus* had confined her only to the city of *Rhegium*, but *Tiberius* would not allow her the liberty of going out of the houſe in which ſhe lodged, nor ſuffer any of the inhabitants to converſe with her, or come near her. He deprived her according to *Suetonius* (71), of the ſmall penſion which *Auguſtus* had allowed her for her maintenance, under pretence of an exact and religious obſervance of the laſt will of her father, in which no mention was made of her. But *Dion Caſſius* tells us (72), that he left her a ſmall legacy, tho' he ordained, that neither ſhe nor her daughter ſhould be laid in his mauſolæum; and *Tacitus* ſays, that he cauſed her to periſh with want, ſuppoſing that her tragical death, as ſhe was at a good diſtance from *Rome*, would remain concealed (73).

(71) *Suet. ibid. c.* 5. (72) *Dion. l.* lvi. (73) *Tacit. annal. l.* i.

mother

neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after ſhe was married to *Tiberius*; nay, he is ſuppoſed to have inſpired her with contempt and averſion for her new huſband, and to have dictated the letters, which ſhe wrote to her father, full of bitterneſs againſt *Tiberius*, and painting him in the moſt odious colours. He had therefore been baniſhed by *Auguſtus* to the iſland of *Cercina*, where he had ſuffered great miſeries for fourteen years. But *Tiberius*, not judging baniſhment an adequate puniſhment for the injuries *Sempronius* had done him, ſent or ordered *Lucius Aſprenas*, proconſul of *Africa*, to ſend a band of aſſaſſins to diſpatch him. Theſe upon their landing found the unhappy exile on the ſhore, who, without betraying any fear or ſurprize, went to meet them, and intreat them, being well appriſed of their deſign, to ſuſpend the execution of *Cæſar*'s orders, till he wrote a letter to his wife *Alliaria*, to acquaint her with his laſt will; which he had no ſooner done, than he offered his neck to the ſword of the aſſaſſins with a conſtancy and intrepidity worthy of the *Sempronian* name, though he had in his life-time ſhamefully degenerated from the glory of his anceſtors. Some authors have written, that the aſſaſſins were not ſent directly from *Rome*, but from *Africa*, the crafty tyrant having committed the execution of his orders to *Lucius Aſprenas*, governor of that province, in order to ſcreen himſelf by that means from the imputation of putting to death an illuſtrious citizen of *Rome*, whom his father *Auguſtus* had only condemned to baniſhment, and caſt the odium of ſuch an action on *Aſprenas* [y]. But *Tiberius*'s principal care in the beginning of his reign was to engage in his intereſt his nephew *Germanicus*, who on account of his extraordinary parts, and ſweet temper, was equally adored by the people and ſoldiery. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, yet pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the ſenate to confer any particular honours on *Livia*, he recommended to them his nephew, and even aſked for him the proconſular power; which being granted, he immediately diſpatched into *Germany* perſons of the firſt rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him in his name for the death of *Auguſtus* [z] (N). He then

Sempronius Gracchus one of her chief favourites murdered by Tiberius's orders.

He endeavours to engage Germanicus in his intereſt.

[y] Tacit. ibid. c. 53. [z] Idem ibid.

(N) *Germanicus* had been inveſted with the proconſular power three years before by *Auguſtus*, as *Dion* informs us; the power therefore, which was now conferred upon him at the Requeſt of *Tiberius*, was, no doubt, a confirmation of the proconſular authority

then named twelve candidates for the prætorſhip, among whom were *Velleius Paterculus* the hiſtorian, and his brother; the ſenate deſired him to appoint more, but as that number had been ſettled by *Auguſtus*, he not only refuſed to comply with their requeſt, but bound himſelf by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predeceſſor. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magiſtrates, or at leaſt ſhared it with the emperor, one half of the magiſtrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, aſſembled in the field of *Mars* (O); but *Tiberius* in the firſt elections, deprived them of their antient rights, and transferred them to the ſenate: the people complained of this innovation, but no diſturbances enſued, the ſenate being well pleaſed with the change, ſince by it they were delivered from the charge of buying votes, and the ſhame of begging them [a].

The privilege of creating magiſtrates transferred from the people to the ſenate.

[a] Idem ibid. Dio. l. liv.

rity for life, his ſuch as had been formerly granted to *Auguſtus*. In virtue of this new dignity, *Germanicus* had an almoſt abſolute authority over all the *Roman* forces both in the provinces and the city, and was every-where to be acknowledged as commander in chief, and under *Tiberius* generaliſſimo of the empire.

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Julius Cæſar ſhared the power of creating magiſtrates with the people, except in the election of conſuls*, one half of the magiſtrates being declared by them, and the other by himſelf, which he ſignified by billets ſent to the tribes in theſe words; *I recommend ſuch or ſuch a perſon to you, that by your ſuffrage he may be admitted into ſuch or ſuch an office* (74). The ſame writer in the life of *Auguſtus* informs us, that he reſtored to the aſſemblies of the people the ancient rights, having firſt enacted ſevere laws againſt all ſorts of bribery, and corrupt acquiſition of offices. But whether *Suetonius* by *ancient rights* meant thoſe which the people enjoyed in the times of liberty, or only, the privilege of chuſing one half of the magiſtrates, which they were allowed in the dictatorſhip of *Cæſar*, and afterwards deprived of during the triumvirate, is matter of diſpute among the learned (75). As to the conſuls, they were both named by *Cæſar* the dictator, and afterwards by *Auguſtus*, at leaſt in the firſt years of his reign. *Dion* ſeems to inſinuate, that *Tiberius* named the conſuls himſelf, but allowed the ſenate to chuſe the other magiſtrates, reſerving to himſelf the recommendation of ſome who were to be elected without oppoſition: on the other hand *Tacitus* tells us, that as to the conſular elections, he can ſcarce affirm any thing, there being in this particular a great diſagreement among the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and a ſeeming contradiction in the ſpeeches of *Tiberius* himſelf, always reſerved, always myſterious (76).

(74) *Suet in Julio, c.* 41. (75) *Vide Lipſium in Ecurſ. in annal. Tacit. l.* i. *litera E.* (76) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *in fine.*

Tiberius

Tiberius had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, or, as we may well call it, the throne, when news was brought him, that the armies in *Pannonia* and *Germany* had mutinied. In *Pannonia* three legions, *viz.* the eighth, the ninth, and the thirteenth, being allowed by their general *Julius Blæſus* a relaxation for ſome days from their uſual duties, either to mourn, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, for the death of *Auguſtus*, or to rejoice for the acceſſion of *Tiberius*, they grew wanton, quarrelſome and turbulent, began to hearken to ſeditious diſcourſes, to be fond of an eaſy and idle life, and to have an utter averſion to the toils and diſcipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by one *Percennius*, a common ſoldier, who, before he ſerved in the army, had made it his whole buſineſs to raiſe diſturbances, and form parties in the theatres and play-houſes to hiſs or applaud ſuch players as he diſliked or favoured (P). As he had by this practice acquired a notable talent in ſpeaking to a croud, and inflaming the mob, in the duſk of the evening, when thoſe whom he diſtruſted were withdrawn to their tents, he uſed to aſſemble the moſt turbulent, ſtir them up to mutiny, inflame them againſt their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the preſent occaſion, while the emperor's authority was yet wavering, to prevail upon him either by force or intreaties to redreſs their grievances. *How long*, ſaid he, *ſhall we obey, like ſlaves, a few centurions and tribunes? When ſhall we have courage enough to demand a redreſs of our grievances, if we let ſlip the preſent opportunity? What hinders us from laying our complaints before the new emperor, and obliging him either by our prayers or menaces to liſten to them? Are we doomed to be for ever miſerable? Many of us have already ſerved thirty or forty years, are decrepit with age, and maimed with wounds; and yet either cannot obtain our diſcharge, or after having obtained it, are ſtill kept in the camp under the*

The army in Pannonia *mutinies.*

Percennius *inflames them.*

(P) In the circus and theatres there were in the *Roman* times parties and factions, ſome favouring one actor, and ſome another: the oppoſite parties often came to blows; nay, much blood was ſometimes ſhed in theſe frays. *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Nero* took great pleaſure in theſe theatrical battles; and that being conveyed in his litter into the theatre, he not only beheld from the upper part of the *proſcenium* the oppoſite parties quarrelling about the players, but ſet them together by the ears; and when they were engaged, took great delight in throwing ſtones, and pieces of broken benches, among the croud, with which he once wounded a prætor in the head (77).

(77) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 26.

honourable

honourable title of veterans (Q), *and obliged to undergo the ſame hardſhips, the ſame labours. But ſuppoſe any of us ſhould eſcape ſo many dangers, and outlive ſo many calamities, how in the end ſhall we be rewarded? Under the name of lands we ſhall be doomed to drain bogs and marſhes, or to till barren mountains in countries far remote from our native ſoil. Could our pay afford us a comfortable ſubſiſtence, we ſhould not have ſo much reaſon to complain of the poorneſs of our rewards. But our perſons and lives are valued only at ten aſſes a day, and out of this we muſt buy cloaths, tents, and arms; out of this we muſt bribe our cruel centurions, and redeem ourſelves from their blows: for ſo poor a price we muſt patiently ſuffer ſtripes, wounds, hard winters, laborious ſummers, bloody wars, or a barren peace. For theſe miſeries there is no other remedy left us, than that we refuſe to ſerve but upon certain conditions fixed by ourſelves particularly, that our pay be a* denarius, *or ſixteen aſſes a day* (R); *that ſixteen years be the utmoſt term of ſerving,*

(Q) In the times of the republic thoſe were called veterans, who had ſerved twenty years, after which they were diſcharged, and allowed to retire, if they pleaſed, as *Suidas* informs us: this diſcharge was called *Miſſio*. But under the emperors the veterans, that is, thoſe who had ſerved twenty years, were ſtill kept in the camp till they received the rewards which were due to them on account of their paſt ſervices, and in the mean time were exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight. This diſcharge or exemption from military toils was called by the antients *exauctoratio*, which we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh from what they called *Miſſio*: for after the former they often continued many years under their colours, whereas the latter was an abſolute diſcharge granted to them after they had received their rewards. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* very rarely diſcharged his veterans, that he might be a gainer by their deaths (78); for the rewards due to them were not paid to their heirs. The ſame writer informs us, that *Caligula* in reviewing his army diſcharged ſeveral centurions, who had very near ſerved their time, under pretence that they were too old, and unfit for the ſervice (79). Thus ſome of the emperors declined diſcharging their ſoldiers after they had ſerved their time, and others diſcharged them before; all with the ſame view, to defraud them of their rewards.

(R) The *Roman denarius* was a piece of ſilver firſt coined in the year of *Rome* 484, Q. *Ogulnius Gallus* and Q. *Fabius Pictor* being conſuls. It was at firſt worth ten *aſſes*, and therefore marked with the numeral letter X. It underwent in proceſs of time many changes and reductions; but in the age we are now writing of, it was

(78) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 48. (79) *Idem in Calig. c.* 44.

ſerving, that when this time is expired, we be no longer kept under the colours, but have our rewards paid us in ready money in the camp where we earned it. Do the prætorian cohorts, who receive two denarii a day, and are diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice, undergo greater dangers than we? I do not mean to detract from the merit of the city guards, but only ſay, that we are placed in the midſt of barbarous nations, and cannot look out of our camp without ſeeing the enemy. This harangue was received with great applauſe by the inraged multitude: ſome of them immediately propoſed the incorporating of the three legions into one; but every one claiming for his own legion the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the ſtandards of the cohorts all together, and to raiſe with turf a tribunal, according to the *Roman* cuſtom (S), for the new general they deſigned to chuſe. While they were thus buſy, *Blæſus* arrived; and having ſeverely rebuked ſome, and threatened others, *Dip your hands*

valued at ſixteen aſſes, and hence the mutineers demanded, that their pay might be raiſed from ten aſſes to a *denarius*. *Lipſius* in his notes upon *Tacitus* pretends, that the *denarius* at this time was worth twelve aſſes only; but that he was therein miſtaken, is manifeſt from *Gronovius*'s learned obſervations on the money of the antients (100). The ſoldiers pay was at firſt five aſſes a day; but it was afterwards, at what time preciſely we know not, raiſed to ten. Out of theſe ten aſſes they were to buy cloaths, tents and arms, as is manifeſt from this paſſage of *Tacitus*, contrary to the law publiſhed by *Gracchus*, enacting that the ſoldiers ſhould be ſupplied with arms, cloaths, tents, &c. at the public expence. This law was probably revoked, when their pay was increaſed; but nevertheleſs ſome of the ſucceeding emperors cloathed their ſoldiers at the expence of the public; namely *Alexander Severus*, who, as *Ælius Lampridius* tells us in the life of that emperor, *gave his ſoldiers ſhoes, boots, breeches, coats, and cloaks.*

S) The tribunal, from whence the emperors uſed to harangue their troops, was ſtill, nay, and many ages after, raiſed with turf. *Flavius Vopiſcus*, ſpeaking of the elevation of the emperor *Probus*, *The whole army*, ſays he, *cried out unanimously*, Probus! *we ſalute* Probus *our ſovereign. The gods ſave you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and proclaimed him emperor.* This cuſtom obtained likewiſe among foreign nations, eſpecially in *Britain*, as *Xiphilinus* informs us, who, in ſpeaking of the famous queen *Boadicea*, ſays, that *ſhe aſcended a tribunal reared with turf after the* Roman *manner.* Frequent mention is made of theſe tribunals by the antient poets (1).

(100) *Vide Gronov. pec. vet. l.* iii. *c.* 2.

(1) *Vide Stat. in ſyl. Lucan. l.* v. *& Claud. de bell. Getic.*

rather

rather in my blood, he cried with a loud voice to all; *for to murder your general will be a leſs crime than to revolt from your prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by your hands, to keep you in your obedience; if you think fit to murder me, I hope at the ſight of my blood you will repent of your crime, and return to your duty.* This diſcourſe did not affect the mutinous ſoldiery, who continued their work till it was breaſt-high, when at length, being overcome by the conſtancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was ſomewhat aſſuaged, *Blæſus*, who was an able ſpeaker, remonſtrated to them, that ſedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor; that their demands were new and extraordinary, ſuch as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor they themſelves to the deified *Auguſtus*; beſides, that they were ill-timed, ſince princes in the beginning of their government are taken up and imbaraſſed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never had the confidence to demand, why ſhould they uſe violence, and trample upon the rules of military diſcipline? that they might appoint deputies, and in his preſence give them their inſtructions. At theſe words they all cried out with one voice, that they were willing to ſend deputies; and that the ſon of *Blæſus*, who was a tribune, ſhould be immediately diſpatched to the emperor to demand in their name, that they might be abſolutely diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; they added that when he had obtained this, they would truſt him with their further pretenſions. *Blæſus endeavours to appeaſe them.*

IN the mean time, ſome manipuli or companies, which had been ſent, before the ſedition, to *Nauportum* (T), to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their ſtandards, and falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and *Nauportum* itſelf. The centurions endeavoured to reſtrain their violence, but the mutineers, inſtead of liſtening to their remonſtrances, or betraying any fear of their menaces, firſt derided them, afterwards abuſed them with moſt outrageous language, and at length *The mutineers fall upon Rufus.*

(T) *Nauportum* was a city of *Upper Pannonia*, and is placed by *Strabo*, who calls it *Naupontus*, in the country of the *Tauriſci*, three hundred and fifty furlongs from *Aquileia*. It was ſo called from the river *Nauportus* on which it ſtood (2). *Cluverius* is of opinion, that *Nauportum* ſtood on the ſpot where the preſent city of *Oberlauback* in *Carniola* was afterwards built.

(2) *Vide Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 18r & *Vell. Paterc. l.* xi. *c.* 110.

came to blows. They were chiefly incenſed againſt *Auſidienus Rufus*, who, as he had been long a common ſoldier, and had raiſed himſelf by his courage and bravery to the poſt of *præfectus caſtrorum* (U), was a ſevere obſerver of the primitive diſcipline, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himſelf borne with patience the hardſhips attending it. Upon him the furious multitude firſt vented their rage; they dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and driving him before the firſt ranks, aſked him by way of inſult, how he liked ſuch burdens? how ſuch marches? Upon the arrival of theſe mutinous companies in the camp, the ſedition broke out anew with more fury than ever; the ſeditious, caſting off all obedience, roved about the country without controul, ravaging it on all ſides. Upon their return, *Blæſus*, who was ſtill obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, cauſed thoſe, who were moſt loaded with plunder, to be beaten with rods, and caſt into priſon (W). But the furious multitude, flying to the relief

(U) This was, without all doubt, a new office, inſtituted probably by *Auguſtus*; for no mention is made of the *præfectus caſtrorum* by any author, who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for incamping, and lay it out, to diſtribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raiſing the ramparts, digging the ditches, *&c.* He had alſo under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools, belonging to the army (3). Each legion had a *præfectus caſtrorum*, at leaſt when they incamped ſeparately; for *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of one *Pœnius Poſthumius*, calls him *præfectus Caſtrorum ſecundæ legionis* (4). The ſame writer ſeems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for in deſcribing *Vitellius*'s entry into *Rome* he tells us, that before their ſeveral eagles marched firſt the *præfecti caſtrorum*, next to them the tribunes, and after the tribunes the chief centurions (5). *Veſpaſius Pollio*, the grand-father of the emperor *Veſpaſian*, was *præfectus caſtrorum*. But we muſt not on that account confound, as a modern writer has done whom *Lipſius* confutes, the *præfectus caſtrorum* with the *præfectus prætorii*, an officer of a much ſuperior rank.

(W) From this paſſage it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* built priſons in their camp, and alſo from the following lines of *Juvenal*:

Inde fides arti, ſonuit ſi dextera ferro
Lævaque, ſi longe caſtrorum in carcere manſit (6).

Theſe criminals were dragged along with the army in chains, when they decamped.

(3) *Vide Veget. l.* xi. *c.* 10. (4) *Tacit. l* xiv. (5) *Tacit hiſtor. l.* ii. (6) *Juvenal ſatyr.* 6.

of

of the criminals, reſcued them out of the hands of the lictors, and, breaking open the priſon, ſet all the priſoners at liberty. After ſo bold an attempt the mutineers grew more outrageous, and the mutiny more general. One *Vibulenus*, a common ſoldier, being raiſed on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of *Blæſus*, addreſſed thoſe who had delivered the priſoners thus: *I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal you have ſhewn for theſe innocent and unhappy ſufferers: you have reſtored them to their liberty: but who will reſtore life to my brother? who my brother to me? He was ſent from the army in* Germany *with propoſals for our common good: but our cruel general cauſed him to be butchered laſt night by his gladiators* (X), *whom he entertains and arms for our deſtruction.* Then turning to *Blæſus*, *Tell me*, Blæſus, ſaid he, *where have you thrown his mangled body? Even the moſt cruel enemies do not deny burial to the ſlain. When I ſhall have ſatisfied my grief with a thouſand kiſſes, and a flood of tears, command me alſo to be maſſacred, that our fellow-ſoldiers may bury my brother and me together, both inhumanly murdered for conſulting the common good of the legions.* When *Vibulenus* had ended his ſpeech, he threw himſelf at the feet of his companions, and beating his breaſt, tearing his face, and ſhewing all the ſymptoms of the deepeſt ſorrow, he endeavoured to raiſe at the ſame time pity and fury in the minds of the multitude, and indeed with good ſucceſs; for they fell immediately upon *Blæſus*'s gladiators and domeſtics, and having bound them, diſperſed themſelves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in queſt of the ſuppoſed corpſe, which if they had found, *Blæſus* himſelf would have been in great danger; but as they could find no corpſe, and it manifeſtly appeared from the depoſitions of *Blæſus*'s ſlaves upon the rack, and of other credible witneſſes, that the whole was a calumny maliciouſly invented, and that *Vibulenus* never had any brother, they ſpared their general; but nevertheleſs in the height of their rage, fell upon the *præfectus caſtrorum*, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion *Lucilius*, whom they hated above all the reſt on account of his ſeverity, and had by way of ſarcaſm nicknamed *Cede alteram*, *Reach me another*, becauſe when he had broke one rod, or vine-twig, which was made

They are ſtirred up by Vibulenus.

They fall upon their officers.

(X) Moſt of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vaſt numbers of gladiators at an immenſe charge for the public ſhows. We muſt not therefore imagine, that the gladiators mentioned in this place were liſted in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

uſe

uſe of on ſuch occaſions, upon the back of a ſoldier, he was wont to call for another, and then a third (Y). The other centurions withdrew, and abſconded, all except *Julius Clemens*, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained with a deſign to commit the management of their affairs to him. Another centurion, nicknamed *Sirpicus* (Z), had like to have occaſioned a bloody quarrel between the eighth and fifteenth legion, the former inſiſting upon his being put to death, and the latter protecting him; but the ninth legion, what with intreaties, what with menaces, compoſed the difference [b].

Druſus *ſent to quell the tumult.*

Tiberius no ſooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he diſpatched his ſon *Druſus* to the rebellious legions at the head of the prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horſe, and the main body of the *German* horſe, at this time the emperor's guards (A). The prætorian cohorts were on this occaſion reinforced with an extraordinary addition of choſen men. Among the perſons of diſtinction who were ordered to attend and aſſiſt *Druſus*, in bringing back the revolted legions to their duty, were *Cneius Lentulus*, an officer of great fame and experience, and *Ælius Sejanus*, who had been lately joined with his father *Strabo* in the commiſſion of *præfectus prætorii*, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (B). *Sejanus* was appointed

[b] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 16—30.

(Y) We have another inſtance of a nick-name made up of different words in the life of the emperor *Aurelian* wrote by *Flavius Vopiſcus*, who tells us, that there being two *Aurelians* in the army, and both tribunes at the ſame time, the ſoldiers uſed by way of diſtinction to call the *Aurelian* who was afterwards emperor, *Aurelianus Manu ad ferrum*, becauſe he was on all occaſions ready to draw his ſword.

(Z) The word *Sirpicus* may be derived from the ancient verb *Sirpare*, which ſignifies *to bind*, and is uſed in that ſignification by *Varro* (7). The centurion was perhaps called *Sirpicus*, becauſe he had frequently in his mouth that obſolete verb; perhaps becauſe he kept the ſoldiers to their duty with great ſeverity, and cauſed them to be bound and caſt into priſon for the leaſt breach of military diſcipline.

(A) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Auguſtus*, after the defeat of *Varus*, who was cut off with three legions in *Germany*, diſbanded all his *German* guards (8). But *Tiberius*, it ſeems, ſet that corps on foot again, in the very beginning of his reign.

(B) The *præfectus prætorii* was the chief commander of the

(7) *Varro. l.* iv. *ling. Latin.* (8) *Suet. in Aug. c.* 49.

emperor's

appointed governor to the young prince; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might either with promiſes or intreaties bring the ſeditious to a ſenſe of their duty. When news was brought to the camp that *Druſus* approached, the legions in token of reſpect marched out to meet him, not with their uſual gaiety and ſhouts of joy, but in a ſullen ſilence, diſplaying in their countenances marks of ſadneſs mixed with fierceneſs and rage. As ſoon as *Druſus* entered the camp, he placed guards at all the gates, and parties under arms in ſeveral quarters, to be ready againſt any ſurpriſe. *Druſus* immediately aſcended the tribunal, and having made a ſign with his hand to the crouds that ſurrounded it to be ſilent, he read to them his father's letter; the ſubſtance of which was, that he would take a particular care of the brave legions with whom he had ſucceſsfully carried on ſo many wars; that as ſoon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the ſenate about their demands; that in the mean time, he had ſent them his ſon, and impowered him to make them forthwith ſuch conceſſions as could be made without further conſultation; but as to other demands, they were to be referred to the ſenate, whom he would not by any means deprive of the right of diſtributing rewards and puniſhments. When *Druſus* had read his father's letter, the aſſembly appointed the centurion *Julius Clemens* to be their ſpeaker; who accordingly began with propoſing to *Druſus* their demands, which were, that they ſhould be diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; that they ſhould upon that diſcharge receive the rewards which they claimed; that their pay ſhould be increaſed to a *Roman denarius*, and that the veterans ſhould be no longer detained under their enſigns. To theſe demands *Druſus* anſwered, that they exceeded his power, and therefore ought to be laid before

How received.

Tiberius's letter to them.

Their demands.

Druſus's anſwer inflames them.

emperor's guards called *Prætorians* from the *Latin* word *Prætorium*, which at firſt ſignified the general's quarters in the camp, the word *prætor* being in the firſt ages of the republic common to all magiſtrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors by *prætorium* was meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his houſe in the city: hence in *prætorium accipi*, is to be liſted among the prætorian ſoldiers, or the emperor's guards (9). *Auguſtus* was the firſt, as *Dion* informs us (10), who gave the title of *præfectus prætorii* to the chief officer of his guards. The *præfecti prætorii* under *Conſtantine the Great*, and his ſucceſſors, were the firſt officers of the empire, and had quite different functions from thoſe of the *præfecti prætorii* appointed by *Auguſtus*.

(9) *Vide. Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 48. (10) *Dio. l.* lv. *p.* 555.

the

the ſenate and his father. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the multitude cried out with one voice, *To what end then are you come, ſince you can neither increaſe our pay, nor redreſs our grievances? Every officer is allowed to puniſh us with blows, and even death; and the ſon of the emperor has not power to relieve us by one beneficent action!* Druſus, *we find, has already attained to a great perfection in the arts and policy of his father, who, to fruſtrate the requeſts of the ſoldiers, uſed to refer all to* Auguſtus. *It is ſurpriſing, that the emperor ſhould take upon himſelf the command and whole direction of the army, and at the ſame time refer the ſoldiery to the ſenate for their rewards! Why ſhould he not in like manner conſult the ſenate, when a battle is to be fought, or a ſoldier to be puniſhed? Are puniſhments to be inflicted without any controul or reſtraint, and rewards not beſtowed without the conſent and approbation of many?* Having thus ſpoke, they left the tribunal, threatening and inſulting all thoſe they met belonging to *Druſus*, either as friends or guards, in order to pick a quarrel with them, and have ſome pretence to fall upon them ſword in hand. They were chiefly inraged againſt *Cneius Lentulus*, who they ſuſpected had hardened the young prince againſt their complaints, and encouraged him to deſpiſe the menaces of the ſoldiery. Of this *Lentulus* was well appriſed, and therefore reſolved, before their fury broke out, to quit the camp, and return to his winter-quarters. But, as he was departing, the mutineers ſurrounding him aſked, whither he went? to the emperor or ſenate, to oppoſe their advantages with them as he had done in the camp with *Druſus?* Theſe words were followed with a ſhower of ſtones, and he had been ſoon diſpatched, had not the troops that attended *Druſus*, who was with him, reſcued him already covered with wounds and blood. As the inraged multitude ſeemed now determined to keep no meaſures, *Druſus* was under dreadful apprehenſions of the following night, which every one believed would prove fatal to many, perhaps to *Druſus* himſelf. But it happend quite otherwiſe. Ignorance and ſuperſtition that very night put an end to the revolt, reſtored calm to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the ſoldiery, after they had ſo long continued deaf to reaſon, and trampled upon all the laws of military diſcipline. The moon all on a ſudden began to darken in the midſt of a clear ſky, till ſhe was by degrees totally eclipſed (C). The ſoldiery, ig-

They inſult Cn. Lentulus.

(C) This total eclipſe happened, according to the learned biſhop *Uſher*, on the twenty ſeventh of *September*, at five in the morning.

norant

norant of the natural cauſes of this phænomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to ſhew ſome ſigns of repentance. *Druſus* did not fail to improve this their diſpoſition; he immediately ſent the centurion *Julius Clemens*, and other officers and ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inſpire them with a love of their duty. Theſe, purſuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and inſinuating themſelves every-where, firſt prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to ſeparate. After this the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, thoſe who guarded the gates to keep *Druſus*, as it were, beſieged, retired from their poſts; the eagles and other enſigns, which in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to its proper place; and, after ſo dreadful a ſtorm, calm and tranquillity reſtored to every quarter of the camp.

They are frightened by an eclipſe of the moon, and return to their duty.

EARLY next morning, *Druſus*, having ſummoned an aſſembly aſcended the tribunal, and though unſkilled in ſpeaking, yet with a haughtineſs natural to the *Claudian* family, inveighed againſt their paſt, and commended their preſent behaviour. After this great debates aroſe in his council, ſome adviſing him to ſuſpend all proceedings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to ſend with their petitions to *Tiberius*, while others were immediately for condemning and executing the ring-leaders of the ſedition. *Druſus*, as he was naturally inclined to ſeverity, followed the advice of the latter; and having ſummoned *Vibulenus* and *Percennius* before his tribunal, he condemned them, and cauſed them immediately to be executed. Some writers ſay, that they were privately executed, and buried in *Druſus*'s tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the intrenchments to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The other ring-leaders of the ſedition were diſcovered ſculking about the camp, and either ſlain by the centurions and prætorian guards, or delivered up to *Druſus* by their comrades as a proof of their ſincere repentance. After this they were terrified anew with dreadful ſtorms, and ſuch violent rains, that they could not ſtir out of their tents; which they looking upon as ſent by the angry gods, reſolved to abandon a camp, which they had polluted with ſo many crimes, and return to their ſeveral gariſons. Accordingly the eighth le-

The authors of the revolt condemned and executed.

[b] Idem ibid.

gion departed firſt, and then the fifteenth, though earneſtly preſſed by the ninth to wait till the return of their deputies: at length the ninth likewiſe, their courage failing them after they were deſerted by the other two, abandoned the camp, and quietly followed them. *Druſus*, ſeeing tranquillity thus reſtored, returned to *Rome* to acquaint *Tiberius* with the ſucceſs of his negotiations, which indeed was more owing to chance than his addreſs [c].

The legions in Germany revolt.

Almost at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſes, the legions in *Germany* revolted with far greater fury, as they were far more numerous. On the *Rhine* were quartered two armies, the one called the *Upper*, commanded by *Caius Silius*, the other the *Lower*, by *Aulus Cæcina*; but the chief command of both was veſted in *Germanicus*, who was then buſy in collecting the tribute in *Gaul*. The legions under *Silius*, however diſcontented, waited for the ſucceſs of the revolt, which the *Lower* army had begun. The latter, conſiſting of four legions, *viz.* the firſt, the fifth, the twentieth, and the one and twentieth, were incamped on the borders of the *Ubii* (D); where they no ſooner received the news

[c] Idem ibid.

(D) The *Ubii* in *Cæſar*'s time dwelt on the other ſide the *Rhine*, as is manifeſt from his commentaries, where he ſpeaks of them thus: *The country of the* Suevi *is bounded on the other ſide by that of the* Ubii, *who poſſeſs a large and flouriſhing city, and are a people far more polite than the other* Germans, *becauſe lying nearer the* Rhine, *they have more commerce with merchants, and converſation with the* Gauls; *with theſe the* Suevi *had many diſputes; and tho' the* Ubii *were ſo experienced ſoldiers, ſo powerful and ſo numerous a people, that they could not expel them the country, yet they made them their tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition* (11). And elſewhere; *The* Ubii, ſays he, *the only people on the other ſide the* Rhine, *who had ſent embaſſadors to* Cæſar, *had entered into an alliance with him, and delivered hoſtages, earneſtly deſiring him to aſſiſt them againſt the oppreſſions of the* Suevi; *if the ſtate of affairs did not permit him to go in perſon, they begged that he would only ſend his army into* Germany; *for ſo great was the reputation which the* Romans *had acquired by defeating* Arioviſtus, *that if they appeared in defence of the* Ubii, *if they owned them for their allies, their name alone would be ſufficient to defend them from the inſults of the remoteſt* Germans (12). For their ſake chiefly, *Cæſar* reſolved to croſs the *Rhine*, and not thinking it either ſafe to tranſport his army in boats,

(11) *Cæſar. comment. l. iv. c.* 3. (12) *Idem ibid. c.* 16

or

news of *Auguſtus*'s death, than the recruits lately raiſed in *Rome*, men accuſtomed to the ſoftneſs and gaieties of the city, and impatient of military labour and diſcipline, began to ſtir up the reſt with ſeditious harangues, inſinuating, that a favourable opportunity offered at length for the veterans to demand an abſolute diſcharge, for the ſoldiers who had not ſerved out their time, to inſiſt upon larger pay, and for all to obtain by ſome means or other a mitigation of their miſeries. We could not have wiſhed for a more favourable conjuncture, ſaid they, to be revenged on the centurions for their cruelties: the fate of *Rome* depends upon us: we have inlarged the empire with our victories: to us the *Cæſars* are indebted for the glorious ſurname of *Germanicus*. As *Cæcina*, inſtead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their reſentment, and, dragging them to the ground, diſcharged upon each of them ſixty blows, that is, as many as there were centurions in a legion (E). Then, thus bruiſed, and near expiring, they drove them

Their demands.

They fall upon their centurions.

or ſuitable to his character, and the dignity of the *Roman* name, he built the famous bridge, which he minutely deſcribes in his commentaries. As the *Ubii* continued faithful to *Rome*, and were on that account greatly harraſſed by their *German* neighbours, they were allowed by the *Romans* to ſettle on the oppoſite bank of the *Rhine*. This migration happened, according to *Strabo*, in the reign of *Auguſtus*; for that writer, ſpeaking of the *Treviri*, adds, *Next to them dwelt the* Ubii, *whom* Agrippa, *agreeably to their inclination, placed on this ſide the* Rhine (13). *Dion Caſſius* mentions two expeditions of *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, the firſt in his firſt conſulſhip, the ſecond eighteen years after in the conſulſhip of *C. Sentius* and *Q. Lucretius* (14). It is moſt likely, that the migration of the *Ubii* happened in the firſt expedition: for then he built, as *Dion* informs us, a bridge croſs the *Rhine*. *Tacitus* ſpeaking of the *Ubii*, ſays, that they came from beyond the *Rhine*, and that for the many proofs of their fidelity, they were ſettled upon the bank of that river, not to be there guarded, but to guard and defend that boundary againſt the reſt of the *Germans*. The country allotted to them comprehended the greater part of the preſent dutchy of *Juliers*, and almoſt the whole archbiſhoprick of *Cologne*.

(E) There were in a complete legion thirty *manipuli*, or companies; each company conſiſted of a hundred and twenty men, and was divided into two bands, or, as the antients ſtyle them, *orders*; each order conſiſted of ſixty men, and had its peculiar centurion;

(13) *Strab. l. iv p.* 134. (14) *Dio. l. xlviii. & liv.*

them ignominiouſly out of the camp, nay, ſome they threw into the *Rhine.* One *Septimius* fled for refuge to the tribunal of *Cæcina*; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incenſed multitude. *Caſſius Chærea*, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor *Caligula*, boldly opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the croud. After this the mutineers, deſpiſing the authority of their tribunes, and their *præfecti caſtrorum*, ſet and relieved the centries themſelves; appointed the guard, and gave ſuch orders as they judged proper in the preſent conjuncture.

Germanicus endeavours to appeaſe them.

In the mean time *Germanicus*, who, as we have hinted above, was collecting the tribute in *Gaul*, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expreſſing their diſſatisfaction with hideous clamours; nay, ſome, taking him by the hand, as if they deſigned to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to ſhew him they had with age loſt all their teeth; others deſired him to behold their hoary heads, the wounds they had received, *&c.* *Germanicus*, inſtead of returning any anſwer to particulars, as ſoon as he had entered the intrenchments, ordered them to range themſelves into manipull, and place before them their ſeveral enſigns, as was cuſtomary when the general aſſembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed ſlowly and with reluctance; then *Germanicus* beginning his ſpeech with an encomium upon *Auguſtus*, proceeded to the many victories of *Tiberius*, inlarging on the glorious exploits he had atchieved in *Germany*, with thoſe very legions; he then acquainted them, that all *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, and every province of the empire, had received and acknowledged *Tiberius* for emperor, without betraying the leaſt diſaffection. Thus far they liſtened to him with attention; but when he began to expoſtulate with them about their ſeditious behaviour, the ſcene changed; *Germanicus* was interrupted with loud clamours and a general uproar; ſome ſtripping themſelves ſhewed him the ſcars of the many wounds they had received; others the marks of the ſtripes inflicted on them by the mercileſs centurions; they urged their ſcanty pay, their great labours, the hardſhips attending a military life, *&c.* Above all, from the ve-

They lay their complaints before him.

ſo that there were in a complete legion ſixty centurions, and each centurion had ſixty men under his command (15).

(15) *Vide Lipſ. de militia Rom. l.* ii. *dial.* 5, & 8, & *Dion. Hal. l.* ix.

terans

leraris aroſe a dreadful cry; they enumerated thirty years of ervice and upwards, and begged, that to men quite ſpent and worn out he would at length grant ſome reſpite, that he would not ſuffer them to be indebted to death for their relief, but diſcharge them forthwith, and allow them a comfortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which had been bequeathed to them by *Auguſtus*, mixing with their demands zealous vows and omens of happineſs for *Germanicus*; nay, ſome went ſo far as openly to declare, that they would ſtand by him to the laſt, if he would himſelf aſſume the empire. At theſe words *Germanicus*, ſtruck with horror, leaped from the tribunal; and attempted to make his eſcape; leſt he ſhould be ſtained with their treaſon: but the ſeditious legionaries, drawing their ſwords, ſtopt him, and even threatened to kill him; if he offered to withdraw. Then the generous *Germanicus*, proteſting that he would rather die than betray the truſt repoſed in him, drew his ſword, and would have ſacrificed his life to his fidelity; had not thoſe who ſtood next to him ſeized his hand, and reſtrained him by force. There were not, however, ſome wanting in the aſſembly, who cried out to him *to ſtrike*, and not ſpare himſelf; nay, one *Caluſidius*, a common ſoldier, offered him his naked ſword, ſaying, *Take this*, Germanicus, *it is perhaps ſharper than your own*; a behaviour which was highly condemned by the reſt as ſavage and barbarous. In the mean time the friends of *Germanicus* had time to convey him out of the croud to his tent; and there to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a juncture. For *Germanicus* was informed, that the ring-leaders of the ſedition were preparing to diſpatch meſſengers to the upper army, in order to draw them too into the revolt; that they deſigned to plunder the city of the *Ubii* (F); and that the *Germans*, already acquainted

And offer him the empire.

Which he generouſly refuſes.

(F) By *the city of the* Ubii *Tacitus* means *Colonia Agrippinenſis*, which he calls *the city of the* Ubii, either becauſe it was their metropolis, or becauſe they had not yet built any other. They probably laid the foundations of this city upon their firſt ſettling on this ſide the *Rhine*. It was afterwards made a *Roman* colony, and peopled by veterans in the conſulſhip of *C. Antiſtius* and *M. Sullius*, at the requeſt of *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, and wife of the emperor *Claudius*, who was born there. From her it was called *Colonia Agrippinenſis*, and in after ages *Agrippina*; which has made ſome writers doubt, whether it borrowed its name from *Agrippina*, or from her grandfather *Agrippa*, who brought the *Ubii* over the *Rhine*. But to *Lipſius* this doubt ſeems quite groundleſs, ſince the colony, had he been the founder of it, would have been called

quainted with the ſedition in the *Roman* army, were ready to invade *Gaul*, as ſoon as the banks of the *Rhine* were left unguarded. In the council, which *Germanicus* held in his own tent, various meaſures were propoſed, and at laſt the following reſolution unanimouſly agreed to, *viz.* that letters ſhould be feigned from *Tiberius*, with directions, that thoſe who had ſerved twenty years ſhould be finally diſcharged; that ſuch as had ſerved ſixteen ſhould be deemed veterans; and that the legacy, which they demanded, ſhould not only be paid, but doubled. But the mutineers, ſuſpecting theſe conceſſions to be forged purely to gain time, inſiſted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes therefore were obliged to diſcharge immediately the veterans; but as to the payment of the legacy, *Germanicus* would fain have put it off, till they were retired to their winter-quarters; and indeed the firſt legion and the twentieth truſted him upon his word, but the fifth and the one-and-twentieth refuſed to ſtir from the camp till they were ſatisfied; ſo that he was obliged to raiſe the ſum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them to defray the expences of their journey, which they no ſooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. *Germanicus* then haſtened to the upper army under the command of *Silius*, and eaſily prevailed upon the ſecond, the thirteenth, and the ſixteenth, to ſwear allegiance to *Tiberius*; the fourteenth ſhewed ſome heſitation, but *Germanicus* diſcharging forthwith the veterans, and paying the reſt the money bequeathed them by *Auguſtus*, cut off all occaſion of complaints.

He feigns letters from Tiberius, *granting their demands.*

And ſatisfies ſome with his own money.

Some veterans in the country of the Chauci *revolt, but are quelled by* Memmius.

But a party of veterans (G) belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in gariſon in the country of the *Chauci* (H), began a ſedition there, which was at firſt quelled by Memmius, called *Colonia Agrippenſis*, and not *Agrippinenſis*. What name it bore before it was made a *Roman* colony, we find no where mentioned; for *Tacitus* calls it conſtantly *the city of the* Ubii.

(G) The veterans formed a corps apart, and had their peculiar ſtandard called *Vexillum*, whence they are commonly ſtyled by the antients *Vexillarii* and alſo *Emeriti*, from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued till they received the rewards due for their ſervice: and their final diſcharge, which the emperors uſed, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promiſed lands or money.

(H) The *Chauci* inhabited *Eaſt-Frieſland*, the counties of *Hny* and *Oldenburg*, the dutchy of *Bremen*, and part of *Lavenburg*. *Tacitus* deſcribes the ſituation of their country, and the manners of the people

led by *Memmius*, *præfect of the camp*, who, though not veſted with any ſuch power (I), put inſtantly two of the ring-leaders of the ſedition to death. But the tumult breaking out afterwards with freſh fury, *Memmius* was obliged to withdraw himſelf from their rage, and lie concealed: the mutineers diſcovered him, and then *Memmius* declaring, that theſe outrages were not offered to him, but to *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, who would not fail to reſent them, he ſnatched the colours, faced about towards the *Rhine*, and boldly threatening thoſe, who ſhould dare to abandon their ranks, with the puniſhments due to deſerters, he led them back to their winter-quarters. In the mean time deputies ſent either by *Tiberius* or the ſenate, probably to quell the ſedition, meeting *Germanicus* near the *altar of the* Ubii (K), gave occaſion to new diſturbances. The firſt and the twenti.th legions, who were incamped there with thoſe

The diſturbances revived.

people, thus; *Germany* extends northward a great way; firſt of all occurs the nation of the *Chauci*, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the *Friſians*, and poſſeſs part of the ſhore, extend ſo far as to border upon the ſeveral people, of whom I have already ſpoken, till they reach quite to the borders of the *Catti*; ſo vaſt a country the *Chauci* not only poſſeſs, but fill! They are the moſt noble people of *Germany*, and chuſe rather to maintain their grandeur by juſtice than violence; they live quietly, free from the ambition of poſſeſſing more, and of domineering over others. They give no occaſion to wars, they ravage no countries; without wronging or oppreſſing others, they are come to be ſuperior to all (16). However, they drove out the *Anſibarii*, and ſeized on their country, and made incurſions into *Lower Germany*, as *Tacitus* himſelf informs us elſewhere (17).

(I) The power of life and death was at firſt lodged only in the commander in chief of the whole army, but afterwards extended by *Auguſtus* to his lieutenants, and by the other emperors to the proconſuls, proprætors, and all the governors of provinces; but no ſuch power was ever granted to the præfects of the camp, to the tribunes, or other inferior officers.

(K) This altar was probably raiſed in honour of *Auguſtus*, and ſeems to have been at a ſmall diſtance from *Cologne*: *Cluverius* is of opinion, that the city of *Bon*, called by the antients *Bonna*, was built in the place where this altar ſtood; but he is therein contradicted by *Lipſius* and others, who from ſeveral paſſages out of *Tacitus* ſhew pretty plainly, that *the altar of the* Ubii ſtood in the neighbourhood of their city, that is, of *Cologne*, whereas *Bonna* was twelve miles diſtant from it.

(16) *Tacit. de mor. German. c.* 35. (17) *Idem annal. l.* xiii. *c.* 55, & *hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 19.

legionaries,

legionaries, who had been lately placed under the ſtandard of the veterans, apprehending that theſe deputies were come to revoke the conceſſions, which they had extorted by their ſedition, and imputing the imaginary decree to *Munatius Plancus*, who had been conſul the year before, and was at the head of this deputation, they reſolved to vent their rage chiefly upon him; which he being aware of, fled for refuge to the quarters of the firſt legion, and there embracing the eagle and other enſigns, hoped the veneration, which the ſoldiers paid them, would reſtrain their fury. But had not *Calpurnius* the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and reſolution, repulſed the audacious multitude, the *Roman* camp had been ſtained with the blood of an embaſſador of the *Roman* people. This diſorder happened in the night, and early next morning *Germaniçus* entering the camp, aſcended the tribunal, and placing *Plancus* by himſelf on the tribunal, inveighed againſt the horrible diſorders of the preceding night, acquainted the ſoldiery with the true purpoſes of that embaſſy, complained in an affecting manner of the unheard-of outrages offered to *Plancus* without any provocation, aggravated the diſgrace which the violating the ſacred perſon of an embaſſador brought upon the legions, *&c.* But as the aſſembly ſhewed no great tokens of repentance, he firſt diſmiſſed the deputies under a ſtrong guard of auxiliary horſe, and then, at the motion of his friends, ſolicited his wife *Agrippina*, who had attended him with her ſon *Caius*, at that time an infant, into *Germany*, and was big with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and not expoſe herſelf to the fury of an outrageous multitude.

Germanicus ſends away his wife Agrippina, and his ſon Caius.

Agrippina was unwilling to leave him, urging, that it was below her, who was the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, to betray any fear, or abandon her huſband in time of danger. But *Germanicus*, tenderly embracing her and their little ſon, prevailed upon her at length by his tears and intreaties to depart. As ſhe was attended by many women of diſtinction, wives of the chief officers in the camp, who it ſeems in thoſe days accompanied their huſbands in all their military expeditions, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their huſbands, occaſioned a great uproar in the camp, and drew together the ſoldiers from all quarters. This was ſo melting a ſcene, that the moſt obſtinate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being at the ſame time ſeized with ſhame and compaſſion, ſo many women of rank travelling thus forlorn without a centurion to attend them, or a ſoldier to guard them, and their general's wife among them, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for ſhelter againſt the

Their deportment affects the ſoldiery.

the fury of the *Roman* legions to *Treves*, as if ſhe repoſed greater confidence in foreigners, than in her own countrymen. This made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that ſome ran to ſtop her, while the reſt recurring to *Germanicus*, earneſtly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be laid, to their eternal ſhame and diſgrace, that the daughter of *Agrippa*, the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, the daughter-in-law of *Druſus*, whoſe memory they adored, had been frightened from the *Roman* camp, and obliged to ſeek ſanctuary among foreigners. *Germanicus*, obſerving both their ſentiments and countenances changed, reſolved to improve their preſent diſpoſition; and accordingly in a long and affecting harangue, which in the height of his grief he uttered with great vehemence, he painted to them the blackneſs of their guilt in ſuch lively colours, that they not only confeſſed, that all his reproaches were true, but, their minds being quite changed, they earneſtly beſought him to puniſh the authors of the late ſedition, by whom they had been miſled, and offered to march forthwith againſt the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and his ſon. *Germanicus*, finding them intirely reclaimed, anſwered, that his ſon ſhould return, but againſt the recalling of *Agrippina* he alledged the ſeaſon already far advanced, and her approaching delivery; and as to the puniſhing the authors of the ſedition, he told them, that he left that to them. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the legionaries ran to ſeize the chief authors of the ſedition, and dragged them in chains to *Caius Cetronius*, commander of the firſt legion, who judged and puniſhed them in the following manner: The legions with their drawn ſwords ſurrounded the tribunal, from whence the priſoner was expoſed to their view; if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. As *Germanicus* did not order, but only permitted, this new method of condemning and executing, he did not forfeit by it the reputation he had acquired of a humane and good-natured commander. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, puniſhing the moſt ſeditious of their corps in the ſame manner. But, notwithſtanding theſe ſigns of remorſe and pledges of fidelity, *Germanicus*, glad to get rid of them, ordered them into *Rhætia* to defend that province againſt the *Suevi*, who were ſaid to be in motion. After this he made a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his ſervice, his exploits in war, military preſents, &c. If the tribunes or his legion were ſatisfied with his conduct, he kept

Germanicus improves this opportunity

They ſeize and puniſh the ring-leaders of the revolt.

his poſt, if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately diſcharged. Thus were the firſt and the twentieth legion intirely reclaimed, and brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. But the fifth and twenty-firſt, who were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off, in a place called *Vetera*, that is, *the old camp* (L), continued obſtinate in their revolt, nor was there any wickedneſs which they did not commit. Againſt them therefore *Germanicus* reſolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by fair means. With this view he prepared veſſels and arms, and drew together his troops; but before he put them on board the veſſels which were to convey them down the *Rhine*, judging it proper to allow the mutineers time to return to themſelves, he wrote a letter to *Cæcina* who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, reſolved to put them all to the ſword without diſtinction, if they did not prevent him by taking vengeance themſelves on the guilty. This letter *Cæcina* communicated only to the chief officers, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as had all along diſapproved of the revolt, exhorting them at the ſame time to enter into an aſſociation againſt the ſeditious, and redeem themſelves from death and ignominy, by putting thoſe to the ſword who had brought them into the preſent danger. The officers approved of the propoſal, and having, by ſounding the legionaries and veterans, found, that the majority diſapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately acquainted them with the contents of *Germanicus*'s letter, and eaſily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in ſacrificing to their own ſafety the chief authors of the ſedition. The time therefore was ſettled for falling ſword in hand upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent; and

Two legions continue obſtinate in their revolt.

Germanicus *propoſes to march againſt them.*

(L) This place began, no doubt, to be ſtyled *the old camp*, after the *Romans* had formed a new camp in the country of the *Ubii*, or their neighbours the *Vangiones*. *Tacitus* often mentions this camp in his hiſtory (18); whence *Cluverius* concludes, that it was not a naked camp, but a conſiderable town, built on occaſion of the ſtay the *Romans* made there. As it was diſtant ſixty miles from the camp between *Cologne* and *Bon*, the above mentioned writer thinks that the preſent city of *Santen* ſtands on the ſame ſpot of ground; in which opinion he is confirmed by the deſcription *Tacitus* gives us of *the old camp* (19), which, he ſays, perfectly agrees with the ſituation of *Santen*.

(18) *Vide Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c.* 18. *c.* 21. *& alibi.* (19) *Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c.* 21.

when

when it came, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, the faithful legionaries, ruſhing into the tents of the moſt ſeditious, maſſacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger: nothing was to be heard but dreadful outcries and groans in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be ſeen but ſtreams of blood and heaps of dead bodies. Neither *Cæcina*, nor any of the tribunes, offered to ſtop the fury of the inraged ſoldiery; ſo that the ſlaughter was general, and the camp in an inſtant turned into a ſhambles: comrades were butchered by comrades, and friends by friends, in the ſame tents where they uſed to eat and ſleep together. The maſſacre was ſcarce ended, when *Germanicus* arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp ſtreaming with blood and filled with carcaſes, without burſting into tears, and crying out, *This is not a remedy, but ſlaughter and deſolation.* After he had with a flood of tears given vent to his grief, he cauſed the bodies of the ſlain to be burnt, and celebrated their obſequies with the uſual pomp [d]. Thus was this dangerous ſedition intirely quelled, diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed, the rebellious legions thoroughly reclaimed, and the ſupreme power ſecured to *Tiberius*, by the addreſs and intrepidity of the brave *Germanicus*; who, had his unbounded greatneſs of mind and unſhaken loyalty ſuffered him to ſecond the ardent wiſhes of theſoldiery, might have eaſily ſeized it for himſelf; for he was the darling of the ſoldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father *Druſus*, whoſe memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no body doubting, but he would have reſtored the republic to her former ſtate, had he ſucceeded to the empire; nay, the letter he wrote to his brother *Tiberius* about compelling *Auguſtus* to reſtore the public liberty, was commonly believed to have been the occaſion of his death, as we have obſerved above. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the ſame hopes, and thence their zeal for his ſafety and advancement; but the noble youth himſelf was the only perſon who defeated all their meaſures, and reſolutely oppoſed his own promotion. We ſhall ſoon ſee what return *Tiberius* made him for his unalterable attachment to his perſon and intereſt (M).

But they prevent him by puniſhing the ſeditious themſelves.

The ſedition intirely quelled.

The generoſity of Germanicus.

IN

[d] TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 49. 51. DIO. l. lvii. p. 691, &c.

(M) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* was highly blamed at *Rome* for not going in perſon to quell the ſedition of the mutinous legions. "The rebellion, ſaid they, ſpeaking both of the *Panno-*

He invades Germany.

In the mean time, ſuch of the veterans and legionaries as had been no-ways concerned in the late ſedition, in order to give *Germanicus* new proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them againſt the enemy, who had enjoyed ſome reſpite, firſt by the death of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards by the inteſtine tumult in the camp. *Germanicus* complied with their requeſt, and laying a bridge croſs the *Rhine*, marched over twelve thouſand legionaries, twenty-ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight *alæ* (N) of horſe. With theſe he traverſed the *Cæſian*

" *nian* and *German* legions, has gathered too much ſtrength to be " ſuppreſſed by two young princes, whoſe authority the ſoldiery " deſpiſes. Why does he not go himſelf to awe the mutineers " with his uncontrouled power? They would, no doubt, return to " their duty at the bare ſight of their emperor, a man of great ex- " perience in war, and in whoſe power alone it is to puniſh with " ſeverity, and liberally to reward, every one according to his de- " ſerts. How many journies did *Auguſtus* take into *Germany*, even " in his old age? And ſhall *Tiberius*, in the vigour of his, continue " inactive and idle in the city, without any other employment, " but to cavil at the ſpeeches of the ſenators?" *Tiberius*, though not ignorant of theſe complaints, was determined not to leave *Rome*, judging his preſence more neceſſary in the capital, where all affairs were tranſacted, than in the camp. Beſides, he was at a loſs to which army he ſhould repair firſt, and at the ſame time afraid, leſt the laſt he viſited ſhould think themſelves affronted, and thence become more outrageous. To treat them therefore both equally, and maintain the majeſty of an emperor, which is ever moſt reverenced at a diſtance, he thought it ſafeſt to viſit neither, but to ſend to the one his natural, to the other his adopted, ſon. Moreover he conſidered, that the two young princes might well refer many things to him, which would be gaining time; and that if the mutineers deſpiſed them, his own authority ſtill remained to awe them into obedience; whereas if they contemned, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, the emperor himſelf, no authority was left to controul them. However, to obviate the complaints and clamours of the people, he gave out, that he deſigned to viſit the rebellious armies; and even choſe his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet; but ſometimes pretending buſineſs, ſometimes alledging the approach of winter, he deceived not only the common people, but even the wiſeſt ſenators.

(N) An *ala*, which we may call a ſquadron, conſiſted of three hundred horſemen, and was divided into *turmæ* and *decuriæ*, each *turma* conſiſting of thirty men, and each *decuria* of ten; ſo that there were in every *ala* ten *turmæ*, and in every *turma* three *decuriæ*.

foreſt

Septentrio

MARE HYPERBOREVM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

ANTIENT
GERMANY

EAST BALTIC

SCANDIA
alias
SCANDINAVIA

SINUS CODANUS
OR
BALTIC SEA

Clilipenus
Sinus

SARMATIA

Aestii

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

CIMBRICA CHERSONESVS
DANI MARC

Teutoni

Copenhagen

Sinus Venedicus

Electrides Insulæ

MARE SVEVICVM

Mouth of the Elbe

R. Weser

Mouth of the Rhine

Fusi qui & Saxones

Chalusus Flu.

Angli

Varini

Eudoses

Suardones

Lemovii & Heruli

Gothones

PART OF Vesteri

Venedici Montes

Seiri

Chauci sive Cauchi maiores

Cauchi minores

Amisia Flu.

Flevum Statio

Castellum

Flebo Insula

Frisii maiores

Vadrus Flu.

Frisii

Marsaci

Bructeri

Chamavi

Tencteri

Lupia Flu.

Marsi

Lupia

Alisonis Castellum

Vahalis

Mosa Flu.

Toxandri

Monapii

Vipii Vipetes

Tenctori

Adrana Flu.

GALLIAE BELGICAE

Vbii

Colonia Agrippina

Ivhonis Semestre Templum

CATTI

Batavum

Mattiaci

Castellum

Germanici

Munimentum Trium

Fontes Mattiaci

Augusta Vindelicorum

Arduenna Silva

Mosella Flu.

Treveri

Vangiones

Nemetes

Neomagus

Mediomatrici

Decem Pagi

Argentoratum

Marcomannorum antiqua sedes

Decumates agri

Augusta Rauracorum

PARS

Rhenus Flu.

Mons Brisiacus

Fossa Drusiana

Lingones

Langobardi

Cherusci

Tropæum Drusi

Teucria

Sprea alias Sucrona Flu.

Albis Flu.

Melibocus Mons

Salinæ

Semnones

SILVA HERCYNIA

Burii

Marsingi

Marcomannorum

Marsibudum

Luna Silva

BOIOHEMVM

nova sedes

Sedusii

Naharuli

Hermunduri

Rugii & Rugium

Sidini & Veretum

Carini

Burgundiones

Vistula Flu.

Lugii

Calisia

Logiones

Osi

Gothini

Quadi

Celemantia

Danubius Flu.

Cusurgis

Flavii Montes

Batavia castra

Luna Flu.

Germania magna

Carrodunum

Vistula Flu.

GERMANI

TRANS VISTVLANI

Carrodunum altum

Vibantmarum

Alpidana hodie Nieffer

Iazyges

Carpates Montes

Alpes Bastarnicæ

Tibiscus Flu.

Hierassus Flu.

Danubius Flu.

Granua Flu.

Viadobona

Iuuauia

Gerus Mons

PANNONIAE PARS

NORICI PARS

Adpontum

Murus Flu.

Amasi Flu.

Visurgis Flu.

Lupia Flu.

Isara Flu.

Abrincatui Flu.

Matrona Flu.

Sabis Flu.

Scaldis Flu.

Axona Flu.

Sequana Flu.

Liger Flu.

Matrona Flu.

Arar Flu.

Rhodanus Flu.

Druentia Flu.

Varus Flu.

Alpes Cottiæ

Alpes Maritimæ

Occidens

Orientis

Meridies

Pomarede sc.

foreſt (O), and other woods lying between him and the enemy; and being informed on his march that the *Germans* were celebrating that night a feſtival with great mirth and revelling, he advanced with ſuch expedition, having ſent *Cæcina* before with the cohorts, to clear a paſſage through the foreſt, that he reached the villages of the *Marſi*, before the inhabitants had recovered themſelves from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies, and giving them full liberty to make what havock they pleaſed, ſent them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devaſtation. We may well imagine what ſlaughter they made of thoſe unfortunate wretches, whom they found ſcattered here and there, and aſleep, ſome in their beds, others lying by their tables; no ſex or age was ſpared; places ſacred and profane were equally plundered and laid in aſhes, and among them the temple of *Tanfana* (P), the tutelar god of the *German* nation. In ſhort, the country was waſted with fire and ſword fifty miles round, without the loſs, nay, without the wound, of a ſingle man on the ſide of the *Romans* [c]. This general maſſacre rouſed

Commits a dreadful havock in the country of the Marſi.

Several German *nations, falling upon the* Romans *in their retreat, are defeated.*

[c] Idem ibid. c. 49—51.

(O) The *Cæſian* foreſt was part of the *Hercynian*, and is placed by *Cluverius* partly in the dutchy of *Cleves*, partly in *Weſtphalia*, between *Weſel* and *Kocfeld*. Some modern critics think, that it was called by the antient *Germans*, not the *Cæſian*, (for this, ſay they, is a *Roman* name) but the *Heſian*, foreſt, from *Heſus*, the god of war among the antient *Germans* and *Gauls*.

(P) *Gronovius* derives the name of this *German* deity from the words *tan*, or *than*, ſignifying in the *German* language *a fir-tree*, and *fachna* or *fan*, which in the antient *Gotho-Teutonic* tongue ſignifies *Lord* or *God*; ſo that the import of *Tanfana* is *the lord* or *the god of fir-trees*. That author concludes, that the *Tanfana* of the *Germans* was the ſame as the *Sylvanus* of the *Romans*, and called the god *Tanfana*, or the *god of firs*, becauſe his chief temple was in a foreſt of fir-trees (20), as *Jupiter* was ſtyled by the *Romans*, *Fagutalis*, from a grove of beeches conſecrated to him, the word *fagus* ſignifying in *Latin a beech* (21). *Lipſius* derives the name of *Tanfana* from the *Flemiſh* word *tacnfaneſt*, ſignifying, *the principal* or *firſt cauſe of things*; ſo that the *Germans*, under the name of *Tanfana*, adored, according to him, the ſupreme being.

(20) *Vide Gron. in Tacit.* (21) *Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. x. & ult.*

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the *Bructeri* (Q), the *Tubantes* (R), and the *Uſipetes* (S), who beſetting the paſſes of the foreſt through which the *Roman* army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into diſorder; but *Germanicus*, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, That the time was come for them to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late ſedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them ſo briſkly, that the *Germans* were broke at the firſt onſet, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. In the mean time, the van-guard, paſſing the foreſt, had time

(Q) The *Bructeri* are placed by moſt geographers next to the *Friſii*, between the *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, and the lake *Flevus*, now the *Suyderſee*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of them thus: "Next to the *Tenc-teri* "dwelt the *Bructeri*, in whoſe room the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii* "are ſaid to have ſettled, after having driven out and utterly ex-"tirpated the *Bructeri*, with the concurrence of the neighbouring "nations, either in deteſtation of their pride, or enticed by the "love of booty, or through the ſpecial favour of the gods towards "the *Romans*. They were even pleaſed to indulge us the plea-"ſure of ſeeing the battle, in which there fell above ſixty thouſand "men, without a blow ſtruck by the *Romans*, &c. May the gods "continue and perpetuate among theſe nations, if not any love "for us, yet by all means their animoſity and hatred to each "other, ſince fortune cannot more ſignally befriend us, than in "ſowing diviſions amongſt our enemies." As to the time of this general ſlaughter of the *Bructeri* mentioned here by *Tacitus*, we are quite in the dark; for this nation was ſtill in being in *Tiberius*'s reign, nay, and many years after *Tacitus*'s time, but probably at a greater diſtance from the *Rhine*; for they are mentioned by *Eumenius* and *Nazarius* in their panegyrics upon *Conſtantine*, and alſo by the poet *Claudian* (22). The ſlaughter therefore was not ſo general as is by *Tacitus* ſuppoſed (23).

(R) The *Tubantes* poſſeſſed great part of *Weſtphalia*. *Cluverius* places the antient city of *Teclia* mentioned by *Ptolemy*, now *Tecklenburg*, on the borders of the *Tubantes* and *Chamavi*.

(S) The *Uſipetes*, *Uſipii*, or *Uſipetæ*, are placed by *Rhenanus* between the *Rhine* and the mountains of *Heſſe*. In *Cæſar*'s time they bordered upon the countries of the *Sicambri* and *Tenc-teri*, of whom we have ſpoken above. *Dion Caſſius* ſeems to place them between the *Rhine* and the *Lupias*, now the *Lippe*, and the *Sicambri* beyond the latter of theſe rivers; for, in deſcribing *Druſus*'s expedition into *Germany*, he tells us, that he paſſed the *Rhine*, and having ſubdued the *Uſipetes*, laid a bridge over the *Lupias*, and entered the country of the *Sicambri* (24).

(22) *Vide Claud. 4. Conſul Honor. ver.* 459. (23) *Vide Tacit. de mor. Ger. c.* 33. (24) *Dio. l. liv. p.* 544.

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to form a camp, whither the reſt of the army retired to reſt themſelves that night after ſo fatiguing a march. The next day they purſued their rout uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter quarters [f]. The fame of theſe exploits ſoon reached *Rome*, and filled the city with joy. As for *Tiberius*, he was highly pleaſed to hear that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed, and the beginning of his reign ſignalized by ſo remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without allay: *Germanicus*, by finally diſcharging the veterans, by ſhortening the term of ſervice for the reſt, and by liberally diſtributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and beſides, great glory by his late expedition. This gave the jealous and ſuſpicious emperor great uneaſineſs, which, however, he artfully diguiſed, giving the ſenate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums. He commended at the ſame time the addreſs of his ſon *Druſus* in quelling the ſedition of the *Pannonian* legions, in few words, but which ſeemed dictated by his heart, and more ſincere [g]. In ſhort, he ſpoke of *Germanicus* like an orator, but of *Druſus* like a father. However, he approved whatever *Germanicus* had done, and, to gain the affections of the *Pannonian* legions, extended to them all the privileges which *Germanicus* had granted to his own.

Tiberius jealous of Germanicus's glory.

THESE diſorders in *Germany* and *Pannonia* and the great veneration which the ſoldiery, as well as the people, had for *Germanicus*, were a great reſtraint upon *Tiberius*, who now with wonderful art diſguiſed thoſe vices, which afterwards diſplayed themſelves ſo openly. He acted in moſt things like a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and thoſe of the meaneſt ſort. He forbad any prieſts or temples to be decreed for him, or ſtatues erected but by his own permiſſion, which he granted ſometimes, upon condition that they ſhould be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houſes. He refuſed the title of *father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Auguſtus*, though it was hereditary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter averſion. If, in private converſation or public ſpeeches, any thing was ſaid to his praiſe, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked the ſpeaker. One calling him *Dominus*, or *Lord*, he deſired him not to mention him any more in deriſion. Another calling his employments *ſacred*,

Tiberius's excellent behaviour in the beginning of his reign. His modeſty.

[f] Idem ibid. c. 52, 53.

[g] Idem ibid. c. 54.

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he entreated him to change his epithet, and to ſtyle them *troubleſome.* He would not permit the ſenate to ſwear to the obſervation of his acts, urging againſt it the inſtability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raiſed, the more he was expoſed to danger. All ſlanderous reports, libels, and lampoons, upon him and his adminiſtration he bore with extraordinary patience, ſaying, *That in a free city the thoughts and tongues of every man ought to be free*; and when the ſenate would have proceeded againſt ſome, who had publiſhed libels againſt him, he would not conſent to it, ſaying, *We have not time enough to attend ſuch trifles: if you once open a door to ſuch informations, you will be able to do nothing elſe; for, under that pretence, every man will revenge himſelf upon his enemies by accuſing them to you.* Being informed that one had ſpoke very detractingly of him; *If he ſpeaks ill of me,* ſaid he, *I will give him as good an account of my words and actions as I can; and, if that is not ſufficient, I will ſatisfy myſelf with having as bad an opinion of him as he has of me.* His carriage towards the ſenate was very reſpectful; nothing of moment was tranſacted without their advice and approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raiſing or diſbanding of forces, the muſtering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or granting commiſſions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of anſwers to the letters of kings, *&c.* He never entered into the ſenate with any attendants but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indiſpoſition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered his company to withdraw. In the ſenate he allowed every one to ſpeak his mind with great freedom. Having one day diſſented in his opinion from *Q. Haterius*; *Pardon me, I beſeech you,* ſaid he, *if, as a ſenator, I ſpeak againſt you with more freedom than ordinary.* Then, turning to the whole aſſembly, he addreſſed them thus; *Moſt venerable fathers, what I ſay now I have often ſaid before; a good and prudent prince, to whom you have given ſo great and abſolute a power, ought to be ſerviceable, not only to the ſenate, and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent of any thing I have ſaid of this nature, having always accounted you, as I ſtill do, my good, juſt, and moſt gracious lords.* If in the ſenate any thing was decreed againſt his judgment, he did not complain, nor ſeem the leaſt diſpleaſed. He allowed the conſuls ſo much power, that certain embaſſadors from *Africa* had recourſe to them, deſiring they would return them a ſpeedy anſwer, ſince *Cæſar*, to whom they had been ſent, put them off from day to day.

His extraordinary patience.

His reſpect for the ſenate.

And the conſuls.

When

When the conſuls came into the ſenate, the theatre, or any other place where he was, he always roſe up to them, and turned out of the way, if he met them in the ſtreets. He often aſſiſted at the trials in the courts of juſtice, eſpecially if any criminal was reported to be like to eſcape by favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and, with a grave air, put the judges in mind of the laws, and the crimes before them. He applied himſelf with great care to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he reſtrained the immoderate expences of plays and public ſhows, retrenched the ſalaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixt number. The prices of *Corinthian* veſſels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments to ſuch an exceſs, that thirty thouſand ſeſterces were paid for three mullets, he complained of theſe diſorders to the ſenate, and got a law paſſed, ſetting bounds to the expences in furniture, and ordaining that the prices of proviſions in the markets ſhould be annually regulated by the ſenate. As to the eating-houſes and taverns, which at this time were very numerous in *Rome*, they were all, by *Tiberius*'s orders, utterly ſuppreſſed; and that he might, by his own example, countenance frugality and parſimony in others, he had, at his public and moſt ſolemn entertainments, meat ſerved up, which had been dreſſed, and cut up, the day before, contrary to the cuſtom which then obtained, ſaying, that *every part had the ſame taſte as the whole.* To check the progreſs of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young noblemen, and alſo ſome women of diſtinction, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the ſame time revived an antient law, impowering all parents to puniſh their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought diſgrace upon their families. In this particular he was ſo ſtrict, that, by proclamation, he prohibited the kiſſes that were, according to cuſtom, given by way of ſalutation. He ſeemed intirely averſe from loading his people with any new taxes; and when ſome governors of provinces adviſed him to raiſe their taxes, he anſwered, that *it was the duty of a good ſhepherd to ſhear, not to flay, his flock*, and was ſo far from hearkening to the remonſtrances of his preſidents and governors, that, inſtead of raiſing, he leſſened the tributes that were annually remitted to *Rome* from the provinces [h]. Such was the deportment of *Tiberius*, while his authority was yet wavering; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him pull off the maſk, and abandon himſelf without controul

Applies himſelf to the reformation of manners.

His frugality.

Leſſens the taxes.

[h] SUET. in Tiber. c. 26—36. TACIT. ibid.

to thoſe vices, which he now ſo artfully diſguiſes with the oppoſite virtues. But to return to the brave *Germanicus*:

The following year, *Druſus Cæſar* and *Caius Norbanus* being conſuls, *Germanicus* made vaſt preparations, with a deſign to purſue the war againſt the *Germans*, and revenge the death of *Varus*, and the ſlaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the ſummer; but being informed, that violent diſſenſions reigned among the enemy, he reſolved early in the ſpring to make an irruption into the country of the *Catti* (T). Theſe inteſtine

(T) The *Catti* or *Chatti* poſſeſſed, as we have hinted above, part of the dutchy of *Brunſwick*, of the biſhopric of *Hildeſheim*, of *Thuringen*, *Heſſe*, and the territories of *Fulda*, with the counties of *Shauvemberg*, *Waldeck*, and *Mansfeld*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of them thus: "The territories of the *Catti* begin at the *Hercynian* foreſt, "and conſiſt not of ſuch wide and marſhy plains as thoſe of the "other communities contained within the vaſt compaſs of *Germany*; but of hills, which, for a long tract, run high and contiguous, then by degrees ſink. Moreover, the *Hercynian* foreſt "attends for a while its native *Catti*, and then forſakes them. "They are diſtinguiſhed with more hard and robuſt bodies, compact limbs, ſtern countenances, and a more ſprightly vigour of "mind. For *Germans*, they are men of much ſenſe and addreſs. "They commit the government to choſen men, and liſten to "them when ſet over them. They know how to maintain their "ranks, to diſcern occaſions, to reſtrain their own ardour, how "to employ the day, how to intrench themſelves by night. They "reckon fortune among uncertain things, and valour among ſuch "as are ſecure; and, what is very rare, and never learnt but by men "inured to diſcipline, they repoſe more confidence in the conduct of the general, than in the ſtrength of the army. Their "whole ſtrength conſiſts in foot, who, beſides their arms, carry "iron tools and their proviſions. Other *Germans* take the field equipped for a battle; but the *Catti* equipped for a war. They ſeldom make excurſions, or expoſe themſelves to the dangers of caſual encounters. It is peculiar to cavalry ſuddenly to conquer, "or ſuddenly to fly. Such haſte and expedition borders upon fear: "warineſs and deliberation are more akin to intrepidity." *Tacitus* adds, that a cuſtom, practiſed only by ſome particular perſons of other *German* nations, univerſally obtained among the *Catti*: which is, to let their hair and beards grow till they have ſlain an enemy, being perſuaded, that only by the death of a foe they can acquit themſelves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and render themſelves worthy of their country and parents; ſo that the cowardly and unwarlike among them were eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their long hair and beards. The moſt brave likewiſe wear an iron ring, which is a mark of great diſhonour in that nation, as a chain or badge

teſtine broils, of which *Germanicus* reſolved to take advantage, were occaſioned by the oppoſite parties of *Arminius* and *Segeſtes*, the former the incendiary of *Germany*, and chief author of the inſurrection in which *Varus* periſhed with his legions; the latter a ſincere and faithful friend to the *Romans*; nay, he had even given *Varus* notice of the intended revolt, and adviſed him to ſecure himſelf, *Arminius* and the other chiefs aſſuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not dare to attempt any thing. But the *Roman* general deſpiſed his advice, which coſt him dear, as we have related above. *Segeſtes*, tho' forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at conſtant variance with *Arminius*; and at this time their animoſities were heightened by a domeſtic quarrel, *Arminius* having carried away by force the daughter of *Segeſtes*, named *Thuſneldis*, and married her, tho' already betrothed to another. This attempt gave riſe to an open rupture between the two chiefs, of which *Germanicus* no ſooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome *German* troops drawn ſuddenly together, under the command of *Cæcina*, ordering him to ſcour the country, while he himſelf, at the head of as many legions, and double the number of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the *Catti*; and, falling upon the enemy before they were appriſed of his march, put vaſt numbers of them to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Moſt of their youth eſcaped by ſwimming over the *Adrana* (U), and attempted to prevent the *Romans* from laying a bridge over that river; but their efforts proving unſucceſsful, ſome of them ſubmitted to *Germanicus*; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; ſo that the *Romans*, without oppoſition, laid waſte all the open country, ſet fire to their dwellings, laid *Mattium* (W) their

Germanicus *invades and ravages the country of the* Catti.

badge of ſlavery, till they ſet themſelves, as it were, at liberty, by killing an enemy (25). However, as *Germanicus* came upon them unawares, they were forced either to ſubmit, or ſhelter themſelves in the woods, that is, in the *Hercynian* foreſt, which as *Tacitus* has told us, began in their country.

(U) The *Adrana*, now the *Eder*, riſes in *Upper Heſſe*, waters the county of *Waldeck* and *Lower Heſſe*, and falls into the *Fulda* or *Fulden* about two miles above *Caſſel*

(W) *Tacitus* in this place ſtyles *Mattium* the capital of the *Catti*; but elſewhere (26) diſtinguiſhes the *Mattiaci* from the *Catti*: *The*

(25) *Tacit. de mor. German.* 30, 31. (26) *Tacit. hiſtor. l.* iv. c. 37.

their capital in aſhes, and then began their march back to the *Rhine.* The *Cheruſci* alone made ſome motions, as if they deſigned to aſſiſt the *Catti* and fall upon the *Romans* in their retreat, but were reſtrained by *Cæcina*, who, with his army of obſervation, moved about from place to place, and had even defeated the *Marſi* (X), who had dared to engage him[1].

Germanicus had ſcarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from *Segeſtes*, praying relief for that faithful friend to the *Romans* againſt his and their declared enemy *Arminius*, who had beſieged him in his camp. At the head of this embaſſy was *Segimundus*, the ſon of *Segeſtes*, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the *Romans*, *Germanicus* received with great kindneſs; but ſent him, as he could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers of *Gaul* (Y). As to his requeſt, he readily complied with it, led

[1] Idem ibid. c. 56.

army, ſaid he. *was compoſed of* Catti, Uſipii, *and* Mattiaci. Their country according to the accounts of the antient geographers, was incloſed on all ſides by the territories of the *Catti*; whence they are often confounded with them. *Cluverius* and *Cellarius* think, that the ſituation of *Mattium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Mattiacum*, agrees with that of the preſent city of *Marpurg*; for it ſtands on the road leading from mount *Taunus*, now known to the natives by the names of *Der Heyrick* and *Die Hohe*, over-againſt *Mentz*, to the *Adrana* or the *Eder*, which was the rout *Germanicus* took in this irruption, as *Tacitus* informs us. *Pliny* mentions the hot baths of *Mattium* (27), which all modern geographers take for the hot waters of *Wisbaden* over againſt *Mentz* or *Moguntiacum*, as it was called by the antients; ſo that the territories of the *Mattiaci* extended at leaſt from the *Rhine* to the *Eder*. Whether they reached beyound that river, and how far, we know not. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Mattiaci* in his time were friends to the *Romans*. The *Roman* people, ſays he, have carried the awe and eſteem of their empire beyond the *Rhine* and the antient boundaries. Thus the *Mattiaci*, living on the oppoſite bank, enjoy a ſettlement of their own; but by inclination are *Romans* (28).

(X) Part of *Weſtphalia* and of the biſhoprick of *Paderborn* were, according to moſt of our modern geographers, the antient habitation of the *Marſi*.

(Y) *Segimundus* had been greatly favoured by the *Romans*, and by them appointed prieſt of the altar of the *Ubii*, of which we have ſpoken above; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the ſacerdotal tiara and fled to the revolters. Hence, when his fa-

(27) *Plin l.* xxxi. *c.* 20. (28) *Tacit. de mor. Ger. c.* 29, the

led back his army without loſs of time to the relief of *Segeſtes*, engaged the beſiegers, put them to flight, and reſcued that faithful friend of the *Romans*, out of the hands of his moſt inveterate enemy. On this occaſion the *Romans* took a great many priſoners, among whom was *Thuſneldis*, the wife of *Arminius* and daughter of *Segeſtes*, who had been the chief occaſion of the preſent rupture between the two illuſtrious families (*Z*). She was then big with child, and ſeemed to be concerned only for the fate of her unhappy babe deſtined

Marches againſt Arminius.

Whom he defeats and takes his wife priſoner.

ther declared to him his intention of putting him at the head of the embaſſy which he was ſending to *Germanicus*, he deſired at firſt to be excuſed; but afterwards truſting to the clemency of the *Roman* general he undertook the execution of his father's orders, and was favourably received by *Germanicus*, but not ſuffered to return among his countrymen. What became of him afterwards, *Tacitus* does not tell us; but *Strabo* names him among the illuſtrious captives, who marched before the chariot of *Germanicus*, when he entered *Rome* in triumph (29). If he did not join the rebels a ſecond time, *Germanicus* acted contrary to the law of nations in thus ſeizing the perſon of an embaſſador, and treating him as if he had been taken in war.

(*Z*) *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Germans* carried about with them in all their wars their wives and children, whom they placed near the field of battle, that, by the tears of their wives and the cries of their tender infants, they might be the more encouraged to exert themſelves in the defence of thoſe intereſting pledges of nature. Their armies, when yielding and ready to fly, have been often prevailed upon to maintain their ground and ſtand the ſhock of the enemy, by the importunity and intreaties of their women, preſenting their breaſts, and putting them in mind of their impending captivity; an evil which they far more dreaded in their women than in themſelves. When any of them happened to be ſo wounded in battle, that they could not continue the fight, they retired to their mothers or wives, who, without being ſhocked, ſucked their bleeding wounds. The wife among them brought no dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife, *viz.* a couple of oxen yoked together, a horſe accoutred, a ſhield, a javelin, and a ſword. The woman on her part too made her husband a preſent of ſome arms. By the mutual approbation and acceptance of theſe gifts, in the preſence of their parents and relations, they were married. The oxen joined in the ſame yoke, the horſe ready equipped, and the preſent of arms, ſerved to put the woman in mind, that ſhe came to her husband as a partner of his hazards and dangers in war as well as in peace, and that ſhe was not exempt from fighting and exerting her courage in battle for the defence of her husband or country (30).

(29) *Strabo*, *l.* vii.

(30) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 7 & 18.

to

to be born in ſlavery. As for her own captivity, ſhe bore it with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without ſhedding a tear, or uttering a word in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant. Among the booty were found *Roman* ſpoils taken from *Varus* and his ſlaughtered legions, and divided among thoſe who were now priſoners. *Arminius* being now put to flight, *Segeſtes* thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer; and accordingly, from a confidence in his ſincere attachment to the *Roman* intereſt, he appeared before *Germanicus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, and, addreſſing him with a majeſtic air, enumerated, with great modeſty, the ſervices he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of *Arminius*; offered his mediation for the *German* nation, if they perhaps would rather chuſe to repent than be deſtroyed; and earneſtly recommended to his known clemency his ſon and daughter, intreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to conſider the latter rather as the daughter of *Segeſtes* than the wife of *Arminius*. *Germanicus* anſwered with his uſual good-nature and humanity, promiſing to take his ſon, daughter, and all his relations, under his protection, aſſigned to him a ſafe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long ſince ſubject to *Rome*, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of *Arminius* was delivered of a male child [k] (A).

Segeſtes's *ſpeech to* Germanicus.

In the mean time, *Arminius*, more inraged than ever for the loſs of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the *Cheruſci*, inflaming that warlike nation againſt *Segeſtes* and *Germanicus*, and encouraging them to let *Arminius* rather lead them to liberty and glory, than the wicked and treacherous *Segeſtes* to infamy and bondage. His credit, and the bitter invectives he was conſtantly uttering againſt the *Romans*, rouſed not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the neighbouring nations; nay, *Inguiomerus*, one of the chief lords of the country, and hitherto a friend to the *Romans* and

Arminius *ſtirs up the neighbouring nations againſt the* Romans.

[k] Idem. c. 57, 58.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that this child was brought up at *Ravenna*, and promiſes to relate in a more proper place the misfortunes which befel him. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, make the ſame promiſe. If *Tacitus* performed his, it was in his books which have not reached our times. We ſhall therefore be the more obliged to thoſe learned writers for the performance of theirs; for we know nothing of this unhappy captive, or his misfortunes.

in

in high credit with them, though uncle to *Arminius* by the father's ſide, was drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. *Germanicus*, upon intelligence of ſo powerful a confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage ſuch numerous forces united, reſolved to make a diverſion; and with this view detached *Cæcina* at the head of forty *Roman* cohorts to the river *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, through the territories of the *Bructeri*. The cavalry took another rout, under the conduct of *Pedo* (B), who led them by the confines of the *Friſians* (C). As for *Germanicus* himſelf, he imbarqued the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and tranſported them on rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the *Amiſia*, where the three ſeparate bodies met. The *Chauci*, as the legions paſſed through their country, joined them: the *Bructeri*, upon the approach of *Germanicus*, attempted to ſet fire to their houſes and retire; but were reſtrained by *Stertinius*, who was detached againſt them. That commander had the good luck to find in the country of the *Bructeri* the eagle of the nineteenth legion loſt in the overthrow of *Varus*. The army, now united, purſued their march to the fartheſt borders of the *Bructeri*, and laid waſte the whole country between the rivers *Lupias* and *Amiſia*, that is, the *Lyppe* and the *Ems*. As the foreſt of *Teutoburgium* (D) was

Germanicus *marches againſt him.*

(B) It is uncertain whether *Pedo*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, was *Pedo Albinovanus*, or *Pedo Pompeius*. *Seneca* ſpeaks of the latter as a perſon of great merit (32), and *Ovid* commends the former as an excellent poet. Some fragments of his book intituled *De navigatione Germanici*, have reached our times (33) The elegy he wrote on the death of *Druſus* and inſcribed to *Livia* is a maſter piece of the kind, and worthy of a heavenly poet, as *Ovid* ſtyles him (34). *Joſeph Scaliger* aſcribes to him the elegy on the death of *Mæcenas*, wherein he diſagrees with moſt other critics. *Voſſius* ſuppoſes him to have written alſo epigrams, which he gathers from one of *Martial*'s (35).

(C) The country of the *Friſii* was divided into two, called the *Greater* and the *Leſſer*. The former lay between the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*. The latter extended along the coaſt of the ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine*; but how far, we cannot determine

(D) The foreſt of *Teutoburgium*, now *Teuteberg*, lay in *Weſtphalia* between the *Ems* and the *Lyppe*. The preſent inhabitants pre-

(32) *Senec. in lud. de morte Claud.* (33) *Senec ſuaſor.* 1. (34) *Ovid in Pont. eleg. ult.* (35) *Mart. l.* ii. *epig* 77.

tend

Germanicus *and his army bury the remains of* Varus *and his legions.*

was not far off, where the bones of *Varus* and the three legions ſlaughtered with him were ſaid to lie ſtill unburied; *Germanicus*, touched with a tender compaſſion on their unhappy fate, reſolved to march thither and pay them the laſt offices. Accordingly *Cæcina* was ſent before to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the foreſt, and lay bridges over marſhy places. The reſt of the army followed, and, marching in good order and with great caution, entered the gloomy foreſt, where they ſoon diſcovered the ruins of two *Roman* camps, the one very ſpacious and capable of containing three legions, the other much leſs in circumference, which, they concluded, had ſerved for a place of retreat for the ſmall number of legionaries, who had eſcaped the firſt day's ſlaughter. The ramparts of both were half ruined, and the ditches near filled up. The open fields were covered with bleached bones, ſome ſeparate, ſome in heaps, as thoſe unhappy men had happened to fall flying ſingly, or reſiſting in bodies. In the adjacent groves were ſeen ſtill ſtanding the altars, where the barbarians had ſacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made priſoners. On the trees roud the altars were ſtuck the ſkulls of thoſe unhappy victims. In *Germanicus*'s army there were ſome who had ſerved under *Varus*, and had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter; and theſe related the particulars of that tragical event to the reſt. Here, ſaid they, the commanders of our legions were ſlain; there our eagles were taken: here *Varus* received his firſt wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place ſtood the tribunal, whence *Arminius* harangued his men; in this he cauſed gibbets to be rected for the execution of his captives, *&c.* So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the *Romans* and their commander a tender compaſſion for the fate of their countrymen, friends, and comrades, and at the ſame time an eager deſire of appeaſing their manes, with the ſlaughter of an enemy ſo cruel and inhuman. With theſe ſentiments they firſt carefully gathered the bones ſcattered up and down the fields; and, having dug a deep trench, buried them there ſix years after the ſlaughter, *Germanicus* laying the firſt turf on the common tomb (E). Having thus paid the laſt

tend to ſhew the very ſpot where *Varus* with his legions were cut off. It is a plain in the neighbourhood of a ſmall town called *Horn*, and is known by the name of *Winfeldt*, which it took, they ſuppoſe, from the *Germans* winning the field.

(E) *Tiberius* did not approve of this pious office performed by *Germanicus* and his army. Whether it was, ſays *Tacitus*, that he put

laſt offices to their friends, they abandoned that ſolitude diſmal to their ſight and memory, and, full of reſentment, advanced againſt the author of ſo many evils, who, underſtanding that he was purſued by *Germanicus*, retired, and incamped in an advantageous poſt cloſe to the woods. The *Roman* general followed him, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to advance and diſlodge him. *Arminius*, at the approach of the *Roman* horſe, pretended to fly; but wheeling ſuddenly about, and at the ſame time giving the ſignal to a body of troops, which he had concealed in the foreſt, to ruſh out, he fell upon the enemy with ſuch vigour, that the *Roman* cavalry, not able to ſtand the ſhock, began to give way. *Germanicus* immediately detached ſome cohorts to their relief; but they too were ſoon put in diſorder and broken, more by their own men who fled, than by the enemy. *Arminius*, taking advantage of the confuſion the *Romans* were in, doubled his efforts, and would have puſhed them into a moraſs, had not *Germanicus* advanced at the head of his legions in order of battle. *Arminius*, finding his men already tired, did not think it adviſeable to engage the freſh legions, and therefore retired in good order, leaving the *Romans* maſters of the field. *Germanicus*, not judging it ſafe to purſue the enemy through pathleſs woods and foreſts, contented himſelf with this ſmall advantage,

They advance againſt Arminius.

Who at firſt gains ſome advantage; but in the end is defeated.

put a bad conſtruction upon every action of *Germanicus*, or believed, that the ſight of ſo many *Romans* ſlain by the enemy, and left thus unburied, might ſink the courage of his men, and heighten their terror of ſo dreadful a foe. Beſides, *Germanicus* was a member of the college of the augurs, and of the prieſts ſacred to the deity of *Auguſtus*, and, as ſuch, ought not, according to the ancient rites, to have been any ways concerned in the ceremonies and ſolemnities of the dead, ſince by them pontiffs, augurs, and prieſts of all denominations, were thought to be defiled. Hence *Auguſtus*, who was pontifex maximus, pronounced the funeral oration of *Marcellus* with a vail between him and the corpſe, as *Suetonius* informs us, that he might not be polluted with the ſight of it. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* divorced his wife *Metella* a little before ſhe died, and cauſed her to be conveyed into another houſe, that his own, as he was then pontifex and augur, might not be defiled with funeral ceremonies (36). But we are apt to believe, that *Tiberius* did not, out of any principle of religion, find fault with *Germanicus*'s conduct; for he little mattered the gods or their rites, being himſelf a fataliſt, and poſſeſſed with notions of aſtrology. What diſpleaſed him was, that *Germanicus*, by ſo popular an action, had gained the hearts of the ſoldiery and *Roman* people.

(36) *Plut. in Sylla.*

vantage, and returned with the army to the river *Amiſia*. There he imbarqued with four legions, ordered *Cæcina* to reconduct the other four by land, and ſent the cavalry to the ſeaſide, with orders to march along the ſhore to the *Rhine*. Tho' *Cæcina* was to return through roads well known, yet *Germanicus* warned him to paſs with all poſſible ſpeed the cauſway called *the long bridges* (F). *Cæcina* made what haſte he could; but nevertheleſs *Arminius* arrived there before him. This cauſway led croſs vaſt marſhes, ſurrounded on all ſides with woods and hills, which gently roſe from the plain. The woods *Arminius* had already filled with his men, who, as ſoon as *Cæcina* approached, ruſhing out fell upon him with ſuch fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters and ſlippery ground, were already yielding, and would in all likelihood have been intirely defeated, had not night coming on ſoon put an end to the combat. The *Germans*, encouraged with their ſucceſs, inſtead of refreſhing themſelves with ſleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courſes of the ſprings riſing in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains; ſo that the camp, which the *Romans* had begun, was all on a ſudden laid under water, and their works overturned. We may well imagine what a melancholy night they paſſed under theſe circumſtances. We are told, that *Cæcina* himſelf was terrified with a frightful dream: he thought he ſaw *Quintilius Varus*, riſing out of the marſh beſmeared with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the invitation, and puſhed him away. *Cæcina* had ſerved either as a common ſoldier, or as an officer, forty years, was well experienced in all the viciſſitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greateſt dangers. Having therefore calmly

Cæcina *is attacked by* Arminius.

And reduced to great ſtraights.

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that this cauſway was made by *Lucius Domitius*, who, according to that writer, led an army over the *Elbe*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any *Roman* before him, which procured him the enſigns of triumph. Whence we conclude him to have been the grandfather of *Nero*; for *Suetonius* in his life of that emperor, tells us, that *Lucius Domitius* his grandfather was no leſs famous for his dexterity in driving chariots, than for the triumphal ornaments which he acquired by his conduct in the *German* war (37). This cauſway, according to *Lipſius*, led croſs the marſhes between *Lingen*, *Wedden*, and *Coeverden*, where ſome remains of it are ſtill lying under water. Theſe marches are now known to the *Dutch* by the name of *Bretanſchebeyde*, that is, *the marſhes of* Bretan (38).

(37) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 4. (38) *Vide Lipſ. in hunc loc. Tacit.*

weighed

weighed with himſelf all proper expedients for the preſent conjuncture, he at length reſolved to attack the barbarians the next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them in a manner beſieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had paſſed the cauſway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view at break of day he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the one-and-twentieth in the left, the firſt in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions poſted on the wings, ſeized with a ſudden fear, as ſoon as day began to appear, deſerted their ſtations, and took poſſeſſion of a field beyond the marſhes. *Cæcina* thought it adviſeable to follow them; but the baggage ſticking in the mire, as he croſſed the marſhes, and the ſoldiers about it being embaraſſed and in great diſorder, *Arminius* laid hold of this opportunity to begin the attack; and crying out, *This is a ſecond* Varus; *the ſame fate attends him and his legions*, he ruſhed upon them at the head of a choſen body with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. As he had ordered his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horſes, great numbers of them were killed, and the ground becoming ſlippery with their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, the reſt either fell, or caſting their riders and galloping among the ranks, put them into diſorder. *Cæcina* on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; but his horſe being killed under him, he would have been taken priſoner, had not the firſt legion reſcued him. The greedineſs of the enemy was what ſaved *Cæcina* and his legions from utter deſtruction; for while they were already yielding and quite ſpent, the barbarians all on a ſudden abandoned them to ſeize the baggage. The *Romans*, during this reſpite, ſtruggled out of the marſh, and gaining the dry fields, tired as they were, formed with all poſſible ſpeed a camp there, and fortified it in the beſt manner they could.

The Romans ſaved by the greedineſs of the enemy.

AND now the legionaries, quite ſpent and exhauſted, retired to repoſe themſelves a while after ſo fatiguing a combat. But their repoſe was ſoon interrupted by an accident, which, as it cauſed a general alarm in the camp, ſhews what fear and terror had ſeized them. A horſe having broken looſe and being frightened with the noiſe, as he ſtrayed about, ran over ſome who were in his way. As this happened when it was dark, it raiſed ſuch a conſternation among the legionaries, imagining that the *Germans* had broke into the camp, that they all ran to the gate *Decumena*, which, was fartheſt from the enemy, in order to make their eſcape. *Cæcina*, having learned the true cauſe of this general uproar, endeavoured to ſtop the fugitives, aſſuring them, that their fear was quite groundleſs; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himſelf at length croſs the gate. The

The Romans ſeized with a panic.

awe and reſpect they had for their general reſtrained them from running over his body, and put a ſtop to their flight; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions ſatisfied them, that it was a falſe alarm. Then *Cæcina*, calling them together, told them, that they muſt be indebted for their lives to their valour; but that their valour ought to be tempered with art; that they muſt keep cloſe within their camp till the *Germans* attempted to ſtorm it, and then make a ſudden ſally, break through the enemy, and purſue their march to the *Rhine*. This, he told them, was the only means of retrieving their glory, of ſaving their lives. In the mean time, it was reſolved in the *German* camp, purſuant to the advice of *Inguiomerus*, to attack the *Roman* intrenchments the next morning, no-body doubting, except *Arminius*, but they might be eaſily forced. That commander, no leſs prudent than brave, was for ſuffering the *Romans* quietly to depart, and falling upon them on their march, when embarraſſed again amongſt foreſts and marſhes. But the advice of *Inguiomerus* prevailing, as ſoon as it was light, the *Germans* beſet the camp, and having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when *Cæcina* ordered the ſignal to be given to the cohorts, who, ſallying out with loud ſhouts, fell upon the aggreſſors, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, while they were buſy in ſcaling the intrenchments. The *Germans*, who imagined that few *Romans* were remaining, and had therefore promiſed themſelves an eaſy victory, were ſo ſurpriſed and frightened at this ſudden and altogether unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The *Romans* purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives. *Arminius* had the good luck to eſcape unhurt; but *Inguiomerus* was dangerouſly wounded. After this the *Germans*, as deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs, as void of moderation in proſperity, appeared no more; ſo that *Cæcina* purſued his march unmoleſted to the *Rhine* [1].

The Germans *put to flight.*

The courageous behaviour of Agrippina

In the mean time, a report being ſpread, that the *Roman* forces were cut in pieces; and a *German* army in full march to invade *Gaul*, ſome timorous partizans of *Rome* were for breaking down the bridge which the *Romans* had built over the *Rhine* near *Treves*; but *Agrippina*, who ſtill continued in that city, not giving credit to the public report, oppoſed with a manly courage the execution of this deſign, and preſerved the bridge. She had ſoon after the ſatisfaction to ſee the legions under *Cæcina*, which were ſuppoſed to have met with the ſame fate as thoſe of *Varus*, arrive, ill-treated indeed and

[1] Tacit. annal. l. i, c. 60—69. Dio. l. lvii. p. 615, & ſeq.

extremely

extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they drew near, this undaunted heroine went out with her ſon *Caligula* to receive them; and ſtanding at the head of the bridge, commended, as they paſſed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a moſt obliging manner; nay, in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe diſcharged all the duties of a general, relieved the neceſſities of the ſoldiers, beſtowed medicines on the wounded, ſupplied ſome with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generoſity. This behaviour, however commendable, rouſed the jealouſy of *Tiberius*: It is not, ſaid he, againſt foreigners only that ſhe thus ſtudies to win the affections of the ſoldiery; ſhe has already given manifeſt proofs of her aſpiring views, in carrying her child, the general's ſon, about the camp in the habit of a common ſoldier, with the title of *Cæſar Caligula*. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the diſtruſtful temper of *Tiberius*, and already entertained ambitious deſigns, which he could not compaſs without the deſtruction of *Germanicus*'s family, with his groundleſs and ill-natured ſuggeſtions, heightened the emperor's jealouſies, and ſowed in his mind the ſeeds of an irreconcileable hatred againſt *Agrippina*.

The jealouſy of Tiberius.

IN the mean time, *Germanicus*, having conveyed the four legions he had with him down the *Amiſia* into the ocean, in order to return by ſea to the *Rhine*, and finding that his veſſels were overloaded, delivered the ſecond and fourteenth legions to *Publius Vitellius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. But this march proved fatal to great numbers of them, either buried in the quick-ſands, or ſwallowed up by the billows and over-flowing tide, to which they were utter ſtrangers. Thoſe who eſcaped loſt their arms, utenſils, and proviſions, and paſſed a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained wading up to the chin. The next morning the land returning with the tide of ebb, *Vitellius* with a haſty march reached the river *Uſingis*, which ſome judicious critics take for the *Hoerenſter*, on which ſtands the preſent city of *Groeningen*. There *Germanicus*, who had reached that river with his fleet, took the two legions again on board, and conveyed them to the mouth of the *Rhine*, whence they all returned to the city of the *Ubii*, or *Cologne*, when fame had given them for loſt. *Germanicus* on his arrival found in that city *Sigimerus*, the brother of *Segeſtes*, with his ſon *Seſithacus*, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the *Romans*, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief authors of the revolt, was kindly received by *Germanicus*; but

The miſfortune of the legions that returned by the ſea-ſide.

Sigimerus *a* German *prince ſubmits to the* Romans.

but it was with much ado that he prevailed upon himſelf to pardon the ſon, who was ſaid to have inſulted the dead body of the unfortunate *Varus*. In this expedition *Germanicus* gained no great advantages, and loſt a vaſt number of men. The greater part of thoſe, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers, returned without arms, horſes, utenſils, &c. half-naked, lamed, and unfit for the ſervice; but the fame of his name and amiable qualities having already filled both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants of theſe countries ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in ſupplying him with arms, horſes, money, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the proſecution of the war. *Germanicus* thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horſes and arms, defraying the other charges of the war with his own money. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſucceſs attended him in this war: but let us return, in the mean time, to *Tiberius*.

Though the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave *Germanicus*, yet, glad of his ſucceſs, he confirmed to him the title of *imperator*, which the legions had beſtowed on him, and decreed the triumphal ornaments to *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*, three of his lieutenants, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt. To gain to himſelf the affections of the people, which ſeemed to centre wholly in *Germanicus*, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered him by the ſenate, relieving the diſtreſſed with great generoſity, and eaſing the inhabitants both of *Rome* and the provinces of ſeveral taxes, with which *Auguſtus* had burdened them. A ſenator, by name *Pius Aurelius*, his houſe falling, had recourſe to the ſenate for relief. The prætors of the treaſury oppoſed his ſuit; but nevertheleſs *Tiberius*, who, as *Tacitus* obſerves, was generous upon honeſt occaſions, even after he had renounced all other virtues, ordered him the price of his houſe. *Propertius Celer*, once prætor, deſiring to reſign the ſenatorial dignity, as too burdenſome to his ſmall eſtate, *Tiberius*, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, and not to himſelf, preſented him with a thouſand great ſeſterces. The *Tiber* having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he cauſed the bed of that river to be cleanſed, and appointed, according to *Dion*, five, according to *Tacitus* only two, magiſtrates of the ſenatorial order, whoſe whole buſineſs was to watch the overflowing of the *Tiber*, and reſtrain it within its banks. Theſe magiſtrates were for diverting the channels of the ſeveral rivers and lakes by which it was ſwelled; but this project met with great oppoſition in the ſenate, where it was reſolved, that nothing ſhould be altered, the direction of nature, which appointed

Tiberius affects popularity by various methods.

pointed to rivers their courſes and diſcharges, being, as it was ſuggeſted, beſt in all natural things. The provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, begging to be eaſed of their public burdens, were this year taken from the ſenate and given to the emperor (G). Hence it is manifeſt, that the government of the proprætors, who commanded in the provinces immediately ſubject to the emperor, was leſs burdenſome than that of the proconſuls, who were ſent into the ſenatorial provinces; but in what the one was more chargeable than the other, we are no-where told. Thus *Tiberius* affected popularity; but nevertheleſs did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of *treaſon* or *majeſty*, with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, ſince by it thoſe, who wrote or ſpoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treaſon. In the times of the republic, ſays *Taci-tus*, actions were puniſhed, but words were free. *Auguſtus* was the firſt, as we have related above, who brought words under the penalties of this law; and *Tiberius*, exaſperated by ſatyrical verſes diſperſed about the city, expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and the miſunderſtanding which already began between him and his mother (H), thought it neceſſary to revive

He revives the law of majeſty.

(G) *Achaia* and *Macedon* were afterwards reſtored by the emperor *Caius* to the ſenate (39). Hence we read in the *Acts*, that *Gallio* was proconſul of *Achaia* at the end of that prince's reign (40).

(H) The verſes were as follows;

Aſper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Diſpeream ſi te mater amare poteſt.
Non es eques, Quare? non ſunt tibi millia centum.:
Omnia ſi quæras, & Rhodus exilium eſt.
Aurea mutaſti Saturni ſæcula, Cæſar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea ſemper erunt.
Faſtidit vinum, quia jam ſitit ipſe cruorem.
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
Adſpice felicem ſibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam:
Et Marium, ſi vis, adſpice, ſed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
Nec ſemel infectas adſpice cæde manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit ſanguine multo.
Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio (41).

(39) *Dio. ibid. p.* 258. (40) *Act. xviii. v.* 12. (41) *Suet. in Tiber. c.* 59.

this

this dreadful law; a law which occaſioned under him and his ſucceſſors ſo much bloodſhed in *Rome* and all the parts of the empire. He did it, however, with great addreſs, and freely forgave the firſt criminals; for, being aſked by *Pompeius Macer* the prætor, whether, in the execution of his office, he ſhould proceed againſt the authors of libels as guilty of treaſon, he anſwered, *The laws muſt be executed.* *Tiberius*'s anſwer was no ſooner known, than ſeveral perſons were proſecuted upon this law, the emperor having, as he was naturally ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, his ſpies and emiſſaries diſperſed all over the city. Some of theſe accuſed *Falanius*, a *Roman* knight, of having admitted into his houſe, where he had erected an altar in honour of *Auguſtus*, among the other adorers of the deified emperor, one *Caſſius* a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another, *viz.* that having ſold his gardens, he had ſold with them the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*. *Rubrius*, another *Roman* knight, was charged with ſwearing falſly by the divinity of *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, well ſatisfied with having reſtored this law to its former vigour, and by that means cheeked the freedom of ſpeech, and the licentiouſneſs of libellers, would not allow any puniſhment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals; but wrote to the conſuls, that the ſenate, in beſtowing divine honours on his father, did not intend thereby to lay a ſnare for the people; that his mother *Livia* had never excluded *Caſſius*, nor others of his profeſſion, from the ſcenic ſports, which ſhe conſecrated to the memory of *Auguſtus*; that it did not affect religion to comprehend his ſtatue, as well as the images of other gods, in the ſale of houſes and gardens; that as to the ſwearing falſly by his name, it was a crime of the ſame nature, as if *Rubrius* had profaned the name of *Jupiter*: but that it belonged to the gods to puniſh affronts offered to the gods. By theſe anſwers, judicious in themſelves, and in appearance full of clemency and moderation, *Tiberius* hoped to decline the odium, which the revival of ſuch a dangerous and enſnaring law carried along with it. But, notwithſtanding all his art, it was not long ere he betrayed his real intention, and plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to make more account of ſuch informations than he would then have believed; for ſoon after *Granius Marcellus*, prætor, or rather proprætor, of *Bithynia*, being charged with high treaſon of this nature by his own quæſtor *Cæpio Criſpinus*, *Tiberius*, in a manner forgetting himſelf, flew into a violent paſſion, and in that ſudden tranſport was for condemning without further inquiry the pretended criminal. *Marcellus* was accuſed of having ſpoke with diſreſpect of the emperor; and the accuſer, to render his accuſation

Several perſons accuſed and acquitted.

cuſation more credible, collecting whatever was moſt deteſtable in the prince's character, alledged it as the expreſſions of the accuſed. To this he added, that *Marcellus* had placed his own ſtatue higher than thoſe of the *Cæſars*; and that having taken the head from off the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*, he had placed the head of *Tiberius* in its room. This inraged him to ſuch a degree, that, no longer able to diſſemble his reſentment, he cried out, That he would himſelf in this cauſe give his vote openly and upon his oath. Hereupon *Cneius Piſo* aſked him, *In what place*, Cæſar, *will you chuſe to give your opinion? If firſt, I ſhall have your example to follow; if laſt, I am afraid I may diſagree with you.* Theſe words touched *Tiberius* to the quick; nevertheleſs he bore them patiently, being aſhamed of his tranſport, and ſuffered *Marcellus* to be acquitted of high treaſon [m] (HH). It was not out of any principle of religion, nor from any regard to *Auguſtus*, that *Tiberius* was for puniſhing the ſuppoſed crimes againſt his godhead, but becauſe he apprehended the ſame affronts might be one day offered to himſelf. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory with what an extravagant and inviolable ſanctity the ſtatues and images of *Auguſtus* and the other emperors were inveſted, and what a ſource for informations, puniſhments, confiſcations, *&c.* was opened by the worſhip paid to them.

An unwary tranſport of Tiberius.

THE diſſenſions of the theatre, which had begun the year before, broke out now with great violence, and rent almoſt the whole city into factions and parties, ſome protecting one player, and ſome another; nay, the oppoſite parties often came to blows, and turned the play-houſe into a field of battle. In one of theſe frays, ſeveral, not of the people only, were killed, but of the ſoldiers who attended in the play-houſe

Diſſenſions of the theatre.

[m] TACIT. ibid. c. 73, 74.

(HH) *Suetonius* tells us, that he was condemned. His words are: "About the ſame time the prætor having aſked him, Whether "he would have the judges to hear and determine matters of high "treaſon, he replied, *The laws muſt take their courſe*, and he was "as good as his word, for from that time they were executed "with the utmoſt ſeverity. A certain perſon having taken the "head from off the ſtatue of *Auguſtus*, with a deſign to put upon "it the head of another, the matter was brought before the ſe-"nate; and becauſe the fact was not clear, recourſe was had to "the rack. The guilty perſon being condemned, this kind of "calumny became by degrees ſo dangerous, *&c.*" The perſon arraigned, and, according to *Suetonius*, condemned, could be no other than *Granius Marcellus*.

and at the gate to prevent diſturbances, and among them a centurion; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to ſecure the magiſtrates from inſults, and to quell the licentious rabble. The ſenate took this affair into conſideration, and ſeveral expedients were propoſed for the preventing of ſuch riots. The majority were for impowering the prætors to whip the players, who, as was ſuppoſed, were the chief authors of theſe tumults. But *Herius Agrippa*, tribune of the people, oppoſed this motion, alledging, that *Auguſtus*, upon a certain occaſion had declared, that players ſhould not be whipt; and indeed that emperor, who took great delight in ſuch diverſions, had, as *Suetonius* informs us [n], and we have hinted above, reſtrained the power of puniſhing the players, which, by an antient law, the magiſtrates had till that time exerciſed over them in all places and ages. *Aſinius Gallus* with great ſharpneſs reprimanded the tribune for his oppoſition; which, however, prevailed, out of reſpect to *Auguſtus*, whoſe laws were to be inviolably obſerved. In order therefore to curb the inſolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the ſenate, curtailed; and it was moreover enacted, that no ſenator ſhould viſit a player, that no *Roman* knight ſhould attend them abroad, and that they ſhould act no-where but in the theatre or public play-houſe. What gave occaſion to this decree was, the great court which the nobility paid them; for not only the people, but knights and ſenators, as *Pliny* informs us [o], attended their levees, and waited upon them when they went abroad. Hence *Seneca* called the nobility of his time *the ſlaves of the pantomimes* [p]. They acted not only in the public theatre, but in private houſes, gardens, *&c.* drawing after them vaſt crowds, and by that means heaping up immenſe wealth. The above-mentioned decrees of the ſenate were therefore well calculated to humble their pride, and check that inſolence which naturally ariſes, eſpecially in perſons of a mean condition, from wealth and honours. As to the ſpectators, the prætors were impowered to puniſh with baniſhment ſuch of them as ſhould raiſe the leaſt diſturbance in the theatre [q]. Thus was an end put for a while to theſe riots and tumults. This year *Tiberius* diſcharged the legacies which *Auguſtus* had left to the people; but ſullied the glory, naturally accruing from ſo plauſible and popular an action, by another equally baſe and cruel; for as he ſeemed not to be in haſte to ſatisfy the people, a merry jeſter ſeeing a dead body

Laws for the curbing of the inſolence of players.

[n] Suet. in Aug. c. 45. [o] Plin. l. xxix. [p] Senec. epiſt. 47. [q] Tacit. ibid. c. 77.

carri

carried by to the grave, accoſting the bier, and pretending to whiſper in the ear of the deceaſed, ſaid aloud, *Remember to let* Auguſtus *know, that the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet paid.* This pleaſantry being related to *Tiberius*, he commanded the jeſter to be brought to him; and, having paid him his full due, cauſed him to be put to death immediately, telling him, That he ſhould go himſelf to *Auguſtus*, ſince he could give him freſher accounts than the deceaſed. However, a few days after, he paid the legacy [r]. This ſame year, the people intreating him to eaſe them of the tax of one *per cent.* eſtabliſhed at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities, he declared by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army (I) depended intirely upon this tax; and that even thus the republic would not be able to defray the vaſt charges attending the final diſmiſſion of veterans before the twentieth year of their ſervice. By this decree, the conceſſions made to the ſoldiery, during the late ſedition, were implicitly revoked, and they obliged to ſerve twenty years as before, inſtead of ſixteen [s]. Thus *Tiberius*, even while he was ſtudying to win the hearts of the people and ſoldiery, gave them juſt motives to complain of his preſent, and to dread his future, behaviour. Let us now leave *Tiberius* for a while, and return to *Germanicus*.

Tiberius *puniſhes a joke with death.*

Revokes the conceſſions granted to the ſoldiery.

THAT brave prince ſpent the winter, when *Siſenna Statilius* and *Lucius Scribonius Libo* were conſuls, in vaſt preparations for another expedition into *Germany*, having his heart and mind wholly bent on the entire reduction of that vaſt continent. He weighed with himſelf the methods he had hitherto

Germanicus *undertakes another expedition into* Germany.

[r] SUET. in Tiber. c. 57. [s] TACIT. ibid. c. 78.

(I) This fund is called, by *Suetonius*, *ærarium militare*, the *military* treaſury: "That the ſoldiers, ſays that writer, ſpeaking of "*Auguſtus*, when diſcharged, might not be tempted to raiſe diſ"turbances by their age and poverty, he aſſigned to each of them "an allowance according to the time and quality of their ſervice; "and that the proviſion allotted them might be eaſy and perpe"tual, he eſtabliſhed a military treaſury, and impoſed new tri"butes for their maintenance (41)". The ſuperintendency of this fund was committed to three perſons, as *Dio* informs us (42), who had been prætors, choſen by lot, and continued in the office three years. They were ſtyled *prefects*, or *ſuperintendants, of the military treaſury*, as we gather from the following inſcription on an antient marble found in *Samnium*: *L. Neratio C. F. Vol. Proculo, Præ. Ærari. Militaris.*

(41) *Suet. in Aug. c.* 49. (42) *Dio. l. lv. p.* 565.

purſued in that war, the misfortunes and ſucceſſes which had attended him ſince he firſt undertook it, and finding that the *Germans* were chiefly indebted for their ſafety to their woods and marſhes, to their ſhort ſummers and early winters, and that his own men ſuffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he reſolved to enter the country by ſea, hoping by that means to begin the campaign earlier and ſurpriſe the enemy. Having therefore built, with great diſpatch during the winter, a thouſand veſſels of different ſorts (K), early in the ſpring *Germanicus* ordered them to fall down the *Rhine*, appointing the Iſland of the *Batavians* (L) for the place of the general rendezvous; as the moſt convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to thoſe parts of *Germany* which he deſigned to invade. While the fleet ſailed *Germanicus* detached *Silius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a ſudden irruption into the country of the *Catti*; and in the mean time he himſelf, upon intelligence that a *Roman* fort upon the *Luppia*

(K) Some of theſe veſſels, ſays *Tacitus*, were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle. Veſſels of this kind are ſtill in uſe among the *Dutch*. Some had flat bottoms, that they might run a-ground without danger. Several had rudders at each end, that the rowers might, only by turning their oars, work them either way. This kind of veſſels, now no longer in uſe, *Tacitus* deſcribes in his book of *the manners of the* Germans, and likewiſe in his hiſtory, where he ſtyles them *cameræ* (42).

(L) *Tacitus* deſcribes the iſland of the *Batavians*, thus: The *Rhine*, ſays he, flowing in one chanel, or only broken by ſmall iſlands, is divided at its entering *Batavia*, as it were into two rivers. One continues its courſe through *Germany*, retaining the ſame name and violent current, till it falls into the ocean. The other, waſhing the coaſt of *Gaul*, with a broader and more gentle ſtream, is called by the inhabitants *Vahales*; which name it ſoon changes for that of the *Moſa*, by the immenſe mouth of which river it diſcharges itſelf into the ſame ocean; ſo that, according to *Tacitus*, the iſland of the *Batavians* was bounded by the ocean, the *Rhine*, and the *Vahales*, now the *Wael*. *Cæſar* extends it to the *Moſa* or *Meuſe* (43); but *Pliny* agrees with *Tacitus* (44). However, the iſland of the *Batavians* was of greater extent in *Tacitus*'s time than in *Cæſar*'s, *Druſus*, the father of *Germanicus*, having by a new canal, conveyed the waters of the *Rhine* into the ocean a conſiderable way north of the former mouth of that river. By this means the antient chanel being dried and filled up, the iſland of the *Batavians* extended to the new canal (45).

(42) *Tacit hiſt l.* iii. (43) *Cæſ comment. l.* iv. *c.* 10.
(44) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 15. (45) *Vide Cellar. geograph. antiq. l.* ii.

was

Septentrio

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

BELGIC OR LOWER GERMANY

GALLIÆ AQUITANICÆ PARS

D.P. Sc.

was beſieged by the enemy, haſtened with ſix legions to its relief. *Silius* was prevented by ſudden rains from doing more than taking ſome ſmall booty, with the wife and daughter of *Arpus* prince of the *Catti*; neither did thoſe who had inveſted the fort ſtay till *Germanicus* arrived, but upon the news of his approach, breaking up the ſiege, fled and diſperſed. However, in their retreat, they threw down the monument lately raiſed in honour of *Varus* and his legions, and alſo an altar formerly erected to *Druſus* (M). The altar *Germanicus* reſtored, and performed with the legions the funeral ceremony of running round it to the honour of his father, according to the antient cuſtom (O); but not thinking fit to ſet up the monument again, he fortified with new works the whole ſpace between the fort, which the enemy had beſieged, the *Aliſo*, now the *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine* (P). In the mean time, the fleet arriving at the iſland of the *Batavians*, the proviſions and warlike engines were put on board and ſent forward; ſhips were aſſigned to the legions and allies, and the whole army being imbarqued, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by *Druſus*, and from his name called *Foſſa Druſiana*, or *the canal of* Druſus (Q). Here the pious general *He imbarques his army.*

(M) *Dio* and *Suetonius* tell us, that a monument was erected in honour of *Druſus* upon the banks of the *Rhine*. Some writers place the altar mentioned here cloſe to this monument, and both at *Mentz*; but it is manifeſt from this paſſage in *Tacitus*, that the altar ſtood not on the *Rhine*, but between that river and the *Lyppe*.

(O) The ceremony of celebrating the funerals of great Men with races, was practiſed in *Homer*'s time, and is deſcribed by moſt of the antient poets, among the reſt very minutely by *Statius* (46). *Livy* tells us, that this ceremony obtained even amongſt the *Carthaginians* (47).

(P) Some commentators take *Aliſo* to be the name of the fort, and read *Tacitus* thus, *cuncta inter caſtellum Aliſonem, & Rhenum, &c.* but *Vertranius*, *Freinſhemius*, and *Lipſius*, *cuncta inter caſtellum, Aliſonem, & Rhenum*, more agreeable perhaps to what we read in *Dion Caſſius*, who tells us, that *Druſus* built a fort at the conflux of the *Luppia* and the *Aliſo* (48). The latter river, now known by the name of *Alme*, runs at a ſmall diſtance from the city of *Paderborn*.

(Q) The *Foſſa Druſiana* was a canal cut by *Druſus* to convey the waters of the *Rhine* into the *Salt*, now the *Sale*, and from thence through the lake *Flevus* into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the preſent village of *Iſſeloort*, to the town of *Doeſburg*,

(46) *Stat. l vi.* (47) *Liv. l. xxxv.* (48) *Dio l.* liv.

and

neral did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beſeeching him to encourage with his example, and inſpire with wholeſome counſels, his ſon, who was following his footſteps.

Arrives at the Amiſia. Hence he ſailed proſperouſly through lakes (R) and the ocean to the *Amiſia* or *Ems*, and having landed his troops at the mouth of that river (S), marched ſtrait to the *Viſurgis* or *Weſer*.

and was very convenient for the conveying of the *Roman* troops by water, to the countries of the *Friſii* and the *Chauci*. It was this convenience that put *Druſus* upon ſuch an undertaking. By means of this new canal the *Rhine* came to have three branches, and to diſcharge itſelf into the ocean by three ſeparate and diſtant mouths, of which the northern was called *Oſtium Flevum*, the weſtern *Oſtium Helium*, and the middle *Oſtium Medium* or *Oſtium Rheni*. *Cæſar*, in deſcribing the courſe of the *Rhine*, ſays, that it diſcharges itſelf into the Ocean by many mouths; but he was therein miſtaken, depending probably on the accounts of others, or taking the canals, which were cut for the draining of the neighbouring lands, for mouths of the *Rhine*. It was well known to the geographers of his time, that the *Rhine* emptied itſelf into the ocean by two mouths only; for *Strabo*, who maintains this opinion, confirms it with the authority of *Aſinius Pollio*, who was contemporary with *Cæſar* (47). Hence *Virgil* gives the *Rhine* the epithet of *bicornis*, or *two-horned*. By means of the canal cut by *Druſus* between the north branch of the *Rhine* and the *Sala*, theſe two rivers ran in one chanel, to the lake *Flevus*, and from thence emptied themſelves into the ocean. This mouth was called *Oſtium Flevum*. *Tacitus* and *Mela*, who wrote after *Druſus*'s time, mention only two mouths, *viz.* the *Flevum* and *Helium*, the middle one being very inconſiderable, and almoſt quite choaked up, after the ſtream was by the *Foſſa Druſiana* conveyed into the *Sala*.

(R) From this and ſeveral other paſſages in *Tacitus*, it is manifeſt, that, in former times, there were ſeveral lakes in this country, though at preſent there is but one, called in the language of the country, *the South Sea*.

(S) In this place *Tacitus* charges *Germanicus* with two overſights. The firſt is, that he landed his troops too near the mouth of the river, by which means they ſuffered much upon the return of the tide, which reached and overflowed the plain where they landed. The other is, that he landed them on the wrong ſide of the river, ſo that many days were ſpent in making bridges. That *Germanicus* not yet well acquainted with the flux and reflux of the ocean, was guilty of the firſt miſtake, is not unlikely; but that he ſhould land his men on the ſide of the river moſt remote from the enemy, and then conſume many days in making bridges to convey them over, is a blunder ſo palpable and notorious, that

(47) *Strabo. l.* iv. *p.* 133.

we

Weſer. While he was incamping on the banks of that river, news was brought him, that the *Angrivarii* (T) had revolted behind him. Hereupon he immediately diſpatched a body of horſe and light-armed foot againſt them, under the command of *Stertinius*, who with fire and ſword ſpread deſolation throughout their country. In the mean time, the famous *Arminius*, being informed of *Germanicus*'s deſign, appeared on the oppoſite bank of the *Viſurgis* (U) at the head of his *Cheruſci*, determined to diſpute with the *Romans* the paſſage of the river. However, before hoſtilities began on either ſide, he aſked, whether *Germanicus* was come; and being anſwered that he was, he begged leave to ſpeak with his brother, who under the name of *Flavius*, had long ſerved in the *Roman* army, and had loſt an eye in fighting under *Tiberius*. His requeſt being granted, *Flavius* advanced; and *Arminius* having firſt ſaluted him and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, deſired that the *Roman* archers, who were drawn up cloſe to the bank of the river, might likewiſe retire. When they were removed, *How came you, brother, by this deformity in your countenance?* ſaid *Arminius*. *Flavius* having told him in what place and battle he had loſt his eye; *And what reward*, aſked *Arminius* in the next place, *have you received for ſo dangerous a warfare? Increaſe of pay*, anſwered *Flavius*; *a crown, a chain, and other military gifts*; which *Arminius* treating with deriſion and ſtyling the vile wages of ſlavery, a warm conteſt aroſe between the two brothers, the one extolling the greatneſs of the *Romans*, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the *Roman* clemency to ſuch as ſubmitted, the kind treatment of the wife

Finds Arminius at the Viſurgis.

An interview between Arminius and his brother.

we could hardly charge with it the moſt unthinking man of his army, much leſs a perſon of his penetration and forecaſt. We ſhall therefore conclude, without entering into the long and tedious diſputes of the critics, that this paſſage is not genuine, but has been ſome way or other maimed and corrupted.

(T) The *Angrivarii* had often changed their habitation, as *Tacitus* informs us (48); but at this time dwelt, as is manifeſt from the paſſage before us, between the *Amiſia* and *Viſurgis*. Some modern geographers think, they poſſeſſed part of the preſent province of *Overyſſel*, of the county of *Benthem*, and of the dioceſe of *Paderborn*.

(U) The *Viſurgis*, as *Lipſius* obſerves in this place, is chiefly indebted to *Tacitus* for its fame, and *Tacitus* for his to the *Viſurgis*; for in a monaſtery on this river, were found the five firſt books of his annals, after they had been long looked upon as loſt.

(48) *Tacit. de mor. German. c.* 33.

and

and ſon of *Arminius*, not uſed like captives, &c. *Arminius*, on the other hand, alledged the rights of their common country, their ancient liberty, the gods of their anceſtors, beſeeching him by their common mother not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country, to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have come to blows, had not *Stertinius* laid hold of *Fluvius*, and, calling for his horſe and armour, reſtrained him. On the oppoſite bank, *Arminius*, ſwelled with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the *Romans* as he departed with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many *Latin* words, which he had learnt while he ſerved as general of his countrymen in the *Roman* armies [t].

THE next day, the *German* army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the *Viſurgis* in order of battle. But *Germanicus*, not thinking it adviſeable to attack them, ordered the horſe to ford over under the conduct of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, to divide the enemy's forces, croſſed the river in diſtant places. At the ſame time *Cariovalda*, leader of the *Batavians*, paſſed it where it was moſt rapid; but being drawn into an ambuſcade by the enemy and ſurrounded on all ſides, he fell under a ſhower of darts, while he was with incredible bravery attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the *Batavian* nobility fell round him; the reſt were ſaved either by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, upon the firſt notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their diſtreſſed allies. *Germanicus* having, during this ſkirmiſh, paſſed the *Viſurgis* without moleſtation, was informed by a deſerter, that *Arminius*, being joined by ſeveral *German* nations, had reſolved to attack his camp by night. Hereupon the *Roman* general ſent out ſcouts to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noiſe of men and horſes, and diſcerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Then *Germanicus*, no longer doubting, but they deſigned to venture a deciſive battle, in order to be informed in this critical conjuncture of the real inclinations of his ſoldiers, and not to depend on the reports of the tribunes and centurions, who were often apt to conceal the truth and relate only what was pleaſing, in the beginning of the night went out of the prætorium in diſguiſe, only with one attendant; and liſtening from tent to tent to the diſcourſes of the ſoldiery, while over their meals they frankly diſcloſed their hopes and fears, he had the ſatisfaction

The Batavians *drawn into an ambuſcade by the* Germans.

Germanicus *paſſes the* Viſurgis.

How he diſcovered the ſentiments of the ſoldiery.

[t] TACIT. ibid. c. 5—10.

to

to hear his own praiſes in every one's mouth, and the ſoldiers encouraging each other to exert themſelves in the approaching battle, out of gratitude to ſo deſerving a general. While *Germanicus* was thus agreeably employed, one of the *Germans*, who ſpoke *Latin*, riding up to the *Roman* intrenchments, offered, in the name of *Arminius*, to every deſerter a wife, land, and a hundred ſeſterces a day, as long as the war laſted. This offer the legions looked upon as an affront; and, full of rage and reſentment, *Let day come*, ſaid they, *we will ſeize their lands, we will take, not receive*, German *wives*. About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the *Romans* ready to receive them, they retired without diſcharging a ſingle dart. Early next morning, *Germanicus*, having aſſembled his troops, acquainted them with his deſign, which was to put an end to ſo fatiguing a war with a deciſive battle; made them ſenſible of their advantage over the enemy both as to their arms and manner of fighting; repreſented the *Germans* as men of a frightful aſpect, and violent in the beginning of a battle; but diſheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own diſgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in diſtreſs, in proſperity deſpiſers of all divine and human laws. In the end of his ſpeech he exhorted his men to put an end to ſo great fatigues by ſea, to their tedious marches by land, by making him conquer in thoſe very countries, where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inſpired the whole army with great ardour, which was expreſſed with a general ſhout and loud acclamations. Neither did *Arminius* and the other *German* chiefs neglect to animate their reſpective corps, and encourage them, either to maintain by their bravery the liberty they had received from their anceſtors, or to prevent ſlavery by a glorious death. Having thus animated their men, they led them calling for battle into a plain called *Indiſtaviſus* (W), which was bounded on one ſide by the *Viſurgis*, and on the other by a ridge of hills. Behind this plain was a foreſt of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below. The *Germans* were all drawn up on the plain and at the entrance of the foreſt, except the *Cheruſci*, who were poſted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the *Romans* from thence in the heat

Germanicus *encourages his men.*

(W) *Lipſius*, who ſurveyed with great care, and no eſs pleaſure, the places here deſcribed by *Tacitus*, takes the plain called by him *Indiſtaviſus* to be that plain, which begins at a village called *Vegeſack*, about two *German* miles from the city of *Breme*, and extends a great way towards the ſea, between a ridge of hills and the *Weſer*.

of the fight. *Germanicus* had ſcarce entered the plain with his troops in battle array, when he obſerved the *Cheruſci*, impatient of delays, pouring down the hills. Hereupon he commanded a choſen body of horſe to charge them in flank, and at the ſame time detached *Stertinius* with the reſt of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about and fall upon their rear (X). In the mean while, the *Roman* infantry advancing attacked the enemy in front with ſuch vigour, that the *Germans*, not able to ſtand the ſhock, immediately gave ground. Thoſe who were poſted at the entrance of the foreſt fled to the plain, and thoſe in the plain to the foreſt. The *Cheruſci* alone maintained the fight, being encouraged by the example of the valiant *Arminius*, who, though wounded, would have broke through the *Roman* archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, and *Gauls*, haſtened to their relief. However, by his own valour and the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, he eſcaped the preſent danger, having firſt dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the *Chauci*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army, having known him, ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted. The ſame bravery or connivance procured *Inguiomerus*'s eſcape; the reſt were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to ſwim croſs the *Viſurgis*. The ſlaughter laſted from morning till night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. Among the ſpoils chains were found, which they had brought, not doubting of ſucceſs, to bind the *Roman* captives. The *Romans* were no ſooner returned from the purſuit, than *Germanicus*, aſcribing the whole glory of ſo remarkable a victory to *Tiberius*, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, cauſed him to be proclaimed *emperor* on the field of battle, and, raiſing a mount, placed upon it as trophies the arms of the enemy, and inſcribed underneath the names of the conquered nations [u].

He engages the enemy.

The Germans defeated with great ſlaughter.

THE *Germans*, though vanquiſhed, and already determined to abandon their country and ſeek for ſhelter beyond the *Albis* or *Elbe*, were ſo enraged at the raiſing of this mount, which they looked upon as an affront not to be born, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again,

[u] Idem ibid. c. 11---13.

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that as the troops were marching towards the enemy, eight eagles were ſeen to fly towards the wood and enter it; which *Germanicus* looking upon as a preſage of victory, *Advance*, he cried, *follow the* Roman *birds; follow the tutelar gods of the legions.*

people,

people, nobility, young and old, all in a confuſed body, ruſhed ſuddenly upon the *Romans*, like men in deſpair, and put them, as they were on their march and under no apprehenſion of an enemy, into ſome diſorder. Being repulſed, they incamped in a plain ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt was ſurrounded by a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was incloſed by a broad rampart raiſed formerly by the *Angrivarii*, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the *Cheruſci*. In this plain the enemy poſted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall upon the rear of the *Roman* army, as ſoon as they had entered the foreſt. *Germanicus*, being informed of their deſign and every ſtep they took, ordered *Seius Tubero*, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other himſelf to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke eaſily in; but the attack of the rampart coſt *Germanicus* dear, the *Germans* defending it with great boldneſs and intrepidity. However, having at length, by ſhowers of darts, poured upon the enemy from his engines, beat them off and taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a moſt dreadful havock of the enemy, who fought indeed with as much courage as the *Romans*, but could not, for want of room, manage their long ſpears. However, they made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and diſputed the ground inch by inch. *Arminius* did not on this occaſion exert his uſual activity, being diſabled and weakened by a wound he received; but *Inguiomerus*, with great intrepidity flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. *Germanicus*, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and animated his men to purſue the ſlaughter: *No quarter*, he cried; *we want no captives, nothing but an utter deſtruction of theſe perfidious nations will put an end to the war.* However, as the day was already far ſpent, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the reſt continued the ſlaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This ſecond victory was entirely owing to the foot, for the horſe fought with doubtful ſucceſs. *Germanicus*, having from his tribunal commended his victorious troops, of the arms taken from the enemy formed a monument with this inſcription: TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS, THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING ENTIRELY VANQUISHED THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ALBIS,

A ſecond battle.

The Germans defeated anew.

CONSECRATES THIS MONUMENT. He made no mention of himſelf, either to avoid giving umbrage to *Tiberius*, or becauſe he thought the recording of the fact a ſufficient teſtimony of his valour and conduct. After this he detached *Stertinius* againſt the *Angrivarii*, who by a ready ſubmiſſion prevented the calamities that threatened them. *Germanicus*, no leſs compaſſionate than brave, pardoned them without reſerve, and ſuffered them to live quietly, according to their own laws, under the protection of *Rome* w.

The Angrivarii ſubmit.

As the ſummer was already far ſpent, *Germanicus* with the reduction of the *Angrivarii* put an end to the campaign, ſending ſome of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and imbarquing himſelf with the others on the *Amiſia* in order to return by ſea. The ocean proved at firſt very calm and the wind favourable; but all on a ſudden a ſtorm ariſing, the fleet, conſiſting of a thouſand veſſels was diſperſed; ſome of them were ſwallowed by the waves, others daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhoſpitable iſlands, where the men either periſhed with famine, or lived upon the fleſh of the dead horſes, with which the ſhores appeared ſoon ſtrewed; for in order to lighten their veſſels and diſengage them from the ſhoals, they had been obliged to throw over board their horſes and beaſts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The galley of *Germanicus* alone landed on the coaſt of the *Chauci*, where the good-natured general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-ſoldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, keeping his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ſea, in hopes of deſcrying ſome of the diſperſed veſſels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accuſing himſelf as the author of this dreadful havock; nay, diſtracted with grief, he would have thrown himſelf headlong into the deep, had not his friends with much ado reſtrained him. At length to his infinite ſatisfaction he diſcovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very bad condition, ſome of the veſſels being without oars, others without ſails, uſing in their ſtead the ſoldiers cloaks; many were quite diſabled, and towed by ſuch as had ſuffered leſs. The latter he cauſed to be immediately repaired, and diſpatched them to the neighbouring iſlands in queſt of his diſperſed legionaries. By this means the greater part of them were at length brought back. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately ſubmitted, to give *Germanicus* on this occaſion an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours, and reſtored them. Some

Germanicus returning by ſea ſuffers a violent ſtorm.

His great concern.

Recovers many of his men.

w Idem ibid. c. 21, 22.

who

who had been driven into our iſland, were generouſly ſent back by the petty kings, who at that time reigned here [x] (Y).

UPON the news of this wreck, the *Catti*, taking new courage, ran to arms; but *Caius Silius*, detached againſt them with thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, kept them in awe. As for *Germanicus* himſelf, at the head of a more numerous body, he made a ſudden irruption into the country of the *Marſi* (Z), where he was informed by one *Malovendus*, who had once commanded their troops, but had lately taken party with the *Romans*, that the eagle of one of *Varus*'s legions was concealed under ground in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a ſmall body of troops. This intelligence filled *Germanicus* with joy: he immediately diſpatched two parties, the one to face the enemy and draw them from their poſt, the other to fall upon their rear and dig up the eagle. Succeſs attended both, and the *Roman* general, having ravaged and laid waſte the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph; he then returned to the frontiers of *Gaul*, and there put his troops into winter-quarters, having by this glorious and ſucceſsful expedition, retrieved, in ſome degree, the glory of the *Roman* name, and balanced his late misfortune at ſea [y]. He hoped in one campaign more to complete the reduction of *Germany*, and, in order to keep up the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, and encourage them to purſue with alacrity that great work, he made good at his own expence all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm, cauſing as much to be paid to each legionary as each declared he had loſt.

Invades the country of the Marſi, *and recovers one of* Varus's *eagles.*

BUT, in the mean time, *Tiberius*, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his nephew acquired, by his repeated victories over the *Germans*, and his popularity, reſolved to ſeparate him from his old and faithful legions. In order

He is recalled by Tiberius.

[x] Idem, c. 23, 24. [y] Idem, c. 25.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe who came from diſtant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with ſtrange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never before heard of, of ſea-monſters, which from their ambiguous forms appeared to be a new ſpecies between men and beaſts. Travellers we find have ever been apt to magnify what they have ſeen, and relate what they have never ſeen.

(Z) Before the canal, of which we have ſpoken above, was cut by *Druſus*, the *Marſi* inhabited part of the territories of *Velawe* and *Zutphen*, where the preſent cities of *Arnheim*, *Grolle*, and *Bredefort* ſtand: but afterwards they ſettled between the *Rhine* and *Iſala*, and in proceſs of time changed the name of *Marſi* for that of *Marſaci* or *Marſatti*.

to

to this, he preſſed him by frequent letters to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph decreed him: he urged, that he had already undergone dangers enow; that though ſucceſs had attended him, yet he had ſuſtained great loſſes, which indeed were owing to no fault of his, but to the winds and waves; that he himſelf, having been ſent nine times into *Germany* by *Auguſtus*, had more by policy than force of arms brought the *Sicambri* into ſubjection, and drawn the *Suevi* and *Marobodnus* king of the *Marcomanni* to conclude a peace with *Rome*: he added, that the *Cheruſci* and other barbarous nations, now the *Romans* had been fully revenged on them, might be left to purſue their domeſtic feuds and deſtroy one another. *Germanicus*, in anſwer to the emperor's letters, earneſtly intreated him to indulge him but one year more to complete his conqueſt, ſince the enemy were already concerting meaſures for obtaining peace. *Tiberius* was inflexible; in order therefore to intice him home, he offered him a ſecond conſulſhip, adding in his letter, that if the war was ſtill to be purſued, he ought to have ſome regard for his brother *Druſus*, and not ingroſs all the glory to himſelf; that *Rome* had at preſent no other enemies to wage war with but the *Germans*, and *Druſus* no other field of glory but *Germany*. Though *Germanicus* was well appriſed, that theſe were but ſpecious pretences, ſuggeſted by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; however, finding it was in vain to perſiſt any longer, he complied at length, and, leaving *Germany*, ſet out for *Rome* with his wife and children. But, before we ſpeak of the reception he met with from *Tiberius* and the *Roman* people, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of what paſſed in the metropolis, while he was ſignalizing himſelf in *Germany*.

Sets out for Rome.

Tiberius had the foregoing year revived, as we have related above, the law of majeſty, and upon this law was now arraigned *Libo Druſus*, tried, and condemned, and his eſtate divided among his accuſers, which was encouraging that baneful ſet of men, and ſounding the trumpet, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to informations and arraignments. *Lucius Scribonius Libo Druſus* was deſcended of the *Scriboni-*

Libo Druſus *accuſed of high treaſon.*

an family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*, was the great grandſon of *Pompey the Great*, nephew of *Scribonia* once the wife of *Auguſtus*, nearly related to the *Cæſars*, and no ways inferior in nobility to the reigning houſe. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to *Tiberius*, which a ſenator, by name *Firmius Catus*, being well appriſed of, reſolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plauſible pretence to deliver himſelf from his fears. With this view, having inſinuated himſelf

himſelf into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition, and conſtantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to conſult the *Chaldeans* and magicians, whether he ſhould not be one day veſted with the ſovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, ſaid the treacherous *Firmius*, as the family of *Tiberius* who enjoyed it. This was ſufficient matter for a charge of high treaſon; and accordingly *Firmius* immediately acquainted the emperor by means of *Flaccus Veſcularius*, a *Roman* knight, who had free acceſs to him, with the pretended crimes of the unhappy youth, whom he had baſely inſnared with ſpecious deluſions. *Tiberius*, though overjoyed at this information, refuſed the accuſer a private audience, ſending him word, that the communication might be ſtill carried on by the ſame *Flaccus*, and accordingly *Firmius* by his means informed the emperor of all *Libo*'s ſteps and words; for the unwary youth, deluded by the predictions of the *Chaldeans* and aſtrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of ſoaring above the rank of a private citizen. In the mean time, *Tiberius* with the deepeſt diſſimulation preferred *Libo* to the prætorſhip, entertained him at his table, and familiarly converſed with him, without ever betraying the leaſt reſentment, either in his words or countenance. At length *Libo*, having recourſe to one *Junius*, who pretended by charms, and the ſuperſtitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal ſhades, and learn of them future events, the magician diſcovered this to one *Fulcinius Trio*, a famous informer, who immediately haſtening to the conſuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the ſenate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of ſo much moment, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence to the ſtate. The fathers, not doubting but *Tiberius* was at the bottom of this proſecution, did not fail to aſſemble at the time appointed, when *Libo* appeared in the habit of a ſuppliant, and, preſenting himſelf before *Tiberius*, who was preſent, endeavoured by his tears and intreaties to ſoften him. The emperor heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, inſtead of returning him any anſwer, recited to the conſcript fathers the charge againſt him, and the names of the accuſers, without betraying the leaſt emotion of anger or reſentment, or ſeeming either to leſſen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge. When the emperor had done, four accuſers appeared againſt the criminal, viz. *Firmius Catus*, *Fulcinius Trio*, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Caius Vibius*, and produced ſuch extravagant, fooliſh, and chimerical articles, as rather deſerved pity than puniſhment. One of theſe, from which we may judge of the others, was, that he,

Miſled and betrayed by Firmius Catus.

Is tried by the ſenate.

Articles produced against him.

he had aſked the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould not one day be poſſeſſed of riches ſufficient to cover with money the great *Appian* road from *Rome* to *Brunduſium? Vibius* produced a paper containing the names of the *Cæſars*, that is, of *Tiberius*, *Druſus*, and *Germanicus*, and thoſe of ſome ſenators, with myſterious characters and magical notes joined to them. Theſe the accuſer pretended were written with *Libo*'s own hand, which he denying, it was moved, that his ſlaves ſhould be examined upon the rack, but becauſe, by an old *Roman* law, ſlaves could not be put to the torture in a trial touching the life of their maſters, the crafty *Tiberius* found a trick to evade that law, without ſeeming to violate it: he ordered the ſlaves to be ſold to the public, that they might then be evidence againſt their late maſter: this poor evaſion was firſt contrived and practiſed by *Auguſtus*, as we have ſhewn above. The unhappy *Libo*, concluding from this ſtep, that *Tiberius* was reſolved upon his deſtruction, begged the conſcript fathers, that they would put off till the next day the final deciſion of his cauſe. His requeſt being granted, he returned to his own houſe: whence ſoon after he ſent *Publius Quirinius* to ſpeak to the emperor in his behalf. *Quirinius* was nearly related to *Libo*, and in great favour with *Tiberius*, having been formerly, as we have related above, inſtrumental in reconciling *Caius Cæſar* to him while he lived in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and by that means the chief cauſe of his returning into favour with *Auguſtus*. But, unmindful of antient obligations, he received *Quirinius* with great coldneſs, and returned no other anſwer, but that he muſt apply to the ſenate. This anſwer threw *Libo* into a deep melancholy, which, however, he diſſembled, and ordered a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to paſs the laſt night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet was ſcarce begun, when a band of ſoldiers, ſurrounding the houſe, with a ſtudied noiſe and dreadful cries, ſo terrified the gueſts, that many of them, riſing from table, endeavoured to make their eſcape. *Libo*, not doubting but they were ſent to diſpatch him, drawing his ſword, offered it to his ſlaves, begging them to put an end with it to his unhappy life: but they, trembling and ſhunning the ſad taſk, fled with ſuch fury and confuſion, that they overturned all the lights, and then *Libo* in the dark gave himſelf two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the ſoldiers ſeeing him dead retired; for they had been ſent on purpoſe to frighten him, ſo as to make him lay violent hands on himſelf, *Tiberius* hoping by that means to avoid the odium, which, he was well appriſed, the execution of one

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

of

of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of *Rome* would reflect upon his perſon and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the ſenate, as if he had been ſtill alive; but the deceitful *Tiberius* at the ſame time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himſelf. The deceaſed was by the ſenate declared guilty of high-treaſon, and his eſtate divided amongſt his accuſers: ſuch of the informers as were of the ſenatorial order (for the firſt lords of the ſenate were not aſhamed to debaſe themſelves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the enſuing year. This was the moſt effectual means imaginable of multiplying theſe peſts of the empire: they were raiſed to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, and the metropolis of the world often ſaw her public dignities beſtowed, as ſpoils, upon parricides, for ſpilling her beſt blood. We may well imagine, that the ſervile ſenate did not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. *Cotta Meſſalinus* moved, that the image of *Libo* might not be carried at the funerals of his poſterity; *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the *Scribonian* family ſhould thenceforth take the name of *Drauſus*: at the motion of *Pomponius Flaccus* days of thankſgiving were appointed. *Lucius Publius*, *Attius Gallus*, *Papius Mutilius*, and *Lucius Apronius*, were of opinion, that gifts ſhould be preſented to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to the goddeſs *Concord*; and that the ides of *September*, the day on which *Libo* killed himſelf, ſhould be for ever obſerved as a feſtival[z]. So great was the debaſement of the once venerable *Roman* ſenate, even in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign. It was not enough for the conſcript fathers to have condemned *Libo*; they iſſued a decree for driving aſtrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers, out of *Italy*; nay, *Lucius Pituanius*, one of them whom *Libo* had probably conſulted, was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; and *Publius Marcius*, another of the ſame profeſſion, was by the conſuls ſentenced to death, and executed accordingly, without the *Eſquiline* gate.

Is found guilty of high-treaſon after his death by the ſenate.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

Fortune-tellers driven out of Rome.

At the next meeting of the ſenate, *Quintus Haterius*, once conſul, and *Octavius Fronto*, formerly prætor, moved, that a ſtop might be put to the exceſſive luxury which prevailed in the city; and at their motion a law paſſed, forbidding all to uſe plate of maſſy gold, and men to debaſe them-

[z] Idem, ibid. c. 27—32.

ſelves with wearing ſilks, which were then thought peculiar to women. *Fronto* went farther, and propoſed, that the quantity of ſilver-plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of ſlaves, might be regulated. But he was oppoſed therein by *Aſinius Gallus*, who, with plauſible arguments, defended the prevailing luxury. Beſides, *Tiberius* himſelf did not approve of *Fronto*'s motion; for, after *Gallus* had done ſpeaking, he added, that it was not a ſeaſon for reformation, and that if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redreſs that evil, alluding thereby, no doubt to himſelf in his office of perpetual cenſor. As it was common for the ſenators to depart from the preſent debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judged conducing to the public welfare, *Lucius Piſo*, who ſtill retained the antient *Roman* ſpirit, and declared his ſentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the corruptions of the ſtate, particularly againſt the peſtilent purſuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and circumventing all men, proteſted that he was reſolved to leave *Rome*, and live in ſome quiet and diſtant corner of the country. With theſe words he went out of the ſenate; but *Tiberius*, though highly provoked, ſmothered his reſentment, and, following *Piſo*, endeavoured to ſooth him with kind intreaties; nay, he even condeſcended to ſolicit his relations to divert him, with their prayers and authority, from the reſolution he had taken; which they did accordingly. *Piſo*, not long after, gave another inſtance of a ſpirit truly *Roman*, in ſuing for a debt one *Urgulania*, a woman of diſtinction, and placed, by the favour of *Livia*, above the laws. *Piſo* ſummoned her to appear before the prætor; but ſhe, deſpiſing the ſummons, fled for refuge to the palace; whence *Piſo* would have carried her by force before the prætor; notwithſtanding the complaints of *Livia*, had not *Tiberius*, to prevent diſturbances, obliged her to comply with the ſummons, and at the ſame time promiſed, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial, and aſſiſt her favourite. On the day appointed for the deciſion of the cauſe, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a diſtance; but walked ſo ſlow, that, before he reached the forum, the trial was over, and *Urgulania* adjudged to pay the ſum claimed by *Piſo*. The money was immediately advanced by *Livia*, who, finding *Piſo* inflexible, and the emperor no-ways inclined to oppoſe him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the trouble, which ſo bold and reſolute a creditor would not have failed to create her (A).

The uſe of plate and maſſy gold, &c. forbidden.

The free ſpirit of L. Piſo.

(A). The proceeding of *Tiberius*, on this occaſion, was highly applauded by the *Roman* people, as was alſo his generoſity at this time towards ſome neceſſitous ſenators, whom, with his gratuities, he inabled to live ſuitable to their rank. However, he rejected with haughtineſs the petition of *Marcus Hortalus*, the grandſon of *Hortenſius* the famous orator, who, as we have related above, had been encouraged by *Auguſtus*, with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſterces, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of his illuſtrious family. As he had now four children, he placed them before the door of the ſenate-houſe, and ſhewing them to the conſcript fathers, in a moving ſpeech beſought both them and the emperor, to defend from want the offspring of ſo many conſuls, the deſcendants of ſo many dictators, whom he had not brought into the world by his own choice, but in compliance with the deſire of the deified *Auguſtus*. The conſcript fathers, touched with compaſſion, were inclined to relieve him; but *Tiberius* oppoſed it, ſaying, that if they relieved all who were poor, and took upon them to maintain their children, the public would ſoon fail; that if the public treaſury came to be exhauſted by popular bounties, it muſt be ſupplied with rapine and oppreſſion; that by ſuch bounties induſtry would languiſh, and ſloth prevail, *&c.* The greater part of the fathers ſufficiently declared with their ſilence, that they did not like this ſpeech; which *Tiberius* perceiving, after having pauſed a little, to qualify what he had ſaid, added, that his anſwer was addreſſed in particular to *Hortalus*, but that if the ſenate thought fit, he was ready to give his ſons two hundred great ſeſterces each. The ſenators returned him thanks for his generous diſpoſition; but *Hortalus* himſelf was ſilent, affronted at the emperor's ſpeech, and even in poverty full of the antient grandeur of his family; which ſo eſtranged *Tiberius* from him, that he never after took any further notice of him or his family, though reduced to extreme poverty [2].

Tiberius's generoſity to ſome ſenators.

He refuſes to relieve the ſenator M. Hortalus.

THIS ſame year, a ſlave of *Poſthumus Agrippa*, by name *Clemens*, would have raiſed great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of *Italy*, had he not been

The bold deſign of Clemens, *bondman to* Agrippa Poſthumus

[2] Idem ibid. c. 37, 38.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that the power of *Urgulania* was ſo great, that ſhe diſdained to appear as a witneſs in a certain cauſe before the ſenate; ſo that a prætor was ſent to examine her at her own houſe, though it had been always uſual, even for the veſtal virgins, to attend the forum and courts of juſtice, whenever their evidence was required.

prevented in good time. As he was much about the ſame age with his late maſter, and not unlike him in his perſon, he took upon him his name, and cauſed it to be reported in all parts by his emiſſaries and aſſociates, that *Agrippa* was ſtill alive. This raiſed great tumults in many cities of *Italy*, and brought over to the pretended *Agrippa* vaſt numbers of people, ſuch as are ever fond of public diſturbances and changes. The report was even credited at *Rome*, and his ſuppoſed arrival at *Oſtia* privately celebrated in the city by multitudes of people. *Tiberius* informed by his emiſſaries of all that paſſed, was long in ſuſpence whether he ſhould order his troops to march againſt the audacious ſlave; or ſuffer the impoſture to vaniſh of itſelf, which he was well appriſed muſt ſoon happen. On one hand, he was aſhamed to betray any fear of a vile ſlave; and on the other he apprehended the danger which might ariſe from the credulity of the people, if they were not ſoon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to *Salluſtius Criſpus*, the ſame whom he had employed to diſpatch *Agrippa*. *Criſpus* choſe two of his clients, or, as ſome write two ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, and ſent them to the ſuppoſed *Agrippa* with a conſiderable ſum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandſon of *Auguſtus*, to preſent him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cauſe. They executed his orders with great addreſs, and finding that *Clemens* repoſed in them an intire confidence, they underhand got ready a proper band of men, ſeized and gagged him while his guards were aſleep, and carried him without noiſe to the palace. When he was brought before *Tiberius*, the emperor aſked him, *How he durſt become* Agrippa? *Juſt as you became* Cæſar, anſwered *Clemens*. Though *Tiberius* had him wholly in his power, yet ſo great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be diſpatched in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's houſhold, many knights and ſenators were ſaid to have aſſiſted and ſupported him with their counſels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices [b]. Towards the end of this year a triumphal arch was raiſed near the temple of *Saturn* as a monument for the recovery of the eagles of the *Varian* legions: a temple was dedicated to *Valiant Fortune* in the gardens which *Julius Cæſar* had bequeathed to the *Roman* people, and a

He is ſeized by a device of Salluſtius Criſpus, *and diſpatched privately.*

[b] Idem. c. 39—40. Dio. l. lvii. p. 613. Suet. in Tib. c. 25.

chapel

chapel to the *Julian* family; ſtatues were alſo conſecrated to *Auguſtus* at *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

In the mean time, *Germanicus* arriving with his wife and children in the capital, was there received by *Tiberius* with all poſſible marks of a ſeeming friendſhip and affection; he congratulated him on his paſt dangers, ſeemed highly pleaſed with his conduct, extolled his mighty feats, and with the deepeſt diſſimulation commended him to the ſenate, as well deſerving the greateſt honours it was in their power to confer upon him. The triumph, which had been decreed him, was put off till the following year, when *Caius Cælius*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Cæcilius Rufus*, and *Lucius Pomponius Flaccus* were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Germanicus* triumphed on the twenty-ſixth day of *May* over the *Catti*, the *Angrivarii*, the *Cheruſci*, and all the *German* nations between the *Rhine* and the *Albis*, or the *Elbe*. *Germanicus* had not indeed extended his conqueſts to the latter of theſe rivers; but the emperor, to make him amends for ſtopping him in the full career of his victories, counted thoſe conqueſts as complete, which he had prevented him from completing. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried repreſentations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the *German* chiefs, and the wife of *Arminius*, carrying in her arms her infant ſon. But what above all heightened the ſhow and the ſatisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulneſs of *Germanicus*'s perſon, and his chariot filled with his five children, viz. *Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*, and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Druſilla*. *Tiberius*, to render the ſolemnity more complete and the joy of the people more univerſal, diſtributed among them in the name of *Germanicus* a large ſum, three hundred ſeſterces a man, and named himſelf his collegue in the conſulſhip for the enſuing year. But notwithſtanding all theſe demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection, the people ſtill ſuſpected his ſincerity; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father *Druſus*; that his uncle *Marcellus* was ſnatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth, and that the favourites of the *Roman* people had ever been unfortunate and ſhort-lived. And truly, their fears were not ill-grounded; for *Tiberius*, jealous of the glory of the young prince and the high favour he was in both with the people and ſoldiery, was already reſolved on his deſtruction, and meditating with himſelf how to compaſs his wicked deſign, and

Germanicus *how received by* Tiberius.

His triumph.

Tiberius *reſolved on his deſtruction.*

at

at the ſame time avoid the irreconcileable hatred, which he well knew, would thence ariſe to him from all orders of men. While he was wholly taken up with theſe thoughts, a favourable opportunity offered, or rather, was craftily framed by *Tiberius*, for removing from *Rome* the darling of the people. *Archelaus* (B) king of *Cappadocia* had many years before incurred his diſpleaſure, by neglecting to pay his court to him, during his retirement at *Rhodes* (C). This the revengeful emperor remembered, and therefore having inticed the king to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promiſing him his pardon, provided he came in perſon to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtineſs, but cauſed him to be accuſed as a criminal in the ſenate. As the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was by the conſcript fathers declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſoon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on himſelf,

Archelaus *king of* Cappadocia *called to* Rome, *where he dies.*

(B) *Torrentius*, *Riccioli*, and *Salian* confound *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* with *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Herod*, king of *Judea*. They were led into this miſtake by a paſſage in *Suetonius*, who in the life of *Tiberius* tells us, that he pleaded the cauſe of *Archelaus*, which was his firſt eſſay in eloquence. This cauſe the abovementioned writers take to be that which *Archelaus* the ſon of *Herod* maintained at *Rome* againſt his brothers about his father's laſt will, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Jews* (49). But it is evident both from *Joſephus* and *Dion Caſſius*, that *Tiberius* at the time of this trial was not at *Rome*, but lived in retirement at *Rhodes*; nay, the latter writer tells us in expreſs terms, that *Tiberius* undertook the defence of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, againſt his own ſubjects; and that the *Cappadocian* prince incurred his diſpleaſure, by ſeeming to neglect him in his diſgrace, notwithſtanding the kindneſs he had ſhewn him on that occaſion (50). He was the great grandſon of the famous *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, againſt *Sylla*, and afterwards, abandoning his own prince, ſided with *Lucullus*. His daughter *Glaphyra* was firſt married to *Alexander*, and afterwards to his brother *Archelaus*, both ſons to *Herod*, as we have related elſewhere (51). It is ſurpriſing the abovementioned writers ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a miſtake.

(C) It was not out of ingratitude or contempt, as *Tacitus* informs us, that *Archelaus* declined attending upon *Tiberius*, while he reſided at *Rhodes*, but becauſe he had been warned by his friends at the court of *Auguſtus* to take no notice of him, leſt he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor.

(49) *Hiſt Univerſ. Vol. X. p.* 271, & ſeq. (50) *Dio. l.* lvii.
(51) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p.* 186, & 282.

himſelf, after having reigned fifty years [c]. Some time after *Cappadocia* was reduced to a *Roman* province, which inabled *Tiberius* to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enenjoy [d]. At the ſame time, died *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Philopator*, king of *Cilicia*, which occaſioned great diſturbances in thoſe countries, ſome being for the *Roman* government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of *Syria* and *Judæa* being over-loaded with taxes, applied to the emperor and ſenate for relief [e]. Neither was *Parthia* without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out *Vonones*, whom they had demanded of *Auguſtus* for their king, placed in his room on the throne *Artabanes*, a prince of the family of the *Arſacidæ*, but at that time, according to *Joſephus*, king of the *Medes* [f]. Theſe diſturbances and commotions in the eaſt proved very favourable to the wicked deſigns of *Tiberius*, who repreſented to the ſenate, that they could not be well compoſed but by the wiſdom and abilities of *Germanicus*; as for himſelf, he was, he ſaid, in the decline of his age, and that of his ſon *Druſus* was not yet ripe. Hereupon all the provinces of the eaſt were readily decreed to *Germanicus*, and a greater power conferred on him, than had been given to any governor ſince the time of *Pompey the Great*. But to balance and reſtrain the extraordinary authority with which he was veſted, *Tiberius* had already removed from the government of *Syria Creticus Silanus*, whoſe daughter was betrothed to *Nero*, the eldeſt ſon of *Germanicus*, and placed in his room *Cneius Piſo* (D), a man of a moſt violent and untractable

Diſturbances in the eaſt.

The provinces of the eaſt decreed to Germanicus.

[c] TACIT. ibid. c. 41. DIO l. lvii. p. 613. NORIS epoch. p. 142. STRAB. l. vii. p. 291, 292. [d] DIO. l. lix. [e] TACIT. c. 42, 43. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [f] TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 1. JOSEPH. ibid.

(D) *Cneius Piſo* was the ſon of *Cneius Calpurnius Piſo*, who, as we have related above, maintained with great intrepidity the republican party againſt *Julius Cæſar* in *Africa*. Afterwards he joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but after the battle of *Philippi* was allowed to return to *Rome*, where he ſcorned to ſue for any public offices, chuſing to live in retirement, till *Auguſtus* prevailed upon him to accept the conſulſhip. *Feſtus* tells us, that the *Calpurnian* family pretended to derive their origin from one *Calpus* or *Calphus*, the ſon of *Numa Pompilius* (52). However that be, it is certain, that the

(52) *Feſt. in voce Calpurnius.*

Calpurnian

Cn Piſo *preferred to the government of* Syria, *in deſpite to* Germanicus.

tractable temper, and to ſuch a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his wife *Plancina* (E), that he ſcarce yielded to *Tiberius*, and deſpiſed his ſons, viz. *Druſus* and *Germanicus*, as perſons beneath his rank: in ſhort, he was in every reſpect the moſt proper perſon in *Rome* to execute thoſe fatal purpoſes for which he was chiefly choſen. His wife *Plancina*, who was ſtill of a more haughty temper than her huſband, had ſecret inſtructions from *Livia* to exert her ſpirit, and by all manner of indignities proſecute and inſult *Agrippina* (F). Before *Germanicus* left *Rome*, *Druſus* was ſent into *Illyricum* on occaſion of a bloody war, which broke out, ſoon after the departure of the *Romans*, between *Marobodus* king of the *Suevians*, *Marcomannians*, and *Langobards* on one ſide, and the *Cheruſcans*, on the other, headed by the brave *Arminius*. *Marobodus* was overcome in a great battle, and obliged, moſt of his men abandoning him, to retire into the country of the *Marcomannians*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to

Calpurnian family was one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious in *Rome*, and no-ways inferior to the *Claudian*, of which *Tiberius* was deſcended.

(E) *Plancina* was either the daughter or the niece of the famous *Munatius Plancus*, of whom we have ſpoken in ſeveral parts of this work. *Dion Caſſius* calls her *Munatia Plancina*, and ſo ſhe is ſtyled in an inſcription, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, in the palace which at preſent belongs to the family of the *Chigi*

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole court was rent into parties, ſome favouring *Druſus*, and others *Germanicus* *Tiberius* was partial to *Druſus*, as his ſon by nature, whereas *Germanicus* was his ſon only by adoption; but the greater part favoured *Germanicus* for two reaſons, ſays *Tacitus*; firſt, becauſe they knew he was hated by the emperor: and ſecondly, becauſe he was by his mother of a more illuſtrious deſcent *Germanicus* and *Druſus* were the ſons of two brothers, and conſequently by their fathers of the ſame family. But on the mother's ſide *Germanicus* had the advantage, he being the ſon of *Antonia Minor*, the daughter of *Marc Antony* the triumvir by *Octavia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*; ſo that *Marc Antony* was his grandfather, and *Auguſtus* his great uncle. On the other ſide, a private *Roman* knight was the great-grandfather of *Druſus*; for his mother *Vipſania* was the grand-daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*. Beſides, *Agrippina*, the wife of *Germanicus*, far excelled *Livia* the wife of *Druſus* in virtue, and all the accompliſhments peculiar to her ſex However, the two brothers lived in perfect concord and friendſhip, no-ways diſturbed or interrupted by the contention and emulation that reigned among their relations and adherents (53).

(53) *Tacit ibid.*

Tiberius

Tiberius imploring his aſſiſtance. The emperor anſwered, that it was very ſurpriſing he ſhould recur to the *Romans*, and beg their aſſiſtance againſt the *Cheruſcans*, ſince he had ſent none to them, while they were waging war with the ſame enemy. However, he laid hold of this opportunity to remove from *Rome* his ſon *Druſus*, who ſeemed over-fond of the gaieties of the city, to inure him to the toils of the camp, and procure him the affections of the ſoldiery. What ſucceſs attended him in this expedition, we ſhall relate anon.

Druſus ſent into Illyricum.

THIS year was remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes recorded in hiſtory: twelve famous cities of *Aſia* were overturned by it, viz. *Sardis*, *Magneſia*, at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, *Moſthene*, *Ægæ*, *Hierocæſarea*, *Philadelphia*, *Temolus*, *Temnus*, *Cyme* or *Cumæ*, *Myrina*, *Apollonia*, *Hyrcacana*. To theſe mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Euſebius* adds *Epheſus* [g]. *Pliny* [h] and *Strabo* [i] make particular mention of this event, calling it the moſt dreadful concuſſion that had ever been felt (G). It happened in the night, and proved the more dreadful, as it was leſs expected. Moſt of the inhabitants were cruſhed under the ruins of their houſes, and thoſe who fled to the fields, ſwallowed up, by the opening of the earth. It is reported, ſays *Tacitus*, that huge mountains ſunk into the earth, that plains were raiſed up into high hills, and that dreadful flaſhes and eruptions of fire were ſeen among the ruins. *Phlegon* of *Tralles*, who has wrote a very particular account of this terrible event and the evils which it occaſioned, ſays, that many cities of *Pontus*, of *Sicily*, and of *Calabria* in *Italy*, were greatly damaged by it; andadds, that

A dreadful earthquake in Aſia.

[g] EUSEB. chron. p. 201. [h] PLIN. l. ii. c. 84. [i] STRAB. l. xii. p. 579.

(G) *Oroſius* takes this to be the earthquake mentioned by the evangeliſts as happening at the death of our Saviour; a notorious miſtake! which, if admitted, would overſet every ſyſtem of chronology, it being paſt all doubt, that the earthquake, which overturned the twelve cities of *Aſia*, happened in the fourth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and conſequently was at leaſt fourteen years prior to the other. According to *Euſebius* our Saviour was crucified the fourth year of the hundred and ſecond olympiad; and the earthquake, which proved ſo fatal to *Aſia*, happened, according to the ſame writer, the ſecond year of the hundred and ninety-ninth olympiad. *Oroſius* would fain corroborate the accounts of the ſacred penmen, with the teſtimonies of the *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians, and this is what led him into the abovementioned miſtake.

the earth opening in many places, bodies were diſcovered of a monſtrous ſize, from one of which a tooth was taken above a foot in length, and preſented to *Tiberius*, who would not ſuffer the whole body to be brought to him, ſaying, that he deemed it a great crime to diſturb the dead. However, to ſatisfy his curioſity, he cauſed a head to be engraved proportionable to the tooth which had been brought him, and which he immediately after ordered to be reſtored to the place, whence it had been taken [k]. *Tiberius*, to do him juſtice, ſhewed, on occaſion of this great calamity, a ſpirit truly generous and worthy of a perſon in his ſtation: for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but preſented them with large ſums to rebuild their habitations. To the *Sardians*, who had ſuffered moſt, he ſent a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, and to the reſt relief proportionable to their loſſes; nay, he immediately diſpatched into *Aſia Marcius Aletus*, a ſenator, who had been prætor, to view the deſolations on the ſpot, and make good the loſſes of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as *Tacitus* obſerves, on honeſt occaſions, a virtue which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and by the liberalities of *Tiberius* reſtored to their former ſplendor, erected to their common benefactor a coloſſus in the *Roman* forum, ſurrounded with the ſtatues of their twelve cities, as a laſting monument of the prince's generoſity, and their gratitude [l].

Tiberius's *generoſity on this occaſion.*

His *private liberalities.*

The reputation, which *Tiberius* gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities. For the eſtate of a wealty freedwoman, by name *Æmilia Muſa*, who died this year inteſtate, being claimed by the treaſury, the emperor generouſly yielded it to one *Æmilius Lepidus*, to whoſe family ſhe ſeemed to belong (H). With the ſame diſintereſtedneſs he ſurrendered

[k] Phlegon. Tralliani, de reb. mirabilibus, c. 13, 14. [l] Tacit. c. 47. Dio. l. lvii. p. 614. Phleg. mir. c. 13.

(H) *Tacitus* does not tell us, that *Æmilia Muſa* was a freedwoman; but, from her *Greek cognomen*, it is manifeſt, that ſuch was her condition: for we have not one inſtance, in hiſtory, of a *Roman* aſſuming a *Greek* name. The prænomen of *Æmilia* ſhe probably borrowed from ſome of the *Æmilian* family, to whom ſhe had formerly belonged. Perhaps ſhe was related to the famous *Antonius Muſa*, the freed man and phyſician of *Auguſtus* As ſhe died in teſtate

rendered, to *Marcus Servilius*, the whole inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich *Roman* knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himſelf. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies, but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, or, out of hatred to their relations, appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally ſpeaking, well placed; for as he readily relieved ſuch ſenators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, ſo he excluded without pity from the ſenate, thoſe who had wantonly ſquandered away their eſtates in luxury and debauchery. Of this number were *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *Quintus Vitellius*, and *Attilius Buta*. The latter was a man of pleaſure, and uſed conſtantly to paſs the night in revels and debaucheries, and ſleep the greateſt part of the day; by which courſe of life, being ſoon reduced to great indigence, he had recourſe to the emperor for relief; but *Tiberius* rejected his petition, without returning him any other anſwer, than that *he had awaked too late* [k]. But the applauſe *Tiberius* gained by his public and private bounties were counterbalanced, by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majeſty. Informers multiplied daily, the ſpirit of accuſing grew common, and the dread of it univerſal. *Apuleia Varilia*, grand-niece to *Auguſtus* by his ſiſter (I), was accuſed by one of that *treaſon.* Apuleia Varilia *accuſed of*

[k] TACIT. c. 48. DIO. ibid.

teſtate, her eſtate, ſuppoſing her to have been a *liberta* or freedwoman, and to have no relations of her own then living, fell, according to the *Roman* law, to her former maſter and his heirs of blood. *Si libertus inteſtatus deceſſerit, patronum, aut filium, nepotemve ejus ad ſucceſſionem vocari indubitatum eſt*, ſays *Julian* (54); and *Ulpian*, *Liberto inteſtato mortuo, primum ſuis deferri hereditatem verum eſt: ſi hi non fuerint, tunc patrono* (55). But what title had the exchequer to her eſtate? It appears from this paſſage of *Tacitus* and the laws we have quoted, that if a freedman or woman had no ſurviving relations, and their former maſter's family was extinct, their eſtate fell to the prince. In the preſent caſe one *Æmilius Lepidus*, as heir of blood to *Muſa*'s former maſter, claimed her eſtate, and *Tiberius* generouſly ſurrendered it to him, though he could not plainly make good his claim.

(I) *Auguſtus* had two ſiſters, *viz. Octavia Major* and *Octavia Minor*; but by which of theſe *Apuleia Varilia* was grand-niece to

(54) *Leg.* 13. *de bonis libert.* (55) *Leg.* 2. *de ſuis heredib.*

that infamous profeſſion of having reviled the deified *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, and of having diſhonoured with adultery the blood of the *Cæſars*, which, according to the conſtruction *Auguſtus* had put upon the law of majeſty, was high treaſon (K). *Tiberius* admitted the accuſation, but ſhewed great moderation in the proſecution of the accuſed: for as to the adultery he ſaid, that ſufficient puniſhments had been already appointed for that crime by the *Julian* law, which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treaſon. As to the other crimes, he deſired they might be diſtinguiſhed: *If* Apuleia, ſaid he, *has uttered impious ſpeeches againſt the deified* Auguſtus, *ſhe muſt be condemned; but for her invectives againſt me I will not ſuffer her to be called to any account. But ſhe has had the impudence to attack the reputation of your mother*, replied one of the conſuls. To this *Tiberius* returned no anſwer then; but the next time the ſenate met, he begged in his mother's name, that the words ſpoken againſt her might not be conſtrued into treaſon: Hereupon ſhe was tried only upon the words ſpoken againſt *Auguſtus*, and found guilty, but pardoned by *Tiberius*, who likewiſe

Tiberius's *conduct on this occaſion.*

Auguſtus, hiſtory does not inform us. Neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or off-ſpring of *Octavia Minor*. The other ſiſter married *Marcellus*, and had by him two daughters, *Marcella Major* and *Marcella Minor*; one of theſe was, we conjecture, from what we read in *Dion Caſſius*, married into the *Apuleian* family; for that writer calls *Sextus Apuleius*, who was conſul the year *Auguſtus* died, συγγενῆ Αὐγούστου, that is, *Auguſtus*'s kinſman (56). If we admit this conjecture, which is not ill-grounded, *Apuleia Varilia* was daughter to an *Apuleius* by one of the *Marcellæ*, and conſequently grand-niece to *Auguſtus* by his ſiſter *Octavia Major*.

(K) *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus* informs us (57), to a fault common between men and women gave the grievous name of ſacrilege and treaſon; and as his daughter and grand-daughter were proſtitutes, he puniſhed, according to the law of treaſon, which he had thus wreſted, all their adulterers and gallants either with death or exile. This ſort of treaſon was, as *Tacitus* ſeems to inſinuate, limited to the reigning houſe and the blood of the *Cæſars*; for that writer tells us, that *Varilia*, being nearly related to the emperor and guilty of adultery, was arraigned of high treaſon. *Auguſtus* found his account in declaring the gallants of the two *Julias* traitors; for as thoſe traitors were very numerous, and conſiderable for their quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many eminent citizens, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

(56) *Dio. l.* lxv, lxvi. (57) *Tacit. annal. l.* v.

likewiſe begged a mitigation of her puniſhment for adultery; ſo that, inſtead of undergoing the ſevere puniſhments inflicted on that crime by the *Julian* law, of which hereafter, ſhe was only removed two hundred miles from *Rome*; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was baniſhed *Italy* and *Africa* [l].

This ſame year, *Tacfarinas*, a native of *Numidia*, who had ſerved among the *Roman* auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen and the neighbouring nations into a revolt, was overthrown in a pitched battle by *Furius Camillus*, proconſul of *Africa*, who, till that time, had paſſed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which *Camillus* gained with one legion and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, a handful of men, when compared with the numberleſs troops of the enemy, the enſigns of triumph were by the ſenate decreed to the conqueror; which honour, ſays the hiſtorian, did not prove fatal to him, becauſe he was a man of extraordinary modeſty, and choſe to live in retirement [m].

Tacfarinas *defeated in* Africa *by* Furius Camillus.

This year died, according to *Euſebius* [n], *Ovid* at *Tomos* in *Pontus*, and, according to St. *Jerom* [o], the famous hiſtorian *Livy* at *Padua*, his native city. We are told that *Livia* had deſigned the latter for præceptor to *Claudius*, the younger brother of *Germanicus*; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the laſt of thoſe illuſtrious writers who once adorned the court of *Auguſtus*, and will render his age ever memorable. He has been our chief guide in the compiling of this hiſtory; for which we can make him no better return, than to repeat here, what *Seneca* ſaid of him, many centuries ſince, that *the genius of* Livy *was equal to the grandeur and majeſty of the* Roman *empire* [p].

The death of Ovid, *and* Livy *the hiſtorian.*

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Germanicus*, leaving *Rome*, ſet out for the *Levant* with his wife *Agrippina* and his ſon *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*. After a long and dangerous paſſage, both in the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* ſeas, he arrived in *Dalmatia*, whither he had firſt ſteered his courſe to viſit his brother *Druſus*, who, as we have related above, had been ſent into that country. From *Dalmatia* by the coaſt of *Illyricum* he reached *Nicopolis*, which city *Auguſtus* had built on the *Ambracian* bay, in memory of his victory at *Actium*. There he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Tiberius*, now the third time conſul, for his colleague. The emperor held this dignity to the ides of *May*, and then reſigned it to *L. Seius Tubero*, who had ſerved under *Ger-*

Germanicus *ſets out for the* Levant.

[l] Idem, c. 49, 50. [m] Idem, c. 52, 53. [n] EUSEB. in chron. [o] HIER. in chron. [p] SENEC. rhetor.

manicus

His voyage, reception, &c.

manicus in quality of lieutenant [q]. *Germanicus* ſpent a few days at *Nicopolis* to refit his fleet, and in the mean time viwed the bay of *Actium*, the ſpoils which *Auguſtus* his grandfather, had conſecrated after his famous victory, and the camp of *Antony* his great uncle. From thence he proceeded to *Athens*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of honour (L). Next he ſailed to *Eubœa*, and thence to *Leſbos*, where his wife *Agrippina* was delivered of *Julia* her laſt child: then he ſteered his courſe to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, entered the ſtraights of *Propontis*, and the mouth of the *Pontic* or *Euxine* ſea, being deſirous of ſeeing thoſe places ſo much celebrated by fame. In his return he endeavoured to touch at the iſland of *Samothrace*, being fond of beholding the religious ceremonies practiſed there, of which we have ſpoken in our deſcription of that iſland [r]; but he was prevented from ſatisfying his laudable curioſity by contrary winds. Having therefore viſited antient *Ilium*, which gave birth to *Rome*, he regained the coaſt of *Aſia*, and put in at *Colophon*, to conſult there the oracle of the *Clarian Apollo*, of which we have given an account elſewhere [s]. The prieſt, by whoſe mouth the god was believed to utter his oracles, is ſaid to have foretold, but in dark and doubtful terms, the approaching death of *Germanicus* [t].

[q] Tacit. c. 53. Suet. in Tib. c. 26. Onuph. in faſt. p. 189.
[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. p. 518. [s] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. p. 42. [t] Tacit. c. 53, 54.

(L) The *Athenians* received *Germanicus* with extraordinary marks of eſteem, which leſt he ſhould undervalue, as that nation made made then but a very indifferent figure, they put him in mind of the glory of their anceſtors, by carrying before him on tablets ſuccinct accounts of their moſt famous exploits. By this means they inhanced the honours they had conferred on him, and, to uſe *Tacitus*'s expreſſion, dignified their flattery. On the other hand, *Germanicus*, out of reſpect to them, diveſting himſelf in a manner of his power, appeared among them almoſt like a private citizen, being attended only by one lictor. By thus removing the enſigns of power, the *Romans* declared, that they treated thoſe with whom they converſed, not as ſubjects, but as friends. *Antony*, as we have obſerved above, uſed the ſame condeſcenſion towards the *Athenians*, during his reſidence in their city, as did alſo *Tiberius* towards the *Rhodians*, walking up and down without a lictor or viator, and converſing familiarly with the *Greeks*, as if they had been his equals (58).

(58) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 11.

In

IN the mean time *Piſo* and his wife *Plancina*, haſtening to the execution of their wicked deſigns, left *Rome*, and arriving at *Athens*, gave there the firſt proof of their hatred to *Germanicus*. For *Piſo*, in his ſpeech to the inhabitants, abuſed them in a moſt outrageous manner, not without an indirect cenſure upon *Germanicus*, for having debaſed the dignity of the *Roman* name in paying an exceſſive regard, not to the *Athenians*, whoſe race was long ſince extinct, but, to the mixt ſcum of different nations (M). *Piſo* did not ſtay long at *Athens*, but, being in haſte to reach *Syria* before *Germanicus*, left the metropolis of *Attica*, and taking the ſhorteſt courſe, though the leaſt ſafe, ſailed through the *Cyclades*, and appeared off of *Rhodes*, ſoon after *Germanicus* had put in there: but being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, before he could enter the port, he was driven upon certain rocks, and muſt have inevitably periſhed, had not the good-natured *Germanicus*, though already informed of the invectives *Piſo* had uttered againſt him at *Athens*, diſpatched gallies to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs and humanity made no impreſſion upon the hard-hearted *Piſo*, who, having ſtaid but one day with his benefactor, put to ſea again in order to arrive in *Syria* before him. He no ſooner reached his province, than he began to court the common ſoldiers by bounties and careſſes, to form factions among the troops, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures, or men recommended only by their crimes: he permitted the ſoldiery either to live quite idle in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit with impunity all manner of diſorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence *Piſo* won the hearts of the idle and diſorderly multitude to ſuch a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of *Father of the legions*. On the other hand, *Plancina*, forgetting the modeſty peculiar to her ſex, appeared often on horſeback, aſſiſted at the reviews, and was not aſhamed, which in thoſe days was thought very unbecoming in a woman, to be ſeen at the public exerciſes and military evolutions. She laid hold of theſe occaſions to drop reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, in order to prejudice the minds of the ſoldiery a-

Piſo and his wife ſet out for Syria.

Is ſhipwrecked, but ſaved by Germanicus.

He courts the favour the ſoldiers.

(M) *Piſo* ſeems to us to have been not a little inconſiſtent with himſelf in his reproaches; for, on one hand, he would not allow the preſent inhabitants of *Athens* to be deſcended from the ancient *Athenians*; and, on the other, he charged them with all the crimes, of which the ancient *Athenians* had ever been guilty. He was alſo an enemy to their city, as *Tacitus* informs us, upon a private account, becauſe they would not pardon at his requeſt one *Theophilus*, condemned by the *Areopagus* for forgery.

gainſt

gainſt them. As to the officers, they were privately told, that their paying court to *Germanicus* and his wife would not recommend them to the favour of *Tiberius*. Though theſe proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of *Piſo* and *Plancina*, in purſuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he haſtened into *Armenia*, where with the approbation of the nobility in a great aſſembly, he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the *Romans*. From *Armenia* he proceeded firſt to *Cappadocia*, and thence to *Comagene*, both which kingdoms, then vacant by the death of their ſovereigns, he reduced to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Quintus Veranius* governor of the former, and *Quintus Servæus* of the latter. The pleaſure which *Germanicus* reaped, from thus ſucceſsfully ſettling the affairs of the allies, was greatly allayed by the proud and haughty behaviour of *Piſo*, who, being commanded either to lead in perſon, or to ſend under the conduct of his ſon, part of the legions into *Armenia*, contemptuouſly neglected to do either. At laſt they met at *Cyrrhum*, a city of *Syria*, and there had an interview, to which *Germanicus* admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the preſident of *Syria* with his ſtrange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their ſons, with many imputations. On the other hand, *Piſo* pretended ſurpriſe, but at the ſame time betrayed, even in ſubmitting to *Germanicus* as his ſuperior, great ſcorn and contempt; ſo that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth *Piſo* ſeldom appeared at the public aſſemblies, where *Germanicus* preſided, or, if he did, it was only to contradict him. Not long after he gave a public proof of his malice, ſpite, and ill will, to *Germanicus*. For, at a grand entertainment made by the king of the *Nabatheans* (N), golden crowns of great weight being preſented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and ſuch as were much lighter to *Piſo* and the reſt of the gueſts, the haughty preſident, offended at this diſtinction, with an air of contempt threw his away; and, uttering many invectives againſt luxury, withdrew with theſe words;

Germanicus crowns Zeno king of Armenia, and reduces Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces.

Piſo's inſolent behaviour.

(N) The country of the *Nabatheans* extended according to *St. Jerom*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red ſea* 59): ſo that it comprehended *Arabia deſerta*, and great part of *Arabia Petræa*. The metropolis of the *Nabatheans* was the city of *Petra*, which gave its name to *Arabia Petræa* (60). *St. Jerom* thinks they were called *Nabatheans* from *Nabaioth Iſmael's* ſon.

(59) *Hier. quæſt. in Geneſ.* 25. (60) *Strab. l. xvi. p.* 534.

Rome

Rome *abhors ſuch ſcandalous luxury; I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the ſon of a* Roman *prince, not of a* Parthian *king.* *Germanicus* was highly incenſed at this inſult; but, the natural ſweetneſs of his temper getting the better of his reſentment, he took no notice of ſuch a provoking behaviour. Soon after embaſſadors arrived from *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*, to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires, and intreat *Germanicus* in their maſter's name to remove *Vonones*, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of *Syria*, leſt he ſhould find means, being ſo near to *Parthia*, to raiſe diſturbances in that kingdom. *Germanicus* renewed the ancient alliance, and removed *Vonones* to *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of *Cilicia*, not ſo much in compliance with the requeſt of *Artabanus*, as to ſeparate him from *Piſo*, with whom he was in high favour, in regard of the many preſents he had made to his wife *Plancina*, and the exceſſive court he paid her [u]. Of this year, which was *Germanicus*'s firſt in the *Levant*, not the leaſt mention is made by *Dion Caſſius*.

Germanicus *renews the ancient alliance with the* Parthians.

THE following year, *Marcus Silanus* and *Lucius Norbanus* being conſuls, *Germanicus* travelled into *Egypt* to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, cauſing the granaries to be every where opened, and the price of corn abated. He did not imagine, that the prohibition made by *Auguſtus* extended to him; and nevertheleſs the jealous emperor in a letter to him cenſured him with great ſeverity for preſuming to enter that province, when *Auguſtus* among other ſecrets of ſtate had ſtrictly forbidden all ſenators and *Roman* knights of any figure to travel thither, without ſpecial licence [w]. While *Germanicus* was thus paſſing the ſummer very agreeably in *Egypt*, *Druſus* was buſy in ſowing feuds among the *Germans*, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs. For *Maroboduus*, king of the *Suevians*, whoſe power *Rome* dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to paſs the laſt eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna* in *Italy*. *Catualda*, whom *Druſus* had underhand ſtirred up againſt him, had the ſame fate; and, recurring to the *Romans* for protection, was conveyed by them to *Forum Julium*, now *Frejus*, a colony in *Narbonne Gaul*. As both theſe chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, *Tiberius*, fearing they might diſturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them ſettlements beyond the *Danube*,

He viſits the curioſities of Egypt.

Maroboduus *driven out of his dominions, and likewiſe* Catualda.

[u] TACIT. c. 55---59. [w] TACIT. c. 59. SUET. in Tiber. c. 5.

nube, between the rivers *Cuſus* and *Marus*, now the *Wag* and the *March*, on the frontiers of *Moravia*, appointing them for their king one *Vannius*, by nation a *Quadian* (O), who reigned over them for the ſpace of thirty years, but was driven out in the reign of *Claudius*. With the ſame policy *Tiberius* circumvented and inticed to *Rome Rhaſciporis*, a petty king of *Thrace*, who having murdered *Cotys* (P), his nephew, had ſeized on that part of the kingdom which *Auguſtus* had beſtowed upon him. To deceive *Rhaſciporis*, *Tiberius* employed *Pomponius Flaccus* (Q), whom he preferred to the government of *Mœſia*, as being one of the king's moſt intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him; which he did accordingly, having inticed him into the *Roman* dominions, and then ſent him under a ſtrong guard to *Rome*,

Rhaſciporis *circumvented by* Tiberius.

(O) The country of the *Quadi* was at firſt bounded by *Bohemia*, the *Danube*, and the river *March*; but afterwards they extended their confines to the *Sarmatian* mountains in the neighbourhood of *Erlaw* in *Hungary*. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of them in the reigns of *Marcus Antoninus* and *Gallienus*.

(P) *Cotys* was the ſon of *Rhemetacles*, upon whoſe death his kingdom was divided by *Auguſtus* between his ſon *Cotys* and his brother *Rhaſciporis*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Thrace* (61), to which we refer our readers for a full account of the tranſactions, we have only hinted at in this place. *Cotys*, though a *Thracian*, was not unacquainted with the muſes; for to him *Ovid* inſcribed the ninth elegy of his third book *de Ponto*, the unhappy poet being confined by *Auguſtus* to his kingdom.

(Q) *Ovid* mentions *Pomponius Flaccus* in one of his epiſtles inſcribed to *Græcinus*:

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, & illo
Ripa ferox Iſtri ſub duce tuta fuit.
Hic tenuit Myſas gentes in pace fideli;
Hic arcu fiſos terruit enſe Getas (62).

He was indeed a good ſoldier, but a man of a vile character. We have related above his flattering motion againſt the memory of *Libo Druſus*. He was preferred to the government of *Mœſia* on purpoſe to betray *Rhaſciporis*, with whom he lived in cloſe friendſhip, which he did not in the leaſt ſcruple to do: and indeed *Rhaſciporis*, who treacherouſly betrayed and murdered his own nephew, deſerved to have no other friends but men of his own ſtamp, traytors and aſſaſſins. *Pomponius* was rewarded by *Tiberius* for his treachery with the government of *Syria*, in which employment he died (63).

(61) *Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p.* 375. (62) *Ovid. de Pont. l. iv. Eleg.* 9. (63) *Tacit. l. iv.*

where

where he was accuſed before the ſenate by the widow of *Cotys*, and baniſhed to *Alexandria*, where he was ſlain attempting to make his eſcape, or falſely charged with it. This part of *Thrace* was divided between *Rhemetalces*, the ſon of *Rhaſciporis*, and the ſons of *Cotys*; but the latter being minors, *Trebellienus Rufus*, once prætor, was appointed governor of their ſhare. About this time *Vonones*, who had been removed to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, attempting to make his eſcape, was overtaken and killed by one *Remmius*, a veteran, to whoſe cuſtody he had been committed (R).

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, having ſatisfied his curioſity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of *Egypt*, left that kingdom, and returned to *Syria*, where to his great ſurpriſe he found all the regulations he had made utterly aboliſhed, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Hereupon, no longer able to bear with ſuch inſults, he reproached *Piſo* in very ſharp and ſevere terms, which, notwithſtanding his natural boldneſs, heightened by the confi- Germanicus *returns from* Egypt.

(R) The circumſtances of this unhappy prince's death are differently related by the ancients. *Tacitus* tells us, that having corrupted his keepers, he obtained leave of them to hunt in the neighbouring foreſts, and under that pretence attempted his eſcape to *Armenia*, with a deſign to paſs from thence thro' the countries of the *Albanians* and *Heniochians* into *Scythia*, and there take ſanctuary with one of the kings of that country, who was his kinſman. But the country people, being ſoon appriſed of his flight, broke down the bridges of the *Pyramus*, a river of *Cilicia*; ſo that the prince, as the ſtream was not fordable, was overtaken and ſeized on the banks of that river by *Vibius Fronto*, who had purſued him cloſe with a body of horſe. Soon after *Remmius*, his late keeper, came up, and, pretending to be tranſported with rage, ran him through with his ſword. It was commonly believed, that *Remmius*, gained by the prince's preſents, had connived at his eſcape, and therefore in an affected rage flew him through fear of being diſcovered (64). According to this account, *Tiberius* had no hand in his death. But *Suetonius* throws the whole blame of this cruel action upon the emperor. *Vonones*, ſays that writer, being driven out of his kingdom, retired to *Antioch* with great wealth, and there continued ſome time, thinking himſelf ſafe under the protection of the *Roman* people; but was in the end, contrary to all juſtice and faith, not only pillaged by the emperor's order, but moſt treacherouſly ſlain (65). We take the account of *Tacitus* to be the moſt genuine, that writer being no ways inclined to leſſen or ſuppreſs the faults of any of the *Cæſars*, but where truth, to which he ever pays the utmoſt regard, obliges him.

(64) *Tacit. c.* 68. (65) *Suet. in Tib. c* 49.

dence he placed in the protection of *Tiberius*, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave *Syria* and abandon his government. But while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, *Germanicus* being taken ill, he thought it adviseable to wait the issue of the distemper. The young prince soon recovered, and, as he was universally adored, his recovery was celebrated at *Antioch*, where he then was, with public vows, sacrifices, and all possible demonstrations of the most sincere and unaffected joy. This proved new matter of rage to *Piso*, who, no longer master of himself, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, to overturn the altars, and disperse the people assembled to celebrate the festival: a bold attempt this! and therefore *Piso* immediately after it leaving *Antioch*, withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after his departure *Germanicus* relapsed, and his persuasion that *Piso* had caused him to be poisoned heightened the violence of the distemper. Some of his domestics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his house had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the grave, ashes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of *Germanicus* engraved on sheets of lead. These reports and the frequent visits of persons, who were supposed to be *Piso*'s creatures, and to have been sent by him to watch the progress of the malady, doubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehensions. *If my house*, said he, *is thus beset by treacherous friends in my life-time, what will become after my death of my unhappy wife, of my little children?* Piso, *impatient to command alone the legions, to govern alone the province, thought poison too slow in its operation, and therefore had recourse to charms and incantations.* In the height of the resentment, which these reflections raised in his mind, he wrote a letter to *Piso*, utterly renouncing his friendship, according to the custom which obtained among the *Romans*, and was a solemn declaration that they intended to have no farther intercourse or communication with the person, whose friendship they thus renounced. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Be that as it will, *Piso* soon after put to sea; but kept hovering upon the coast of his province, that he might return the sooner, should the government of *Syria* become vacant by the death of *Germanicus*. In the mean time, the violence of the malady somewhat abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain some hopes of his recovery. But short-lived was their joy; a sudden relapse threw them into despair; and the unfortunate *Germanicus*, finding his end approached, sent for his friends, and spoke to them in this manner: *Were I to die a natural death, yet should I have*

Falls sick and recovers.

He relapses.

Suspects Piso.

His speech to his friends.

I have juſt cauſe to complain of the gods for thus ſnatching me from my relations, my children, and my country, in the flower of my age. But being thus brought to an untimely end by the malignity of Piſo *and his wife, the laſt favour I beg of you, my faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and brother, with what perſecutions afflicted I end a moſt miſerable life by a moſt inglorious death. My relations, dependents, and even thoſe whom envy provoked againſt me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate, in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a woman, after having eſcaped ſo many dangers in war, and ſurvived ſo many battles. But it is a duty incumbent upon you, my faithful friends, to do ſomething more, than to commemorate my death with uſeleſs tears. It is the principal office of a true friend, to remember the wiſhes of thoſe with whom they lived in friendſhip, and fulfil their laſt deſires. If therefore you loved me rather than my fortune, you will revenge my death, you will complain to the ſenate, and proſecute the authors of my misfortunes as our laws direct. Shew to the* Roman *people my wife, the grandaughter of* Auguſtus, *ſhew them our ſix children* (S). *This ſight will move the conſcript fathers to compaſſion, which will prove favourable to you, who accuſe; and the accuſed, if they pretend wicked commands, either will not be believed, or not pardoned.* At theſe words his friends, drowned in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, all ſwore, that they would ſooner loſe their lives, than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their common children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that ſhe would lay aſide her haughty ſpirit, and yield to the cruel ſhocks of fortune, leſt on her return to the city ſhe ſhould, by an unſeaſonable competition, provoke thoſe who were more powerful than herſelf. Thus much he ſpoke openly, other things he ſaid in ſecret, whence it was conjectured, that they related to *Tiberius*, warning her perhaps to be upon her guard againſt his ſnares. However that be, the words he ſpoke to her in ſecret were

His advice to Agrippina.

(S) *Germanicus* had by *Agrippina* nine children; *Nero*, *Druſus*, *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, three other ſons who died infants, and three daughters, born ſucceſſively in the ſpace of three years, *Agrippina*, the mother of *Nero*, *Druſilla*, and *Livilla*, commonly called *Julia*. One of the ſons that died was ſo beautiful a child, that *Livia* had cauſed him to be painted in the habit of *Cupid*, and conſecrated the picture in the temple of *Venus Capitolina*, whence it was removed to *Auguſtus*'s chamber, who uſed conſtantly to kiſs it when he came in (66).

(66) *Suet. in Calig. c. 7.*

his

His death. his laſt; for he had ſcarce done, when he fainted away, and ſoon after expired, to the unexpreſſible grief of the province and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, expoſed naked in the forum of *Antioch*, where the funeral pile was erected. *Tacitus* tells us, that it remained uncertain whether any marks of poiſon appeared on the body, the people, who ſaw it, giving oppoſite accounts, as they pitied *Germanicus*, or favoured *Piſo*. But *Suetonius* ſays, that the body appeared covered with black and blue ſpots, that foam flowed from his mouth, and that his heart, the body being burnt, was found among the aſhes untouched by the flames; for the naturaliſts of thoſe days believed, that the heart, if in the leaſt touched or infected with poiſon, could not be conſumed with fire. *Vitellius*, who afterwards charged *Piſo* before the ſenate with the death of *Germanicus*, made uſe of this argument to prove, that the prince had been poiſoned, and openly declared, that his heart was found intire among the aſhes [x]. But after all, this argument, even allowing the truth of the fact, was no ways convincing, ſince, in the opinion of the ancients, the hearts of ſuch as died of the malady called by the phyſicians *Cardiaca paſſio*, were equally proof againſt fire [y]. The aſhes of the deceaſed prince were carefully gathered by his wife *Agrippina*, and incloſed in an urn in order to be conveyed to *Rome*.

Whether poiſoned.

His character.

SUCH was the end of the renowned *Germanicus Cæſar*, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a prince no leſs famous for his military proweſs, than his extraordinary accompliſhments and inimitable virtues. The *Roman* people had ſo great an opinion of his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare, on ſeveral occaſions, that, ſince the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the gods had not bleſſed *Rome* with ſuch a citizen. He was, ſays *Tacitus*, alike venerable, whether you ſaw him or heard him; and, without ever betraying the leaſt arrogance or pride, yet ſupported the dignity of his high ſtation. His complaiſance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the *Roman* people, but of the barbarians themſelves, who, tho' enemies to *Rome*, yet could not refrain their tears upon the firſt news they received of the death of *Germanicus*. Some of them at war with one another, and even with *Rome*, forbore hoſtilities for ſome time to bewail ſo great, ſo general, a loſs.

He is univerſally Lamented.

[x] TACIT. c. 73. SUET. in Calig. c. 1. PLIN. l. xi. c. 37.
[y] Vide PLIN. ibid.

Some

Some of their princes cut off their beards, and ſhaved their wives heads, a token among them of the deepeſt ſorrow. The proud monarch of the *Parthians* denied himſelf for ſome time the pleaſure of the chaſe, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the princes and lords of his court; which was a token of grief, like the ſhutting of the courts of juſtice among the *Romans*, and never uſed but upon ſome very extraordinary diſaſter. As for the people of *Antioch*, they carried their grief to impiety; for hearing that *Germanicus* was dead, in the tranſport of their ſorrow they threw ſtones at their temples, overturned their altars, flung contemptuouſly their houſhold gods out of doors, *&c.* nay, ſome of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, expoſed and forſook their new-born children. Strange tokens of ſorrow theſe! It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the conſternation which the news of his death occaſioned in *Rome*, where he was adored by all ranks of men (T). The firſt account of his illneſs alarmed the whole city; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was ſpread, nobody ever knew how, that he was recovered and in good health. Hereupon the people, not able to refrain their joy, flew immediately with victims and ſacrifices to the capitol, impatient to diſcharge the vows they had made for his recovery. *Tiberius*, awaked out of his ſleep with the noiſe of their mutual congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words echoed in every ſtreet, *Salva Roma, ſal-*

The grief of the Roman *people*

(T) He was to ſuch a degree beloved by the people, ſays *Sueto-nius* (67), not only of *Rome*, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, ſuch crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being ſtifled in the throng. On his return from *Germany*, after having appeaſed the mutinous legions, all the prætorian cohorts went out to meet him, though two only had orders to pay him that compliment. As for the people, the road was thronged with perſons of all ages and ranks for twenty miles diſtance (68). The people, ſays *Tacitus*, (69), adored him, not only on account of his own good qualities, but likewiſe for the ſake of his father *Druſus*, whoſe memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no one doubting, but he would hve reſtored *Rome* to her antient liberty, had he ever ſucceeded to the empire. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the ſame hopes; and hence their partiality for him, before he was of an age to gain their affections by his perſonal qualities.

(67) *Idem ibid. c.* 4. (68) *Idem ibid. c.* 3. (69) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c.* 33.

va

va patria, ſalvus Germanicus; Rome *is ſafe, our country is ſafe, ſince* Germanicus *is ſafe.* But their joy was ſoon changed into the deepeſt ſorrow; certain news of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the ſtreets, nothing in the houſes, but ſighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or ſenate, all the courts of juſtice, the houſes of the citizens, and ſhops, were ſhut, and the moſt frequented ſtreets, no one appearing abroad, turned into a deſert. The emperor by ſeveral edicts endeavoured to reſtrain theſe public expreſſions of grief; but even the moſt cautious, not able to moderate their ſorrow, in ſpite of all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited by the feſtivals of *December* to mirth and jollity [z]. His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by *Piſo*, at the inſtigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two perſons in the whole *Roman* empire, ſays *Dion* [a], who were not affected with ſo great, ſo general, a loſs (U).

And

[z] Suet. in Calig. c. 6. [a] Dio. l. lvii. p. 615.

(U) *Germanicus* was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and, if *Ovid* did not flatter him, one of the beſt poets of his age (70). He expreſſed his thoughts with great eaſe and elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and pleaded ſeveral cauſes with extraordinary applauſe (71). He gave a ſpecimen of his taſte for poetry in ſome *Greek* comedies, which, as he was thorough maſter of that language, he wrote and publiſhed. *St. Jerom* and *Lactantius* tell us, that he tranſlated into *Latin* a treatiſe of aſtronomy, written originally in *Greek* by *Aratus*, under the title of *Phænomena*: but *Voſſius* and *Rutgerſius* aſcribe this tranſlation to the emperor *Domitian*, who aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter. But what above all gained the affections both of the *Romans* and foreigners was, the extraordinary ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, complaiſance, and obliging behaviour, even towards the meaneſt of the populace, a behaviour no ways affected, but to him quite natural, as ariſing from a ſincere deſire of doing every one the beſt offices he could. *Auguſtus* was ſo taken with theſe good qualities, that he was long in ſuſpenſe, if *Suetonius* is to be credited (72), whether he ſhould declare him his ſucceſſor himſelf, or leave him to be adopted by *Tiberius*. Soon after his death *Tiberius* abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelties, which added new luſtre to the memory of the deceaſed prince, and made him the more regretted, every one concluding from thence, that, had he lived, the emperor would never have dared to commit ſuch

(70) *Ovid. Faſt. l. i. v.* 23. (71) *Suet. ibid. c.* 3. (72) *Suet. ibid. c.* 4.

exceſſes,

AND now the government of *Syria* being vacant, by the death of *Germanicus* and flight of *Piſo*, the lieutenants of the legions, and ſenators, who were at *Antioch*, committed the adminiſtration of the province to *Cneius Sentius*, who, at the ſuit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, two illuſtrious ſenators and friends to *Germanicus*, immediately ſeized and ſent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that province for poiſoning, and greatly cheriſhed by *Plancina*. In the mean time, *Piſo* being overtaken at the iſland of *Cous* by a meſſenger, acquainting him with the death of *Germanicus*, did not ſo much as pretend to diſguiſe his joy, but cauſed victims to be publicly ſlain, and repaired with thankſgiving to the temples for ſo ſignal a favour. His wife *Plancina* declared her joy in a manner ſtill more arrogant and inſulting; for ſhe no ſooner heard that *Germanicus* was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which ſhe wore for the death of her ſiſter, ſhe appeared in a dreſs adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which *Piſo* had commanded in *Syria*, flocked to him, aſſuring him, that the legions were ready to receive him, and reinſtate him in the government, which had been injuriouſly taken from him. Hereupon *Piſo* ſummoned a council of his friends to conſult what meaſures he had beſt purſue; whether he ſhould go with all ſpeed to *Rome*, or return to *Syria*. His ſon *Marcus Piſo* was for the former, but *Domitius Celer*, an intimate friend of *Piſo*, declared for the latter, and prevailed. But as *Piſo* was well appriſed, that *Sentius* would oppoſe him, which would give riſe to a civil war in *Syria*, in order to bias *Tiberius* in his favour, he tranſmitted a letter to him, filled with invectives againſt the conduct, luxury, and pride of *Germanicus*; he inlarged on the injuſtice the young prince had done him in driving him out of his government, nd concluded with acquainting the empe-

Piſo's joy for the death of Germanicus.

exceſſes (73). His military exploits we have related above; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that after his death the inhabitants of *Antioch* compared him to *Alexander the Great*, as to the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the nobility of his deſcent, his age, the circumſtances of his death, *&c.* and concluded, that if his authority had been uncontrouled, he would have equalled that great warrior in the glory of his conqueſts, as he far ſurpaſſed him in prudence, clemency, moderation, and other virtues (74). And indeed, if he had not been ſtopt in the midſt of his career, and ſnatched away from his victorious legions, he would, in all likelihood, have compleated the final reduction of *Germany*, already broken by ſo many overthrows.

(73) *Idem, c.* 5. (74) *Tacit. annal. l. ii. c.* 70,

He reſolves to return to his government.

ror, that he was preparing to return to his province, and reſume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, putting *Domitius Celer* on board a galley, he ſent him before him into *Syria*, while he himſelf, having formed into companies the deſerters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the ſervants who attended the camp, ſailed over to the continent, where he had the good luck to intercept a body of new-raiſed ſoldiers on their march into *Syria*. He alſo wrote to the petty kings of *Cilicia*, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By this means, having got together a conſiderable body of men, he put to ſea again, and ſteering along the coaſts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, met the fleet, which carried *Agrippina* with the aſhes of her huſband to *Rome*. Both fleets prepared for battle; but, as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to hard words. *Vibius Marſus*, who commanded *Agrippina*'s galleys, ſummoned *Piſo* as a criminal to his trial at *Rome*, which ſummons he anſwered with deriſion and contempt. After this both fleets continued their courſe, the one for *Italy*, the other for *Cilicia*, where *Piſo* made a deſcent, and ſeized a ſtrong caſtle on the frontiers of *Syria*; which *Sentius* no ſooner underſtood, than he flew thither at the head of his legions, overthrew *Piſo*'s men at the firſt onſet, obliged him to take ſhelter behind the walls of the caſtle, and ſoon reduced him to ſuch ſtraights, that he offered to ſurrender the place, upon condition that *Sentius* would ſuffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleaſure was known. But this being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he was forced to ſubmit upon what terms *Sentius* thought fit to impoſe upon him, which were, that he ſhould forthwith embarque, and return to *Rome* [b].

He is forced to abandon Syria.

During theſe troubles in the eaſt, the ſenate was wholly taken up at *Rome* with inventing and decreeing new honours to *Germanicus*, in order to eternalize the memory of a prince ſo much beloved, and ſo well deſerving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name ſhould be inſerted in the *Salian* hymns (W); that curule chairs ſhould be placed for him among the prieſts of *Auguſtus*

Honours decreed at Rome *to* Germanicus.

[b] Tacit. c. 74---82.

(W) This honour was peculiar to the gods; for, till this time, only their names were ſung in the *Salian* hymns. Afterwards *M. Antoninus* the philoſopher ordered the ſame honour to be conferred on his ſon *Verus*, as *Spartianus* informs us (74).

(74) *Spart. in M. Anton. philoſoph.*

(X),

(X), and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgment of his having ſaved many citizens; that his ſtatue in ivory ſhould be carried before the proceſſion at the *Circenſian* games; an honour peculiar to the gods, and ſuch men as were deified; that none but one of the *Julian* family ſhould be appointed flamen or augur in his room, *&c.* To theſe honours triumphal arches were added, one at *Rome*, another on the banks of the *Rhine*, and a third upon mount *Amanus* in *Syria*, with inſcriptions of his exploits, and a declaration that he died for the republic; a ſepulchre at *Antioch*, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at *Epidaphne*, where he ended his life (Y). Many ſtatues were raiſed to him, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great maſter of eloquence, a golden ſhield, remarkable for its bulk (Z); but this *Tiberius* would

(X) It was deemed a particular mark of diſtinction at *Rome*, for any one to have a fixed place allotted him at the public ſhows. This honour was in proceſs of time improved by flattery, and extended not only to ſuch as were abſent, but even to the dead. *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who was made dictator in the year of *Rome* 409, firſt enjoyed the honour of being diſtinguiſhed, though abſent, with a fixed place in the circus, which was allotted to him and his poſterity (75). The ſame honour was afterwards beſtowed upon *Julius Cæſar*, *M. Marcellus*, and others, with this improvement; that curule chairs with golden crowns ſhould be placed for them in the circus and theatre, even after their death, to preſerve their memory (76). The emperor *Severus* cauſed three curule chairs to be placed in the theatre, to honour thereby the memory of *Pertinax* (77). To *Germanicus* was probably decreed but one chair in each of the three theatres.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that he died at *Epidaphne*, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, of which we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of *Syria*; but all other writers agree, that he ended his days in the city of *Antioch* (78).

(Z) It was an antient cuſtom among the *Romans* to ſet up the images of illuſtrious men in the curia, and in their temples. Thus the image of *Scipio Africanus* was ſet up in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Cato* the cenſor in the curia, or ſenate houſe, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* (79). *Auguſtus* cauſed the images of all thoſe *Romans*, who before his time had eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the arts either of peace or war, to be ſet up in the curia, allotting to each profeſſion its proper place. Thus *Tacitus*

(75) *Liv. l. ii.* (76) *Dio. l. xliv.* (77) *Xiphil. l. iii.* (78) *Dio. l.* lvii. *p.* 615. *Suet. in Tib. c.* 1, *&c.* (79) *Val. Max. l.* viii. *c.* 15.

would not allow, ſaying, that in eloquence no regard was to be had to the dignity of the perſon, and that therefore he himſelf would dedicate a ſhield equal in ſize to thoſe of other orators, it being ſufficient glory for him to be ranked amongſt the antient writers. The *Roman* knights, in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceaſed prince, agreed to change the name of that body of horſe, which, being compoſed of the young nobility, was ſtyled *The ſquadron of the juniors*, and call it thenceforth *The ſquadron of* Germanicus, appoi: ting at the ſame time, that the effigies of *Germanicus* ſhould be carried before the ſaid ſquadron as their ſtandard at their public reviews, which were annually made on the Ides of *July* c. In the height of the public grief *Livia*, called alſo *Livilla*, ſiſter to *Germanicus* and wife to *Druſus*, was delivered of male twins, which proved ſuch matter of joy to *Tiberius*, that he could not help boaſting to the ſenate,

Livilla *delivered of male twins.*

c Idem, c. 83.

tells us, that the image of *Hortenſius* was placed amongſt the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to *Germanicus*, as to one of the maſters of eloquence. Theſe images are called by the antients *ſhields* (80), becauſe engraved in gold, ſilver, or braſs, in the form of a ſhield. This is the common opinion; though ſome writers think, that in *Latin* they ought not to be called *clypei*, which word ſignifies *a ſhield*; but *clupea*, that is, *engraved work*, from the antient word *cluere*, to engrave. This derivation *Pliny* deſpiſes as a fond conceit of the grammarians: *Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum eſt*, ſays he, *continebantur imagines, unde & nomen habuere clypeorum, non, ut perverſa grammaticorum ſubtilitas voluit, a cluendo.* However, *Livy* calls them *clupea*; *clupea*, ſays he, *de columnis dempſit* (81). Frequent mention is made of theſe ſhields in antient inſcriptions: *Lipſius* quotes the following: *Huic. Decuriones. Funus. Publicum. Statuam Equeſtrem. Clypeum. Argenteum Locum Sepulturae. Decreverunt.* Theſe ſhields were ſometimes hung up to preſerve the memory of the deceaſed without any effigies, and only with the names of the perſons, by whom, and to whoſe honour they were offered (82). Such ſhields were ſometimes ſet up by private perſons, to honour the memory of their anceſtors, without any order or decree of the ſenate; for *Pliny*, in ſpeaking of *Appius Claudius*, who was conſul in the year of *Rome* 259, ſays, that he was the firſt, who, though a private perſon, ſet up in public, and conſecrated the ſhields of his anceſtors (83).

(80) *Vide Plin l.* iii *c* 7. *Suet. in Domit. Capitol. in Antonino. Trebel in Claud. Liv. l.* lx. *Phil. legat ad Caium.* (81) *Liv. l* lx. (82) *Vide Phil. Jud. ubi ſupra.* (83) *Vide Lip. in excurſ in lib.* ii *annal. Taciti, litera N.*

that

that to no *Roman* of the ſame rank had ever before been born two ſons at a birth. But the increaſe of *Druſus's*[a] family doubled the grief of the people, who ſaw with regret that of their beloved *Germanicus* removed farther and farther from the throne[d]. This ſame year ſevere laws were enacted by the ſenate to reſtrain the lewdneſs of women, and it was provided, that no woman ſhould proſtitute herſelf, whoſe father, grandfather, or huſband, were *Roman* knights. The fathers were prompted to make this prohibition by the monſtrous impudence of one *Viſtilla*, who, though a lady of great quality, and born of a prætorian family, was not aſhamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herſelf a proſtitute, purſuant to an antient law, which obliged all women, who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above-mentioned magiſtrates. By this public declaration the antient *Romans* had thought proſtitutes ſufficiently puniſhed; but *Viſtilla* making no account of ſuch a chaſtiſement, and the fathers fearing other women of diſtinction might follow her example, they publiſhed the above-mentioned prohibition, and at the ſame time baniſhed the infamous *Viſtilla* to the iſland of *Seriphos*. Meaſures were alſo taken by the fathers for utterly extirpating the *Jewiſh* and *Egyptian* ceremonies; and, by a decree of the ſenate, four thouſand young men, all deſcended from manumitted ſlaves, and infected, ſays *Tacitus*, with that ſuperſtition, were inrolled and tranſported to *Sardinia*, to ſuppreſs the robbers who infeſted that iſland: if they periſhed through the badneſs of the air, the ſenate thought it would be no great loſs (A). The reſt

Laws againſt the lewdneſs of women.

The Jewiſh *and* Egyptian *ceremonies aboliſhed at* Rome.

[a] Idem, c. 84.

(A) *Joſephus* complains of this ſeverity; for, according to him, the four thouſand men ſent into *Sardinia* were all *Jews*. *Suetonius* agrees with *Joſephus*. *Tiberius*, ſays that writer, put a ſtop to foreign ceremonies, and likewiſe to the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* rites, obliging all thoſe, who were inclined to ſuch ſuperſtitions, to burn the furniture belonging to their religion. He liſted the *Jewiſh* youth, and ſent them into the moſt peſtilent and unwholſome provinces under his command, obliging the remainder of that nation, and ſuch as followed their footſteps, to depart the city upon pain of perpetual ſlavery. Thus far *Suetonius* (84). To the expulſion of the *Jews* an impoſtor of that nation gave occaſion, who, being obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to *Rome*, where he ſet up for an expounder of the law of *Moſes*, and,

(84) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 36.

with

reſt were ordered to depart *Rome*, and all *Italy*, if within a ſtated time they did not renounce their national ceremonies [c]. The

[c] Idem, c. 85.

with the aſſiſtance of three others, all of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, gained over to the *Jewiſh* religion one *Fulvia*, the wife of *Saturninus*, a woman of great diſtinction. The zealous proſelyte was eaſily perſuaded to make a rich preſent of purple and gold to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which ſhe delivered to her directors; but they, inſtead of ſending the offering to *Jeruſalem*, converted it to their own uſe. This *Fulvia* diſcloſed to her huſband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the *Jews* to depart *Rome*, after having liſted four thouſand of their youth, and ſent them into *Sardinia*. *Joſephus* tells us, that ſuch as ſcrupled ſerving in the *Roman* army were ſeverely puniſhed (85). At the ſame time the *Egyptians* were driven out of *Rome*, and their rites utterly ſuppreſſed: they had been formerly forbidden by *Auguſtus* (86), but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occaſion of a very ſcandalous ſtory related at length by *Joſephus*. *Decius Mundus*, a young *Roman* knight, falling in love with a married lady of the firſt quality in *Rome*, by name *Paulina*, and not being able to prevail upon her, as ſhe was a mirrour of chaſtity, even with the offer of two hundred thouſand drachmas, to comply with his unlawful deſires, had recourſe to the prieſts of the god *Iſis*. Theſe pretending that the god *Anubis*, to whoſe worſhip *Paulina* was greatly addicted, was in love with her, perſuaded her to paſs a night in the temple of that deity; when *Mundus*, by paying down twenty five thouſand drachmas to the prieſts, and promiſing them the like ſum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to *Paulina* herſelf with the tender of two hundred thouſand drachmas. The next day the deluded lady bragging of the honour done her by the *Egyptian* deity, ſome believed her, while others aſcribed the whole to the ſtrength of her imagination. But three days after *Mundus* meeting her, *I thank you*, Paulina, ſaid he, *for ſaving me two hundred thouſand drachmas, and granting me at the ſame time, not under the name of* Mundus, *but of* Anubis, *the favours which I would willingly have purchaſed at ſo dear a rate.* At theſe words the virtuous *Paulina* was thunder ſtruck; ſhe burſt into tears, tore her garments, and, haſtening to her huſband, ſhe acquainted him how ſhe had been abuſed, and betrayed by the prieſts: and, drowned in tears, beſought him to exert himſelf in the proſecution of the prieſts, by whom her ſimplicity and credulity had been thus enormouſly abuſed. Hereupon her huſband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of ſo baſe an action; and he, upon a narrow enquiry into the fact, and a ſtrict examination of

(85) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 5. (86) *Dio. l.* liv. p. 525.

the

The ſame year *Tiberius* gave ſeveral inſtances of generoſity, which ought not to be omitted. *Occia*, who had preſided over the veſtals fifty-ſeven years with great reputation of ſanctimony, being dead, he repreſented to the ſenate, that another virgin was to be choſen in her room; and *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Aſinius Pollio* offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but preferred *Pollio*'s daughter, for no other reaſon, but becauſe her mother had had but one huſband: to comfort the other, who was poſtponed, he gave her for her fortune a thouſand great ſeſterces. Corn being very dear, he ſettled the price which the buyer was to pay; and that the ſeller might not loſe the advantage naturally ariſing from the ſcarcity of grain, he took upon himſelf to pay two *nummi*, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a buſhel, over and above the fixed price. For theſe bounties the people offered him again the title of *Father of his country*, which he rejected, and at the ſame time ſharply rebuked ſuch as ſtyled him *lord*, ſhewing thereby, ſays *Tacitus*, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he could not abide flattery. The ſame author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of thoſe times, ſome of them ſenators, that letters were read in the ſenate from *Algandeſtrius*, prince of the *Catti*, offering to diſpatch *Arminius*, provided poiſon were ſent him for that purpoſe: to which *Tiberius* returned this anſwer; that it was not the cuſtom of the *Roman* people to take vengeance on their enemies by treachery, but openly and in the field; wherein he gained equal glory, ſays our hiſtorian, with the antient *Roman* commanders, who would not ſuffer king *Pyrrhus* to be poiſoned, but diſcloſed to him the whole plot. *Arminius*, however, after the departure of the *Romans*, and expulſion of his rival in power *Maroboduus*, attempting to inſlave his country, fell by the treachery of his kindred in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. *Tacitus* calls

Inſtances of Tiberius's generoſity.

Death of Arminius.

the prieſts, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of *Anubis* to be pulled down, his ſtatue to be thrown into the *Tiber*, the *Egyptian* rites to be utterly ſuppreſſed, and all who profeſſed them to be baniſhed *Rome*. *Ida*, the freed woman of *Mundus*'s father, who firſt adviſed him to apply to the prieſts, for which advice ſhe received fifty thouſand drachmas, was crucified with the prieſts; but *Mundus* himſelf was only baniſhed, *Tiberius* exempting him, ſays *Joſephus*, from a more ſevere puniſhment in regard of his paſſion, which was ſo violent, that, finding the chaſte *Paulina* proof againſt all temptation, he had reſolved to ſtarve himſelf to death.

(87) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 4.

him,

him, not undeſervedly, the deliverer of *Germany*; for under his conduct the *Germans* ſhook off the *Roman* yoke, and long maintained their liberties, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the generals ſent from *Rome* to bring them again under ſubjection. He commanded the troops of his country twelve years, during which time he was often defeated, but always found means to repair his loſſes, and renew the war with freſh vigour. His name in *Tacitus*'s time was ſtill celebrated by his countrymen in their ſongs [f]. *Pliny* obſerves, that this year on the eighth of *July* a new iſland was formed near that of *Deles* in the *archipelago* [g].

Agrippina's *arrival in* Italy *with the aſhes of her huſband.*

In the beginning of the next year, *M. Valerius Meſſalinus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being conſuls, *Agrippina* arrived at *Brunduſium* with the aſhes of her deceaſed huſband, and was received at her landing with tokens of the deepeſt ſorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked to *Brunduſium* to condole with her on ſo melancholy an occaſion. She no ſooner appeared on the ſhore, attended by her two children, *Caius* and *Julia*, with the funeral urn in her arms, and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burſt into tears; nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, ſtrangers, being equally affected at the ſight of ſo moving an object. *Tiberius* had diſpatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceaſed prince from *Brunduſium* to *Rome*, and ordered the magiſtrates of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania* to pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon. The urn therefore was carried on the ſhoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magiſtrates of the places through which it paſſed, the lictors of the deceaſed general marching before it with their faſces reverſed (B). When the funeral proceſſion arrived

[f] Idem, c. 88. [g] Plin. l. ii. c. 87.

(B) This cuſtom of carrying the faſces reverſed in token of grief is likewiſe mentioned by *Pedo* in his elegy to *Livia*;

Quos primum vidi faſces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi verſos, indiciumque mali.

And *Statius*:

——verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
Grajugenæ reges 88).

(88) *Stat. Thebaid. l.* vi.

Not

arrived at any *Roman* colony, the nobility in their beſt apparel, and the people in mourning, ſlew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, teſtifying with loud lamentations their common ſorrow. The nearer they drew to *Rome*, the greater was the concourſe. At *Terracina* they were met by *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius*, by *Claudius*, *Germanicus*'s younger brother, and by ſuch of his children as had been left at *Rome*. At ſome diſtance from the city the conſcript fathers, with the conſuls at their head, and immenſe crouds of people, lined the road, through which the proceſſion paſſed, all drowned in tears and teſtifying their grief with ſighs, in which flattery had no ſhare, every one being well appriſed how real was the joy, how inſincere was the grief of *Tiberius*. Neither he nor his mother *Livia* appeared abroad, either becauſe they thought it below their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances ſome marks of joy amidſt the public lamentations (C). The remains of the deceaſed were repoſited in the tomb of *Auguſtus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that ſtately monument was erected, and crying aloud in the height of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. But nothing offended *Tiberius* ſo much as the affection which the people ſhewed for *Agrippina*, calling her, *The ornament of her country, the only blood of* Auguſtus, *a true pattern of an-*

How received.

Not only the lictors carried their faſces reverſed, but the ſoldiers their arms, as appears from the funeral proceſſion, which *Virgil* deſcribes on occaſion of the death of *Pallas*:

——*Tum mœſta phalanx Teucrique ſequuntur,*
Tyrrhenique duces, & verſis Arcades armis (89).

It is well known, that *Virgil* introduces in his poem the cuſtoms that prevailed at *Rome*.

(C) *Tacitus* tells us, that neither in any hiſtorian, nor in the journals of the city, he could find, that *Antonia*, the mother of *Germanicus*, bore any part in the funeral, though *Agrippina*, *Druſus*, *Claudius*, and the other relations of the deceaſed, were there recorded by name. Perhaps ſhe was prevented by ſickneſs; perhaps ſhe was ſenſible, that ſhe would have ſunk under the weight of her ſorrow; or elſe ſhe was detained by *Tiberius*, that he and *Livia* might ſeem to have followed her example, and the people not think it ſtrange, that the grandmother and uncle had abſented themſelves when the mother had not appeared; but aſcribe their abſence to the ſame cauſe, viz. an equal affliction.

(89) *Virgil Æneid. l.* xi. *v.* 92, 93.

tient virtue, and at the ſame time imploring the bleſſings of the gods for her iſſue, that they might outlive the perſecutions of the wicked. As the people ſet no bounds to their grief, he thought proper to check it by a public decree, exhorting them to reſume their ſeveral vocations, and, as the *Magneſian* games were at hand, to indulge themſelves in their uſual diverſions, now they had by their lamentations given ſufficient vent to their grief. He urged the examples of the deified *Julius* and the deified *Auguſtus*, who upon the loſs, the former of an only daughter, the latter of his beloved grandſons, had both got the better of their ſorrow; he put them alſo in mind of the conſtancy with which the *Roman* people had formerly borne the ſlaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and the utter deſtruction of many noble families, adding, that princes were mortal, but the commonwealth eternal. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of juſtice were opened again, public affairs reſumed, and an end put to the vacation. *Druſus*, who was come to *Rome* on purpoſe to attend the funeral, returned to the army in *Illyricum*; which he had ſcarce reached, when *Piſo* appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince leſs incenſed againſt him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. *Druſus* at their firſt meeting told him, that if the crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the firſt to revenge it, but that he hoped the current report was groundleſs, and that the death of *Germanicus* would be pernicious to none. This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with *Piſo*. This artful anſwer and the cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwiſe frank and unwary, prompted moſt people to believe, that he had been inſtructed beforehand by his father how to behave in ſo nice and critical a conjuncture. Young *Piſo*, whom the father had ſent to *Rome* with inſtructions how to ſoften the emperor, was received very kindly by him, and honoured with ſuch preſents as were uſually beſtowed on the ſons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. This he did to ſhew himſelf utterly unbiaſſed. In the mean time, news was brought, that *Martina*, famous for the art of poiſoning, who, as we have related above, had been ſent in cuſtody towards *Rome*, was found dead at *Brunduſium* with poiſon bound up in the knots of her hair, but without any marks of poiſon on her body. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from *Tiberius* or *Piſo*, was never known. By her death the accuſers were deprived of their chief evidence; for ſhe had ever lived in cloſe confidence with *Plancina*

Tiberius *by a decree checks the public grief.*

Druſus's *artful anſwer to* Cneius Piſo.

Plancina, and the ſenate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a ſincere confeſſion of the crime and a diſcovery of her accomplices. Not long after *Piſo* arrived at *Rome* with his wife *Plancina*, and landed, as he had imbarqued, at *Narnia* upon the *Nar*, and thence ſailed into the *Tiber*, near the tomb of *Auguſtus*, where the aſhes of *Germanicus* had been lately repoſited. This with their inſolent behaviour heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances, and, attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domeſtics and ſhe of women, proceeded to their ſtately palace, which overlooked the forum, and was on occaſion of their return magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they paſſed in rejoycings, having invited their friends and relations to a great banquet, with which they ſolemnized their ſafe arrival. But the very next day *Piſo* was arraigned by *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and others who had attended *Germanicus*, before the emperor; who, after having heard in a private audience the charge of the accuſers and the defence of the accuſed, referred the intire cauſe to the ſenate, being well appriſed of the reflections that would be caſt upon him, whether he condemned or abſolved the accuſed. When the ſenate met for this great trial, *Tiberius* made a ſpeech full of affected moderation; he told the conſcript fathers, that *Piſo* had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himſelf, at the direction of the ſenate, to aſſiſt *Germanicus* in ſettling the affairs of the eaſt: whether he had there by his haughtineſs and oppoſition provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unbiaſſed minds, "If you find him guilty, ſaid the empe-
"ror, of having only exceeded the bounds of his commiſ-
"ſion, and not ſubmitted to the will of his general, or even
"of having betrayed joy at his death and my affliction, I
"ſhall ever hate him and baniſh him from my houſe; but
"cannot for private injuries exert the prince, and condemn
"him as a criminal. But if you find him guilty of *Ger-*
"*manicus*'s death, it is incumbent upon you to revenge it,
"and afford his children, and us his father and grandmother,
"the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him puniſhed for ſuch an enormous
"attempt. Examine too with great care, whether he en-
"deavoured to debauch the army, whether he countenanced
"licentiouſneſs in the ſoldiery, or attempted to recover the
"province by force of arms. I have juſt cauſe to be offend-
"ed with the indiſcreet zeal of his accuſers: to what pur-
"poſe ſtrip the corpſe, and expoſe it naked to the eyes of

Cn. Piſo arrives at Rome.

Is arraigned.

Tiberius's *ſpeech to the ſenate on this occaſion.*

" the multitude? Why was it proclaimed among foreign na-
" tions, that he was taken off by poiſon, if all this was ſtill
" doubtful and remains to be examined? I am grieved for
" the death of my ſon, and ever ſhall lament ſo great a loſs;
" but far be it from me any ways to hinder the accuſed from
" doing all he can to ſhew his innocence, or even from ex-
" poſing and laying open the faults of *Germanicus*, if he had
" any faults. I beſeech you to proceed with the ſame im-
" partiality: let not your regard to me miſlead you to take
" crimes for proved, becauſe they are committed againſt me.
" As for the accuſed, if he has any friends or relations, let
" them exert their eloquence, and uſe their utmoſt endea-
" vours to clear him from the crimes laid to his charge. Let
" his accuſers take the ſame pains to convict him of the
" charge which is brought againſt him: by this means we
" ſhall be able to judge impartially, to abſolve the accuſed, if
" innocent; to condemn him, if guilty." Two days were then allowed to the accuſers to make good their charge, and ſix days after, three to the accuſed to make his defence. The articles of impeachment, brought againſt *Piſo* by *Servæus*, *Veranius*, and *Vitellius*, were, that he had permitted a general licentiouſneſs in the army, and corrupted the common ſoldiers to that degree, that he was ſtyled, by the moſt profligate, father of the legions; that he had abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner the friends of *Germanicus*; and laſtly, that by poiſon and witchcraft he had deſtroyed *Germanicus* himſelf, and borne arms againſt the commonwealth; inſomuch, that they had been obliged to engage and defeat him before they could bring him to his trial. He defended himſelf but weakly againſt theſe accuſations; only the charge of poiſoning *Germanicus* could not be ſufficiently proved. However, the ſenate could not be perſuaded, that *Germanicus* had died a natural death; and at the ſame time the people were heard crying aloud, at the door of the ſenate-houſe, that though the fathers abſolved the accuſed, yet he ſhould not eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes; nay, they had already overturned the ſtatues of *Piſo*, and would have dragged them to the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, the place where criminals were executed, had they not been reſcued by *Tiberius*'s orders. Theſe diſturbances induced the ſenate to put off the final deciſion of the cauſe; and *Piſo*, that he might not be expoſed to the outrages of the incenſed multitude, was conveyed to his houſe in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom ſome looked upon as a guard for his ſafety, others as the miniſter of his death.

Articles of impeachment brought againſt Piſo.

The

THE people were no leſs incenſed againſt *Plancina* than *Piſo*; but ſhe, having by the ſecret ſolicitations of *Livia* ſecured her own pardon, began by degrees to drop her huſband, and to make a ſeparate defence, though ſhe had declared from the beginning, that ſhe would employ all her intereſt and favour with *Livia* in behalf of both, and that by the ſame ſentence they ſhould both be either abſolved or condemned. This ſo diſheartened *Piſo*, who had placed more confidence in the intereſt of his wife, than his own, that he was ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould make any farther defence. But his ſon prevailed upon him to appear once more before the ſenate, and try whether he could move the fathers or *Tiberius* to compaſſion. But the ſenate proving implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to ſhew, even in his countenance, the leaſt mark of tenderneſs towards him in his diſtreſs, he returned home, as if he deſigned to prepare for his farther defence againſt the next day. But inſtead of that, he wrote a letter to the emperor, which he ſealed and deliver'd to his freedmen. He then bathed, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, and ſupped as uſual. His wife kept him company till the night was far ſpent, and then retired; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than *Piſo* ordered the door of the chamber to be ſhut, and was found at break of day with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him. *Tacitus* tells us, that while he was a youth, he heard from ſome old men, that a bundle of writings was frequently ſeen in *Piſo*'s hands during his trial, which contained, as his friends conſtantly affirmed, the letters of *Tiberius*, ordering him to diſpatch *Germanicus*. Theſe letters, ſaid they, he deſigned to lay before the ſenate, and accuſe the prince; but was diverted from it by *Sejanus*, who in the emperor's name promiſed him his pardon: they added, that *Piſo* did not fall by his own hand, but by that of an executioner ſent privately by *Tiberius* to diſpatch him. Our hiſtorian tells us, that he dares affirm neither of theſe things, but yet thought himſelf obliged to acquaint his readers with ſuch relations (D). *Tiberius* fearing the death of *Piſo* might

Piſo abandoned by his wife Plancina.

His death.

(D) *Suetonius* writes, that he narrowly eſcaped being torn in pieces by the populace, and was condemned to death by the ſenate (90). *Dion* ſays, that he was brought into the ſenate by *Tiberius* himſelf, who deſired, that he might have time to prepare for his defence, and that he laid violent hands on himſelf. But, according to *Tacitus*, the ſentence was not awarded againſt him till after

(90) *Suet. in Calig. c.* 2.

his

might be imputed to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther diſcoveries, examined his domeſtics in the ſenate about the circumſtances of his death, and then read the letter which *Piſo* had written to him, imploring his protection for his ſons, whom he cleared from having any ſhare in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife *Plancina* he ſaid nothing. One of his ſons had remained at *Rome*, and therefore could be no ways acceſſary to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into *Syria*, and ſerved under him in the war he raiſed in the province; but *Tiberius* would not allow that to be imputed to him as a crime, alledging the orders of his father, which, he ſaid, a ſon could not diſobey. As for *Plancina*, who was ſuppoſed to have been more guilty than her huſband, *Tiberius* openly declared, not without bluſhing, and betraying great confuſion in his ſpeech and countenance, that at the earneſt intreaties of his mother he could not help pleading for her, and aſſiſting her in her trial. However, *Vitellius* and *Veranius* did not drop the proſecution; but after they had in a trial, which laſted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and ſilenced thoſe who pleaded for the accuſed, ſhe eſcaped the puniſhment due to her crime by the indulgence of the ſervile ſenate. For the conſul *Aurelius Cotta* being firſt aſked his opinion by the emperor, who collected the voices himſelf, anſwered in the following terms: I am of opinion, that the name of *Piſo* be razed out of the *conſular faſti*, or tables, part of his eſtate forfeited, and part granted to his ſon *Cneius* upon his changing that name; that his ſon *Marcus* be driven out of the ſenate, baniſhed for ten years, and allowed out of his father's eſtate only fifty thouſand great ſeſterces; as to *Plancina*, I think ſhe ſhould be pardoned at the requeſt of *Livia*. This ſentence ſeemed too rigorous to the emperor with reſpect to *Piſo*'s children and memory; he therefore would not allow his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, ſaying, that the name of *Marc Antony*, who had made war upon his country, and that of his ſon *Julius Antonius*, who had by adultery diſhonoured the houſe of *Auguſtus*, remained ſtill there. He likewiſe delivered *Marcus Piſo* from the infamy of being diveſted of his dignity, and left him his paternal inheritance intire. He alſo oppoſed the motion of *Valerius Meſſalinus*, who was for erecting a golden ſtatue in the temple of *Mars the avenger*, and that of *Cæcina*

Tiberius favours Plancina.

Who is abſolved.

Tiberius favours the children and memory of Piſo.

his death; neither does that writer ſay, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, but only that he was found with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him.

Severus,

Severus, who propoſed building an altar to *Revenge*. Such monuments, he ſaid, were fit to be raiſed for victories over a foreign enemy; but domeſtic evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief (E). As the emperor had ſhewn great favour to *Plancina* and her children, to maintain the opinion of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial he moved in the ſenate, that *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and *Servæus*, who had accuſed *Piſo*, might be rewarded; and they were accordingly preferred to pontifical honours [h].

THE death of *Germanicus* being thus revenged, *Druſus* who had returned from *Illyricum* to be preſent at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though decreed him the year before for having ſettled peace in *Germany*, he had poſtponed till the trial was over. A few days after died his mother *Vipſania*, of all the children of *Agrippa*, the only one, ſays *Tacitus*, who died a natural death (F). The ſame year *Tacfarinas*, who had been ſome time before defeated by *Furius Camillus*, as we have related above, renewed

Vipſania the mother of Druſus *dies.*

Tacfarinas *renews the war, but is defeated.*

[h] TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—19.

(E) *Meſſalinus* added to his motion, that public thanks ſhould be rendered to *Tiberius*, *Livia*, *Antonia*, *Agrippina*, and *Druſus*, for having revenged the death of *Germanicus*, but omitted to mention *Claudius* the brother of the deceaſed prince. Whereupon *Lucius Aſprenas* aſked him, whether he had omitted him deſignedly; and then *Meſſalinus* ſubjoined the name of *Claudius* too. This ſhews how little regard was then paid to *Claudius*: and indeed he was deſpiſed and neglected by all, and thought incapable of any public employment. But for all this, fortune reſerved the ſovereignty to him, and we ſhall ſee him one day, notwithſtanding the weakneſs both of his body and mind, maſter of the *Roman* empire.

(F) *Agrippa* had three wives, viz. *Pomponia*, the daughter of *Atticus*, *Marcella* the daugher of *Octavia*, and *Julia*. By *Pomponia* he had *Vipſania* the mother of *Druſus*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*; *Marcella* likewiſe brought him children, if *Suetonius* is to be credited; but as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young: by *Julia* he had five children, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, *Agrippa Poſthumus*, *Agrippina*, and *Julia*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned; *Agrippina*, periſhed by hunger, and *Poſthumus Agrippa* by the ſword; but as to *Julia*, ſhe died a natural death, according to the account which *Tacitus* himſelf gives of it (91); though he tells us in this place, that *Vipſania* was of all the children of *Agrippa* the only one who died a natural death.

(91) *Tacit. annal. l. iv.*

the

the war in *Africa*, but was obliged by *L. Apronius*, who had ſucceeded *Camillus* in the government of that province, to ſhelter himſelf again in the deſerts. A *Roman* cohort having on this occaſion given ground at the firſt onſet, the proconſul cauſed every tenth man of that cowardly body to be executed; which exemplary rigour, at this time very rare, had ſo good an effect on the reſt, that a numerous body of the enemy was ſoon after put to flight by a detachment of no more than five hundred veterans, and their numerous army utterly routed by another detachment commanded by *Apronius Ceſianus*, the proconſul's ſon.

The trial of Æmilia Lepida.

This year, *Æmilia Lepida*, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, and beſides great-granddaughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once deſigned for the wife of *Lucius Cæſar*, and for the daughter-in-law of *Auguſtus*, was charged with impoſing upon her huſband *Publius Quirinius* a ſuppoſititious child, with adultery, and with conſulting the *Chaldeans* about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence, *Tiberius* behaving on this occaſion with ſuch ſubtlety, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his real ſentiments. At firſt he begged the ſenators not to meddle with the articles of treaſon, and ſoon after charged *Marcus Servilius* to produce thoſe very proofs which he pretended to ſuppreſs: He would not ſuffer the ſlaves of *Lepida* to be examined by torture as to the articles of treaſon, nor his ſon *Druſus*, though conſul elect, to vote firſt, leſt the reſt ſhould think themſelves obliged to follow his example. However, the ſlaves of *Lepida* confeſſing upon the rack, that ſhe had impoſed upon her huſband a ſuppoſititious child, and even attempted to poiſon him, ſhe was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but at the requeſt of *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, either before her marriage with *Quirinius* or after her divorce, her eſtate was not confiſcated. After ſhe was condemned, *Tiberius* told the ſenators, that he had learnt from the ſlaves too of her huſband *Quirinius*, that ſhe had attempted to poiſon him [1]. *Suetonius* tells us, that ſhe had committed the crimes, for which ſhe was at this time condemned, twenty years before; but *Tacitus* only ſays, that ſhe was proſecuted by her huſband even after their divorce; which drew compaſſion upon her, however guilty and infamous.

The ſeverity of the law Papia-Poppæa ſoftened.

This year *Tiberius* ſoftened the rigour of the law *Papia-Poppæa*, which, as we have related above, loaded thoſe with heavy fines who did not marry at a certain age. But great numbers of *Romans* chuſing rather to pay the ſaid fines,

[1] Idem, c. 22, 23. Suet. in Tib. c. 49.

than

than incumber themſelves with a family, ſo that the law ſerved only to inrich the exchequer, *Tiberius* with great diſintereſtedneſs appointed five perſons, who had been formerly conſuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other ſenators, to examine all the regulations made before his time againſt celibacy. Theſe explained the intricacies of the laws enacted againſt a ſingle life, which the pleaders, that is, the lawyers of thoſe days, laid hold of to undo many noble families; and at the ſame time they qualified the rigour of the ancient law by leſſening the fines, which, according to the regulations of *Auguſtus*, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a certain age. This, as *Tacitus* obſerves, was ſome relief to the city, the number of laws proving as great an evil as the crimes, for the reſtraining of which they were enacted. Towards the end of this year, *Nero*, *Germanicus*'s eldeſt ſon, being now of age, *Tiberius* recommended him to the ſenate, that he might ſtand for the quæſtorſhip five years ſooner than the laws directed, which, as we may well imagine, was readily granted, as alſo a place in the college of pontiffs. The firſt day he entered the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was diſtributed by *Tiberius* to the populace, overjoyed to ſee a ſon of *Germanicus* now of age. Their joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*; but ſoon after the people ſaw with the utmoſt concern and indignation the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Druſus*, the nephew of *Germanicus*, and ſon of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match the *Claudian* family ſeemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whoſe power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raiſed ſtill higher. But a few days after *Druſus* died at *Pompeii* by a very ſtrange accident, being choaked by a pear, which ſtuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and and catched it in his mouth[1].

Death of Druſus *nephew to* Germanicus.

THE following year, *Tiberius* was conſul the fourth time, and *Druſus* the ſecond; but *Tiberius*, ſoon after he had reſumed the faſces, under pretence of his health, retired to *Campania*, either with a deſign to accuſtom himſelf by degrees to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Druſus* the honour of diſcharging that office alone. Not long after his departure he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that *Tacfarinas* had raiſed new diſturbances in *Africa*, and exhorting them to chuſe a proconſul to be ſent into that province equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon the receipt of this letter the fathers met, but, inſtead of naming a governor themſelves, de-

Tiberius *goes into* Campania.

[1] TACIT. c. 29. SUET. in Claud. c. 27.

creed, that the appointment of a proper perſon for the government of *Africa* ſhould be left to the emperor. On this occaſion *Cæcina Severus* made a ſpeech againſt any magiſtrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being oppoſed by *Valerius Meſſalinus* and *Druſus* himſelf, his motion was over-ruled (G). The next time the ſenate met, a letter was

(G) *Cæcina* introduced this motion with a long preamble, that he lived in perfect concord with his wife, and had ſix children by her; but nevertheleſs had practiſed himſelf, though he had ſerved forty years in different provinces, what he offered to the public. He ſaid, that it had not without cauſe been provided of old, that women ſhould not be carried into the countries of confederate or foreign nations, ſince they introduced luxury in peace, retarded war with their fears, and made the *Roman* armies on their march reſemble thoſe of the barbarians. Women, ſaid he, are not only tender and unfit to bear fatigues; but, if not reſtrained, cruel, ambitious, and greedy of power. They even march among the ſoldiers, and are attended and obeyed by the centurions. A woman has lately acted the chief part at the exerciſe of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions. Beſides you well know, conſcript fathers, that as often as any of the magiſtrates are accuſed of plundering the provinces, their wives are always concerned in the guilt. To them the moſt profligate in the provinces immediately apply; by them all affairs are undertaken and tranſacted. They are no leſs reſpected than their huſbands, have the ſame court paid them, are equally obeyed, nay more readily obeyed, their orders being generally more imperious. This authority in women was formerly reſtrained by the *Oppian* and other laws; but now they rule without controul, not only their families, but the forum, the courts of juſtice, and even the armies. To this ſpeech, which was applauded by ſome, but diſliked by the far greater part, *Valerius Meſſalinus* anſwered, that many of the inſtitutions of their forefathers were changed for the better; that women were ſo far from burdening the provinces, that they were no burden to their own huſbands; that in time of peace they proved no incumbrance to them, but a great relief after the fatigues of war, to which it was not proper they ſhould attend their huſbands. As to the pride, cruelty, and ambition, to which ſome of them had given a looſe, he anſwered, that if on that account none were to be allowed to accompany their huſbands into the provinces, no governors ought, according to that method of reaſoning, be ſent thither, ſince ſome of them had proved cruel, haughty, rapacious, *&c.* The *Oppian* laws, he ſaid, were once judged neceſſary, and their ſeverity thought expedient for the ſtate; but afterwards their rigour was ſoftened, and that too was judged expedient for the public good. As to the wives being acceſſary to the guilt of their huſbands, the latter, he ſaid, ought to bear the blame; but he thought it very hard, that for

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was preſented to them from *Tiberius*, wherein, after complaining of them for caſting upon him the care of all public affairs, he named *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæſus*, leaving it to them to chuſe for the proconſulate of *Africa* which of the two they pleaſed. Hereupon *Blæſus* was choſen, *Lepidus* excuſing himſelf with great earneſtneſs, and pleading his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable. There was another reaſon too, ſays *Tacitus*, which, though not mentioned by *Lepidus* was underſtood; *Blæſus* was uncle to *Sejanus*, and therefore, as his intereſt prevailed, *Lepidus* declined ſtanding in competition with him [k]. The moderation and mildneſs with which *Druſus* governed, during his father's abſence, encouraged ſome ſenators to apply to him for redreſs to an evil, which was by degrees grown unſupportable. The ſtatues of the emperor were become ſanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten, and wantonly inſult whom they pleaſed, not even a maſter being allowed to puniſh a ſlave for the invectives he had uttered againſt him, while he held the emperor's ſtatue. Againſt this abuſe *Caius Seſtius*, a ſenator, ſpoke with great vehemence, as he had been lately abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner by one *Annia Rufilla*, whom he had got condemned for forgery. To put a ſtop to this diſorder, *Druſus* ſummoned *Rufilla*

Statues of the emperors become ſanctuaries.

[k] Idem, c. 35.

the too great compliance of one or a few weak huſbands, all the reſt ſhould be deprived of the comfort and relief which the fellowſhip of their wives, the natural partners of their good and bad fortunes, afforded them. He added, that the ſex, weak by nature, would be thus left defenceleſs, a prey to their own paſſions, and expoſed to the temptations of thouſands, who would make it their buſineſs to ſeduce them; whereof the natural conſequence in an abſence of many years was to every one obvious, ſince the marriage-bed was ſcarce preſerved undefiled under the eye of the huſband. He concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the fathers, ſo to redreſs the evils abroad, as not to neglect the diſorders at home. *Druſus* approved of this ſpeech; and having alledged the example of *Auguſtus*, who travelled moſtly accompanied with *Livia*, added, that he himſelf had taken a progreſs to *Illyricum*, and was ready, if it were thought expedient, to viſit other nations; but not without uneaſineſs, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, by whom he had ſo many children. For theſe reaſons, if they deſerve that name, the motion of *Cæcina* was defeated (92).

(92) *Tacit.* c. 34.

Druſus redreſſes this evil.

before his tribunal; and finding her guilty of uttering invectives againſt *Seſtius*, under ſhelter of the emperor's ſtatue, he committed her to priſon. The puniſhment of this profligate woman, and that of two *Roman* knights, *Conſidius Æquus* and *Cælius Curſor*, who had forged a charge of treaſon againſt the prætor *Magius Cæcilianus*, gained *Druſus* the affections of the people, and made them overlook his love of pleaſure and the luxury in which he lived, ſpending the day at the ſhows of gladiators, and the greater part of the night in revels and banquets.

Antiſtius Vetus *tried.*

Antiſtius Vetus, a principal nobleman of *Macedon*, being tried for adultery, during *Druſus*'s adminiſtration, was abſolved; which highly offended *Tiberius*, who wrote a letter to the ſenate, reproaching the judges, and ordering them to recall *Vetus* and try him for treaſon, as a diſturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king *Rhaſciporis*, when having killed his nephew *Cotys*, whom *Tacitus* through miſtake calls his brother, he deſigned to make war upon *Rome*. The charge of treaſon, ſays our hiſtorian, proved in thoſe days the ſum and bulwark of all accuſations whatſoever, and was the moſt effectual means of making ſure of the criminal.

And condemned.

Vetus was therefore condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and to his ſentence was added, that he ſhould be confined to an iſland, neither in the neighbourhood of *Macedon*, nor of *Thrace*.

A revolt in Thrace *ſuppreſſed.*

The troubles which began about this time in *Thrace*, prompted the judges, or rather *Tiberius*, to add this clauſe. For the *Odryſians*, and other warlike nations of *Thrace*, being diſſatisfied with the government of *Rhemetalces*, to whom *Tiberius* had given that part of *Thrace*, which his father *Rhaſciporis* had held, and much more with the government of *Trebellienus Rufus*, whom *Tiberius* had appointed guardian to the ſons of *Cotys*, who were minors, openly revolted; and having committed dreadful ravages, beſieged *Rhemetalces* in the city of *Philippopolis*. But diviſions ariſing among them, *Publius Velleius*, whom ſome writers take to be the hiſtorian *Velleius Paterculus* [1], marching againſt them from the neighbouring province, where he commanded, defeated them, and obliged them, without loſing a ſingle man, to abandon the ſiege [m].

The Gauls *revolt.*

The ſame year, the *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes, with which they were loaded, and the cruelty and pride of their governors, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yok, being ſtirred up by *Julius Florus* a native of *Treves*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a leading man among the *Ædui*, that is, thoſe of *Autun*. The *Andecavi* and *Turones*, that is,

[1] Voss. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 24.

[m] Tacit. c. 36, 37.

the

the inhabitants of *Angiers* and *Tours*, firſt took up arms; but the former were ſoon reduced by *Acilius Aviola* at the head of a cohort, drawn from the gariſon of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*; and the latter by the ſame *Aviola* with a detachment ſent him by *Viſellius Varro*, governor of *Lower Germany*. *Julius Florus*, having attempted in vain to debauch a body of horſe, which had been raiſed by the *Romans* at *Treves*, made to the foreſt of *Ardea*, attended by a rabble of his own clients and followers; but finding all the paſſes beſet by *Viſellius Varro* and *Caius Silius*, he was obliged to venture a battle with his countryman *Julius Indus*, whom the *Romans* had ſent forward with a choſen body of men, as one who was well acquainted with the roads, and a declared enemy to *Florus*. *Indus* put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and by purſuing him from place to place, reduced him to ſuch ſtraights, that finding no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he put an end to his life with his own ſword. By his death the inſurrection of *Treves* was quelled. But that of the *Ædui* gave the *Roman* generals no ſmall uneaſineſs, *Sacrovir*, the chief author of it, having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of *Auguſtodunum* or *Autun*, the capital of the nation, where he found and ſeized all the young nobility of *Gaul*, hoping by that means to engage their parents and relations in his intereſt. A contention which aroſe between the two *Roman* generals about the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a vigorous defence. At length *Varro*, who was old and infirm, yielding to *Silius*, who was vigorous and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and advancing towards *Auguſtodunum*, were met by *Sacrovir* twelve miles from that city. Whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Gauls* were routed with great ſlaughter, and *Sacrovir* obliged to fly firſt to *Auguſtodunum*, and thence to a neighbouring town; where he ſlew himſelf, and thoſe who attended him one another, after having ſet fire to the place, by which it was reduced to aſhes. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that when news of this inſurrection in *Gaul* was brought to *Rome*, the beſt men were grieved for the ſake of their country, but many rejoiced in their own dangers, and in hatred to *Tiberius* wiſhed ſucceſs to the common enemy [n].

Julius Florus, *one of the ring-leaders of the revolt, is routed, and dies by his own hand.*

Sacrovir *the author of the rebellion dies in the ſame manner.*

WHEN the inſurrection was intirely ſuppreſſed, *Tiberius* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the riſe, progreſs and concluſion of the war: he added, that it was brought to a happy iſſue by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants,

[n] Idem, c. 40—47.

directed

Tiberius's *reasons for not going in person into* Gaul.

directed by his counſels. As ſome had complained of him for not going in perſon to ſuppreſs it, in the ſame letter he yielded reaſons why neither he nor *Druſus* had, during thoſe commotions, offered to ſtir out of *Italy*, telling them, that the *Roman* empire was an immenſe body, and that it was below the dignity of princes, upon the revolt of one or two cities, to abandon the capital, whence proper directions were ſent to govern the whole; but nevertheleſs, that he would viſit thoſe nations and ſettle them, ſince they were again brought under ſubjection; which before would have been doing them too much honour, as if he had not been able to conquer them by his lieutenants. The ſenate decreed vows, ſupplications, and the other uſual honours on ſuch occaſions; but *Cornelius Dolabella*, a notorious flatterer, moved, that *Tiberius*, on his return from *Campania*, ſhould be honoured with an ovation. This ridiculous motion occaſioned a letter from the emperor, wherein he declared, that he was not ſo deſtitute of glory as to hunt after empty honours in his old age, for a ſhort progreſs in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, after having in his youth vanquiſhed moſt warlike nations, and either enjoyed or deſpiſed many triumphs. This year *Publius Sulpicius Quirinius*, whom St. *Luke* calls *Cyrenius*, dying at *Rome*, *Tiberius* wrote to the ſenate, deſiring that he might be honoured with a public funeral. He was a native of *Lanuvium*, a municipal town; but though of a mean deſcent, had raiſed himſelf by his valour to the higheſt poſts in the army, and had been honoured by *Auguſtus*, firſt with the conſulſhip, and afterwards with the enſigns of triumph, for driving the *Homonadenſes* out of their ſtrong-holds in *Cilicia*. Upon the diſgrace of *Marcus Lollius* he was appointed governor to *Caius Cæſar*, then employed in ſettling the affairs of *Armenia*, in which high ſtation he made uſe of all his intereſt in behalf of *Tiberius*, then at *Rhodes*, and by degrees reconciled the young prince to him. Theſe kind offices *Tiberius* now remembered, and extolled them in his letter to the ſenate, inveighing at the ſame time againſt *Lollius*, as the author of the miſunderſtanding between him and *Caius*. When *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Herod*, was depoſed by *Auguſtus*, *Quirinius* was appointed governor of *Syria*, and ordered to ſeize the country, which *Archelaus* had held, and reduce it to a *Roman* province; which he did accordingly, taxing the *Jews* according to the eſtimate of their eſtates, which had been made eleven years before by *Sentius Saturninus*. The ſenate readily complied with the requeſt of *Tiberius* as to the funeral of *Quirinius*, though they had no great reſpect for his memory on account of his covetouſneſs,

P. Quirinius *honoured with a public funeral.*

his

his great credit with the emperor, and above all, for his profecuting *Æmilia Lepida* in the manner we have related above [o]. At the end of the year, *Druſus* falling ſick, *Caius Lutorius Priſcus*, a *Roman* knight, thinking the diſtemper would prove mortal, compoſed a poem bewailing his death, and out of vanity read it in the houſe of *P. Petronius* in the preſence of *Vitellia*, mother-in-law to *Petronius*, and of other women of great diſtinction. As *Rome* ſwarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accuſed of this before the ſenate; all the ladies, who had heard him, were ſummoned to appear againſt him, and frightened into a confeſſion, except *Vitellia*, who maintained to the laſt with great firmneſs, that ſhe had heard nothing. But more credit being given to thoſe who depoſed againſt him, *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as conſul elect, voted firſt, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be puniſhed with death; *Lepidus* was for condemning him to perpetual baniſhment and confiſcating his eſtate. But of all the conſulars, *Rubelius Blandus* alone voting with *Lepidus*, and the reſt with *Agrippa*, *Priſcus* was conveyed to priſon, and immediately put to death. To what a deplorable ſtate of ſlavery was *Rome* already reduced! But *Lutorius*'s real crime was, it ſeems, his having compoſed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been ſo well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it [p]. The emperor, who was ſtill in *Campania*, behaved on this occaſion with his uſual ambiguity; for in a letter, which he wrote to the ſenate, he commended their zeal in thus puniſhing the ſlighteſt injuries done to the prince; but at the ſame time intreated them not to be ſo haſty in puniſhing words: he praiſed *Lepidus*, blamed not *Agrippa*. His ſeeming to diſapprove of this ſudden execution gave riſe to a famous decree of the ſenate, *viz.* that their orders ſhould not be carried to the treaſury (H), nor the condemned perſon executed, in leſs than ten days. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this reſpite in *Tiberius*'s reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never ſoftened by time, as *Tacitus* well obſerves [q].

C. Lutorius Priſcus *tried.*

Condemned and executed.

His haſty execution gives riſe to a famous decree.

THE

[o] Idem, c. 48. STRAB. l. xii. DIO. l. lvii JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. & ii. [p] TACIT. c. 49. DIO. l. lvii. p. 616, 617. [q] TACIT. c. 51. DIO. ibid. p. 617. SUET. in Tib. c. 75.

(H) In the treaſury were lodged the public regiſters and the decrees of the ſenate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called *the orders* or *authority* of the ſenate, as is evident from *Cicero*, *Dion Caſſius*, and other antient writers.

THE following year, *Caius Sulpitius Galba*, and *Decimus Haterius Agrippa*, being conſuls, *Caius Bibulus*, one of the ædiles, moved, that ſome regulation might be made againſt luxury, which, in ſpite of the ſumptuary laws, was grown to a monſtrous exceſs in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domeſtics, in the quantity of gold and ſilver plate, of pictures, ſtatues, precious ſtones, &c. The motion was ſeconded by the other ædiles, who made long deſcants on the miſchievous conſequences of the growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to *Tiberius*, which occaſioned a letter from him to the conſcript

writers. This decree of the ſenate, by which it was provided, that no perſon condemned ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, was obſerved by *Caligula*, even with reſpect to thoſe whom he himſelf ſentenced to death 93), and probably by all the ſucceeding emperors to the time of *Theodoſius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to thoſe who were condemned 94) either by the prince, or the ſenate (95). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion, without all doubt, well grounded, ſince *Tacitus*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Suetonius*, and *Seneca*, affirm, in expreſs terms, that *Tiberius* granted ten days reſpite to criminals after ſentence, and the more modern writers unanimouſly aſcribe to *Theodoſius* the thirty days reprieve. But on the other hand, we read in *Quintilian*, who flouriſhed about this time, the following words: *The law forbidding a criminal to be executed till after thirty days, was wiſely eſtabliſhed, ſeeing the accuſer may be deceived* (96); and in *Calpurnius Flaccus*, who wrote long before *Theodoſius*'s time, *Let the puniſhment of a raviſher be deferred thirty days* (97). As there is no reconciling teſtimonies ſo evidently oppoſite and contradictory, and on the other hand we have innumerable inſtances of tranſcribers miſtaking numbers, we ſhall with the moſt judicious critics impute to them the preſent diſagreement among authors. Perhaps in tranſcribing the declamations of *Quintilian* and *Calpurnius* in or after *Theodoſius*'s time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted *Baronius* pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge ſoever condemned; and thence infers, that *Pilate* tranſgreſſed the law of his prince, in cauſing our Saviour to be crucified as ſoon as he had pronounced ſentence againſt him (98). But it is manifeſt from *Gothofredus* in his comments upon the *Theodoſian* code, that neither the decree of *Tiberius*, nor the law of *Theodoſius*, extended to the magiſtrates in the provinces till the time of *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who ordered all judges and magiſtrates to conform to the law of *Theodoſius* (99).

(93) *Senec. de tranq. c.* 14. *p.* 351. (94) *In l ſi vindicari, c. de pœnis.* (95) *Sid. l i. epiſt.* 7. (96) *Quintil declamat.* 303. (97) *Calpur. Flacc. declamat.* 25. (98) *Baron. annal.* 34. (99) *Cod. Th. tom.* 3. *p.* 307.

fathers,

fathers, wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the exceſſes they complained of required a regulation, that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the ſevereſt laws; but nevertheleſs, if ſuch laws were enacted, even thoſe who now cenſure, at their entertainments, and in their converſations, the profuſe luxury of the times, would be the firſt to complain, that the ſtate was utterly undone, that ſnares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. In the end of his letter he told them, that if any of the magiſtrates would undertake to put a ſtop to ſo great an evil, he ſhould have both his praiſes and thanks for eaſing him of part of his burden; but that as to himſelf, he would not take upon him that odious taſk: Believe me, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I am not fond of being the object of the public hatred; I have already enemies enow; let me not therefore, I intreat you, wantonly and vainly raiſe more by ſuch regulations, as promiſe no advantage to you or to me. The ſenate, upon reading the emperor's letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the project of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhauſtible fund of crimes, impeachments, and confiſcations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whoſe wealth the accuſers would not have failed to inrich themſelves, had the emperor either inforced the antient, or enacted new, ſumptuary laws [r]. Soon after *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the ſenate, deſiring the tribunitial power for *Druſus*, which the fathers granted with the more refined flattery, as they had foreſeen this requeſt: ſtatues were decreed both to *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, altars were erected to the gods, arches raiſed, *&c.* *M. Silanus* moved, that for the future not the names of the conſuls, but of thoſe who exerciſed the tribunitial power, ſhould be prefixed to all public and private records; *Haterius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day ſhould be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the ſenate. Thus the lords of the *Roman* ſenate, who once headed mighty armies, raiſed and depoſed great kings, beſtowed or took away empires, were by degrees changed into mean ſlaves, and become by their infamous flattery an object of deriſion and contempt to all foreign nations, nay to that very prince, whoſe favour they ſtrove to gain by diſgracing themſelves. *Druſus*, who was then in *Campania*, probably with his father, wrote to the ſenate, returning them thanks for the tribunitial power with which they had inveſted him;

Tiberius *refuſes to take upon him the cure of luxury.*

Druſus *inveſted with the tribunitial power.*

The debaſement of the ſenate.

[r] TACIT. ibid. c. 52—55.

but did not condeſcend to come to *Rome*, as was expected, to receive it. Soon after, *Servius Maluginenſis*, who, as prieſt of *Jupiter*, was not allowed to leave *Italy*, nay, to ſleep one night out of *Rome*, demanding the government of *Aſia*, and his ſuit being oppoſed by *Lentulus* the augur and others, the affair was referred to *Tiberius*, who in his anſwer to the ſenate, poſtponing the pretenſions of the prieſt of *Jupiter*, moderated the honours which had been decreed to *Druſus* with the tribunitial power, and particularly cenſured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the cuſtom of *Rome*. As the liberty of inſtituting ſanctuaries and privileged places at pleaſure had long ſince prevailed among the *Greek* cities, and filled their temples with fugitive ſlaves, debtors, and criminals, *Tiberius* this year referred to the ſenate the examining of the privileges which thoſe cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded. The ſenate and conſuls, after having heard the *Greek* deputies, and carefully ſearched into the validity of their ſeveral pretenſions, utterly ſuppreſſed ſome ſanctuaries, and either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities, of others, ordering the decree they enacted on this occaſion to be engraved on braſs, and hung up in the temples of *Greece* [r]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* abſolutely ſuppreſſed all ſanctuaries throughout the whole *Roman* empire [s]. Not long after *Livia* being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, *Tiberius* haſtened back to *Rome*; ſince the mother and ſon either ſtill lived in perfect amity, or cunningly diſguiſed their mutual hatred: the latter was commonly believed at *Rome*; for *Livia* having not long before dedicated a ſtatue to *Auguſtus*, and placed her own name before that of *Tiberius*, the emperor was thought to have grievouſly reſented this, as an undervaluing the majeſty of the prince, but to have ſmothered his reſentment with a deep diſſimulation. However that be, the ſenate upon her illneſs decreed ſupplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great *Roman* games for her recovery, and betrayed on this occaſion ſuch a mean ſpirit of ſervitude, that *Tiberius* himſelf was aſhamed of their vile debaſement and ſcandalous ſubmiſſions [u]. The next time the ſenate met, *Caius Silanus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, *Cæſius Cordus*, proconſul of *Crete*, and *Lucius Ennius*, a *Roman* knight, were accuſed before them, the two firſt of robbing the public, and the other of treaſon, for having uſed as the current coin a piece of ſilver on which was engraved the effigies of *Tiberius*. To the charge of rapine and extortion againſt *Silanus* and *Cordus*, that none of

The number of ſanctuaries leſſened.

Livia's *illneſs.* Tiberius *returns to* Rome.

Other inſtances of the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate.

[r] Idem, c. 55. [s] Suet. in Tib. c. 37. [u] Idem, c. 64.

their

their friends or relations might dare to plead for them in their trial, articles of treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar, ſays *Tacitus*, to all aſſiſtance, and a ſeal upon their lips. They were both found guilty of male-adminiſtration and extortion, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates declared confiſcated. But *Cneius Lentulus* moving, that the eſtate of *Silanus* deſcending to him from his mother *Cornelia*, who was related to the *Cæſars*, might be reſtored to his ſon, *Tiberius* approved of, and aſſented to, the motion: nay, he even mitigated the rigour of the ſentence which the ſenate had pronounced againſt him, alledging, that the iſland of *Gyarus*, to which they had confined him, was an unhoſpitable place, and deſtitute of inhabitants, and begging, that in favour of the *Junian* family, and in regard of his ſiſter *Torquata*, a veſtal of an unblemiſhed character, they would allow him for the place of his exile the iſland of *Cythera*. This the ſenators readily granted at the requeſt of the prince, who by this affected ſhow of clemency pretended to cover the artifice and violence, which he had employed to deſtroy the unhappy proconſul (I). To what place *Cordus* was confined, we are not told. As for *L. Ennius*, the emperor judged the charge brought againſt him frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. Whereupon *Ateius Capito*, with an affected ſpirit of liberty, cried out, that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the ſenate; that all injuries done to the prince were public injuries, injuries done to commonwealth, which it was the province of the ſenate charged with the care of the republic to revenge and reſtrain, in ſpite

Caius Silanus *and* Caſſius Cordus *condemned.*

The infamous flattery of Capito.

(I) *Silanus* was very hardly uſed in his trial, as *Tacitus* obſerves. The beſt pleaders of all *Aſia* were choſen on purpoſe to accuſe him. They charged him with cruelty and extortion in his government. To this charge was added that of treaſon by *Mamercus Scaurus* once conſul, *Junius Otho* prætor, and *Brutidius Niger* ædile. The number of his accuſers was increaſed by *Gellius Poplicola* and *Marcus Paconius*, the former quæſtor to *Silanus*, the other his lieutenant. As he was accuſed of treaſon, no one dared to appear in his favour, he himſelf was no pleader or orator, and beſides, *Tiberius*, with an awful voice and countenance, was continually interrupting and confounding him with queſtions, which he was not allowed time to refute, nay, he was often forced to confeſs, leſt the emperor ſhould have aſked in vain. His ſlaves too were firſt by the emperors orders ſold to the public, and then examined upon the rack. He was no doubt guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the hatred and ſpite, which *Tiberius* ſhewed him, and his eagerneſs to get him condemned, were juſtly cenſured.

of any one's private clemency and compaſſion. *Tiberius* had reaſon to cry aloud, as we are told he uſed to do, as often as he went out of the ſenate, *Oh men prepared for bondage!* He was, ſays *Tacitus*, irreconcileable to public liberty; but abhored flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves. The infamy of *Capito* was the more ſignal, as he debaſed by it not only the dignity of the ſenator, but his own perſonal accompliſhments [u] (K). The condemnation of *Silanus* and *Cordus* was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering ſhould be placed, which the *Roman* knights had vowed to *Fortune Equeſtrian* for the recovery of *Livia*. As there was no temple in *Rome* dedicated to *Fortune* under that title, but one at *Antium*, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights ſhould be preſented there. And now that matters of religion were on foot, *Tiberius*, as pontifex maximus, returned the anſwer which he had lately deferred, touching the pretenſions of *Servius Maluginenſis*, and produced a ſtatute of the pontiffs made under *Auguſtus*, declaring, that when the prieſt of *Jupiter* was taken ill, he might with the conſent of

Prieſt of Jupiter *debarred from the government of the provinces.*

[u] Idem. c. 66—71.

(K) *Ateius Capito* was a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, and one of the moſt learned civilians of his age. All we know of his pedigree is, that his grandfather was only a centurion under *Sylla*, and that his father arrived at the prætorſhip. *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Feſtus*, quote ſeveral books wrote by him, *viz.* a comment upon the laws of the twelve tables, a hundred and twenty books *de jure*, ten books *de jure pontificum*, ten *de jure ſacerdotum*, a treatiſe *of the duty of a ſenator*, and a volume of *collections*. But he debaſed, ſays *Tacitus*, his rare accompliſhments by the moſt infamous flattery and a mean obſequiouſneſs to power. *Auguſtus* honoured him early with the conſulſhip, to raiſe him above *Antiſtus Labeo*, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemiſhed character and probity which was proof againſt all temptations. However, *Labeo* obtained the prætorſhip; but his virtue checked his riſe to greater preferments, whence he was no leſs beloved and adored by the people, than his rival abhorred and deteſted. We do not find the name of *Capito* in the conſular tables; whence, as both *Tacitus* in this place and *Pomponius* in his book *de origine juris* (100) aſſure us, that he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, we conclude, that he was one of the conſuls who were called *ſuffecti*, becauſe ſubſtituted, in the room of thoſe who died or reſigned. *Pighius* produces an ancient marble diſcovered at *Rome* with this inſcription; *C. Atcio. Capitone. C. Vibio. Poſthumo. cos. Vibius* was, according to *Pighius*, conſul in the year of *Rome* 759.

(100) *Pomp p.* 1.

tl.e

the pontifex maximus be abſent from the city two nights, except on days of public ſacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation ſhewed that the adminiſtration of a province, which required a year's abſence, was incompatible with the office of the *flamen dialis*, or prieſt of *Jupiter* [w], So that the government of *Aſia*, which *Maluginenſis* had demanded, was conferred on the conſular, who was next in ſeniority to him. When this affair was over, *Æmilius Lepidus* aſked and obtained leave of the ſenate to repair and beautify at his own expence the *baſilic* (L) of *Paulus Æmilius.* On the other hand, the emperor undertook to rebuild the theatre of *Pompey*, which had been conſumed by accidental fire, none of that family being equal to ſo great a charge, and promiſed that it ſhould ſtill be called by the name of its illuſtrious founder. On this occaſion he enlarged on the praiſes of his favourite *Sejanus*, to whoſe care and vigilance, he ſaid, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. Hereupon the ſervile ſenate, applauding the prince's ſpeech, decreed a ſtatue to *Sejanus* to be placed in the theatre of *Pompey* [x]. We are told by *Seneca* [y], that upon the paſſing of this decree, *Cremutius Cordus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon, cried out, *Now is* Pompey's *theatre utterly deſtroyed.*

THIS year *Tacfarinas*, quitting anew the deſerts, to which he had been ſo often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of *Africa* at the head of a numerous army; and having committed every where dreadful devaſtations, he arri- Tacfarinas's *arrogant embaſſy to* Tiberius.

w Idem, ibid. x Idem, c. 72. y SENEC. ad Martiam, c. 22.

(L) *Baſilics* were originally ſpacious halls in which kings, from whom theſe buildings borrowed their name, adminiſtered juſtice to their ſubjects. The *Romans* appropriated that name to great halls, having two ranges of pillars and two wings with galleries over them. *Cicero* ſpeaks of the baſilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by *Æmilius Paulus*, then ædile, and afterwards conſul, with *C. Marcellus.* It was afterwards finiſhed under *Auguſtus* by *Paulus Æmilius*, who was conſul in the year of *Rome* 730, and afterwards cenſor (2); but being conſumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another *Æmilius* (3). As it was at this time out of repair, *Lepidus* aſked leave to ſtrengthen and embelliſh it at his own expence.

(1) *Cic. ad Attic. l.* 4. *ep.* 17. (2) *Dio. l.* xlix. (3) *Idem. l.* liv.

ved

ved to ſuch a height of boldneſs, as to ſend embaſſadors to *Tiberius*, demanding a ſettlement for himſelf and his army, and threatening the emperor, in caſe he did not grant him his requeſt, with an eternal war. Our hiſtorian tells us, that *Tiberius* never betrayed ſo much indignation and reſentment as on this occaſion, not being able to bear, that a deſerter, a free-booter, ſhould have the arrogance to offer terms of peace, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered *Junius Blæſus*, whom he continued another year in the government of *Africa*, to exert his utmoſt efforts againſt ſo bold and contemptible an enemy. *Blæſus* drove him every-where before him, and purſued him even into the deſerts, where he took his brother priſoner; but *Tacfarinas* himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, tho' the paſſes were beſet on all ſides by the enemy. However, as moſt of his forces were cut in pieces and his brother taken, *Tiberius* looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to *Blæſus* the title of *imperator*, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was the laſt private perſon who enjoyed that title, thenceforth peculiar to the reigning family (M). He was likewiſe honoured with the enſigns of triumph, *Tiberius* declaring that he thus diſtinguiſhed him in regard of *Sejanus*, who was his nephew, though in *Tacitus*'s opinion his actions intitled him to all the honours that were conferred upon him [z]. This year died three perſons of great diſtinction, *viz. Ateius Capito*, the moſt learned civilian in *Rome*, but one who debaſed his extraordinary parts with the meaneſt and moſt ſervile flattery, as we have obſerved above; *Aſinius Saloninus*, grandſon to *M. Agrippa*; and *Aſinius Pollio*, half-brother to *Druſus*, and betrothed to one of *Tiberius*'s grand-daughters (N); and

He is diſtreſſed by Blæſus.

Who is honoured with the title of imperator.

Deaths of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons.

[z] Idem, c. 73, 74.

(M) *Lipſius* obſerves here, that the title of *imperator*, when given to the prince, was placed before his name, thus; *Imp. Cæſar Auguſtus*, but put after the names of generals, to whom it was only a tranſient title of honour, thus; *Junius Blæſus imp. M. Tullius Cicero imp.*

(N) *Aſinius Pollio*, the famous orator and poet, one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, and *Virgil*'s patrons, had a ſon by name *Aſilius Gallus*, who, according to *Lipſius* (4), was ſurnamed *Saloninus* from the city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, which was taken either by him, or during his conſulſhip. *Saloninus*, or, as *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* conſtantly call him, *Aſinius Gallus*, married *Vipſania*, the daughter

(4) *Lip. in Tac. annal.* 3. *N.* 174.

of

and the celebrated *Junia*, niece to *Cato* of *Utica*, ſiſter to *Brutus* (O), and wife to *Caſſius*, three moſt zealous champions for the public liberty. She died ſixty four years after the battle of *Philippi*, in which her huſband loſt his life. As ſhe was immenſely rich, her will made a great noiſe; for ſhe left legacies to almoſt all the great men of *Rome*, but nothing to *Tiberius*; who did not ſeem to reſent in the leaſt this omiſſion, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obſequies to be performed with all the pomp ſuitable to her rank. Before the corpſe were carried, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, the images of twenty of the moſt noble families in *Rome*, to which the illuſtrious deceaſed was related; but as thoſe of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were not ſeen among the reſt, the people took thence occaſion to extol the zeal with which thoſe two heroes had formerly ſignalized themſelves in the cauſe of liberty [a].

The original character and purſuits of Sejanus.

C. Aſinius Gallus and *C. Antiſtius Vetus* were the following conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the famous *Sejanus* took the firſt ſteps towards the execution of the black deſigns he had been long foſtering in his heart. As this powerful and ambitious miniſter henceforth to his downfal is to act a principal part in the preſent hiſtory, we ſhall premiſe a ſuccinct account of his original, manners, and character copied from the moſt creditable writers of antiquity. *L. Ælius Sejanus* was born at *Vulſinii* in *Hetruria* (P), ſon to *Sejus Strabo*, who,

[a] Idem, c. 75, 76.

of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*. *Tiberius* had by her *Druſus*; and *Aſinius Gallus* many children, viz. *Aſinius Saloninus*, or *Aſinius Gallus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* in this place, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Aſinius Pollio*, who was conſul in the year of *Rome* 756, *Aſinius Agrippa*, and *Aſinius Celer*, whom *Pliny* calls a conſular man.

(O) *Junius Silanus*, who was conſul with *L. Licinius Muræna*, married *Servilia* the ſiſter of *Cato*, and had by her *Tertia* or *Tertulla*, and this *Junia*, who was ſiſter to *Brutus* by the mother; for *M. Junius Brutus* was the famous *Brutus*'s father.

(P) The poet *Juvenal* alludes to *Vulſinii* the birth-place of *Sejanus* in the following lines;

——— *Idem populus, ſi Nurſcia Thuſco*
Faviſſet, ſi oppreſſa foret ſecura ſenectus
Principis, hac ipſa Sejanum diceret hora
Auguſtum, &c.

For

who, though commander of the prætorian guards under *Auguſtus*, and in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, was but a private *Roman* knight [b]. His mother was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, *viz.* the *Junian*; for *Junius Blæſus* who at the death of *Auguſtus* commanded the legions in *Pannonia*, and afterwards ſignalized himſelf againſt *Tacfarinas* in *Africa*, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been conſuls [c]: but theſe were perhaps of the *Ælian* family, into which *Sejanus*, as we conjecture from his name, was probably adopted. In the very beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and even then in high favour with the prince; whence no collegue was aſſigned him in that important employment, when his father was ſent into *Egypt*, the government of which kingdom was by the regulation of *Auguſtus* committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was ſuſpected of having for hire abandoned himſelf to the lewd deſires of the famous *Apicius* (Q). As

[b] Tacit. l. iv. c. 1. Dio. l. lvii. p. 616. [c] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 127.

For *Nurſcia*, or as ſome will have it, *Nortia*, was the tutelar god of *Vulſinii*, as appears from *Livy* (5).

(Q) The antients mention three *Apicius*'s, all famous epicures. The firſt lived in the times of the republic, and is ſpoken of by *Athenæus* (6). The ſecond, who is mentioned by our hiſtorian in this place, lived under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*: and the third, as appears from *Suidas*, under *Trajan*. The ſecond was the moſt famous of all for gluttony; for after he had, by voluptuous eating and drinking, reduced his immenſe wealth to ten millions of ſmall ſeſterces, he choſe rather to put an end to his life, than retrench the uſual expences of his table, for which the remaining ſum was no ways ſufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the moſt exquiſite meats, that the foreſts, ſeas, or rivers, produced, were, ſays *Appian* the grammarian, his daily food (7). He is ſtyled by *Pliny* *nepotum omnium altiſſimus gurges*. *Seneca*, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he publiſhed a book of cookery with which he infected the age he lived in (8), a treatiſe *de re culinaria*, that is, of *cookery*, was diſcovered by *Albanus Torinus* in the iſland of *Maguelonne* near *Montpelier* in 1529, and printed at *Baſel* twelve years after. Another copy of the ſame treatiſe had been diſcovered a hundred years before, by *Enochus* of *Aſcoli*, under the pontificate of *Nicolas* V. To both theſe manuſcripts was prefixed the name of *M. Cælius*

(5) *Liv. l.* vii. (6) *Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 20. (7) *Vide Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 20. (8) *Senec. de conſol. ad Helv.*

Apicius

As to his character, *Tacitus* draws it in the following lines: With various inſinuations and artifices he got the aſcendant over *Tiberius* ſo far, that he made him reſerved to others, but to himſelf careleſs and open. He did not accompliſh this ſo much through policy, for by that others overpowered him, as from the wrath of the gods againſt the *Roman* ſtate, to which his riſe and his downfal proved alike deſtructive. He had a ſtrong body and a bold mind. He diſguiſed his own faults, and impeached others: alike fawning and imperious. By his outward appearance one would have thought him modeſt, but in his heart he had the moſt inſatiable thirſt after power, to which he made ſometimes luxury and bribery ſubſervient, and ſometimes induſtry and application, qualities no leſs pernicious, when they are aſſumed for the vile purpoſes of power. Thus far *Tacitus*. The ambitious favourite, ſeeing himſelf by the indulgence of his kind maſter, lifted up above his condition, and raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the empire, began to entertain thoughts of ſoaring ſtill higher. He was in power and authority the ſecond man in the *Roman* ſtate; but this to his ambition ſeemed little; he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereign power, towards the attaining of which, his firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were all under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and diſperſed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But *Sejanus* pretending, that while they were thus ſcattered, they lived looſe and debauched, and could not be eaſily gathered into one body on any ſudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to aſſemble them into one camp, where, he ſaid, the military diſcipline would be obſerved with more exactneſs and ſeverity. As ſoon as the camp was finiſhed, he made it his chief ſtudy to gain the favour of the common ſoldiers by his affability and obliging behaviour; as for the tribunes and centurions, they were all choſen by him, and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his intereſt this formidable corps, the flower of the *Roman* forces, his next care was to gain a ſtrong party in the ſenate, which it was no difficult taſk for a favourite to effect, at whoſe diſpoſal were both the public money and the public employ-

Apicius; but *Voſſius* is of opinion, that this *Apicius* lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whoſe books, *de irritamentis gulæ* and *de juſcellis*, are mentioned by *Seneca* (9), *Iſidore* of *Seville* (10), and the old ſcholiaſt of *Juvenal*.

(9) *Senec. ibid.* (10) *Iſid. l.* xx *de orig. c.* 4.

ments; for no ſenator, however diſtinguiſhed by his birth or perſonal accompliſhments, was employed, unleſs recommended by *Sejanus* [d]. He is ſaid to have gained over to his intereſt even the wives of all the men of quality in *Rome*, by a private promiſe of marriage to each of them, when he attained the ſovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own, and at the ſame time to acquaint himwith the moſt ſecret counſels of their huſbands [e]. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendſhip too [f]. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, though a man of great penetration, inſtead of curtailing the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him, in his ſpeeches both to the ſenate and people, as the ſharer of his burdens, and even ſuffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions [g]; for they all carried the image of *Sejanus* in their colours, except thoſe that were then quartered in *Syria*, which refuſed to follow the example of the reſt [h].

But *Sejanus*'s deſign of raiſing himſelf to the ſovereign power met with many obſtructions. The imperial family had a numerous iſſue; the emperor's ſon was a grown man, and his grandſons, the children of *Germanicus*, who was his ſon by adoption, were now of age. This, however, did not deter *Sejanus* from his wicked purſuits: he reſolved to cut off the reigning family root and branch, that none of the blood of the *Cæſars* might traverſe his ambitious deſign. But as it was dangerous to cut them off all at once, he reſolved to deſtroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with *Druſus*, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (R),

[d] Tacit. l. iii. c. 2. [e] Dio. l. lvii. p. 669. [f] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. [g] Tacit. l. iii. c. 2. [h] Suet. in Tib. c. 48. [i] Tacit. l. iii. c. 3.

(R) *Druſus* complained, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, that while he, the emperor's ſon, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government, nay, was in a manner declared collegue in the empire. *Sejanus*, ſaid he, has already formed a camp for the guards, that thus united, they may all at once receive his orders; the ſoldiery depend intirely upon him; his ſtatue is ſet up in the theatre of *Pompey*; in his grandchildren the blood of the *Druſi* will be mixed with that of *Sejanus*; what now remains but to ſee him inveſted with the ſovereign power, while the emperor's ſon is excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration.

and

and had lately upon ſome conteſt ſhaken his fiſt at him; and, as he offered to reſiſt, given him a blow in the face. Upon this affront, *Sejanus*, after having examined with himſelf various expedients to rid himſelf of ſuch a rival, reſolved at length to apply to his wife *Livia*, the ſiſter of *Germanicus*; which he did accordingly; and having firſt, by pretending a violent paſſion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal deſires, prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in deſtroying her huſband. Thus the niece of *Auguſtus*, the daughter-in-law of *Tiberius*, the mother of ſeveral children by *Druſus*, diſgraced herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with a mean adulterer, and all to exchange her preſent condition, both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain; for *Sejanus* had promiſed to marry her upon the death of her huſband, and make her his partner in the empire. *Eudemus* was made privy to the wicked deſign, becauſe he, as phyſician to *Livia*, under colour of his profeſſion, was frequently with her in private, and conſequently could adviſe and direct her without giving any umbrage. *Sejanus*, to convince *Livia* of the ſincerity of his intention, as to the promiſed marriage, and thereby encourage her to diſpatch her huſband, divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. But ſtill the blackneſs of the crime frightened *Livia*, and her ambition could not ſmother, or get the better of her remorſe. *Sejanus* himſelf, abandoned as he was, could not, without horror, think of imbruing his hands in the blood of the emperor's ſon; and hence caution, delays, and great confuſion in their counſels[i].

His deſigns againſt Druſus.

He debauches his wife.

IN the mean time, *Germanicus*'s ſecond ſon, by name *Druſus*, putting on the *toga virilis*, or the manly robe, had the ſame honours decreed him by the ſenate, which had been conferred on his elder brother *Nero*. On this occaſion *Tiberius* made a ſpeech in commendation of the youth, and likewiſe of his ſon *Druſus*, on account of the kindneſs he ſhewed to his brother's children (S). This raiſed

[i] TACIT. l. iii. c. 3.

(S) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius*, in the end of his ſpeech, told the conſcript fathers, as he had often done before, that he deſigned to take a progreſs into the provinces, alledging the multitude of veterans diſcharged, and thence the neceſſity of recruiting the armies. On this occaſion he enumerated all the legions then in pay, and named the countries where they were quartered. As from this

He cauſes Druſus to be poiſoned.

raiſed new jealouſy in *Sejanus*, who, judging it time to haſten the execution of his wicked deſign, ordered *Eudemus* to prepare a ſlow-working poiſon, that the death of the young prince might be aſcribed to a caſual diſtemper. The fatal potion was adminiſtered to *Druſus* by *Lygdus* the eunuch, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, that is, the year in which *Sejanus* was diſgraced, and puniſhed according to his deſerts, this whole ſcene of iniquity being then brought to light by his wife *Apicata*, and the particulars of the murder owned by *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* on the rack. *Dru-*

detail we may learn what forces the *Romans* had then on foot; what kings were their confederates, and how far the boundaries of the empire extended, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to acquaint our readers with it In the firſt place; *Italy* was guarded by two fleets, one at *Miſenum* in the *Mediterranean*, the other at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic* ſea, and the coaſt adjoining to *Gaul*, by the galleys taken by *Auguſtus* at the battle of *Actium*, and ſent well manned and equipped to *Forojulium*. As to the legions, there were eight upon the *Rhine*, to keep in awe both the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and three in *Spain*. In *Mauritania* reigned king *Juba*, of whom we ſpoke above, a friend and ally of *Rome*; the reſt of *Africa* was kept in ſubjection by two legions, and *Egypt* by the like number. *Syria*, quite to the banks of the *Euphrates*, was maintained by four legions. *Thrace* was poſſeſſed by *Rhemetalces* and the ſons of *Cotys*, who were in alliance with *Rome*; on the banks of the *Danube* lay four legions; two were quartered in *Pannonia*, two in *Mæſia*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The latter two, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and might be ſoon in *Italy* upon any ſudden emergency; though *Rome* had her peculiar guards, nine prætorian and three city cohorts. Beſides the legions, fleets, and cohorts, which we have enumerated in the ſeveral provinces, were ſtationed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral allies, with bodies both of horſe and foot, no-ways inferior, either in number or ſtrength, to the *Roman* legions. From this vaſt number of forces, kept in conſtant pay, we may judge of the ſtrength and wealth of the empire at this time. As to the emperor's intended progreſs, *Suetonius* tells us, that he often declared, in the ſenate, his intention of viſiting the provinces and armies abroad, and made almoſt every year the neceſſary preparations for his journey, ordering carriages to be bought, and proviſions to be laid in at a great charge, in all the municipal towns, and in the colonies; nay, he went ſo far as to let the people make their ſolemn vows for his happy journey, and ſafe return, but in the mean time never ſtirred out of *Rome*, or went only to the neighbouring towns; whence he was generally nicknamed *Callipedes*, one who, according to the *Greek* proverb, was always running, yet never advancing (10).

(10) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 38.

ſut

ſus fell into a lingering diſtemper, pined away, and died. *Tiberius*, during the whole time of the illneſs of his ſon, appeared altogether unconcerned, perhaps to make a ſhow, ſays *Tacitus*, of the firmneſs and conſtancy of his mind; nay, after his death, when his corpſe lay yet unburied, he went to the ſenate, and, finding the conſuls had left their curule chairs, and placed themſelves, as a token of their grief, on a common ſeat; he put them in mind of their dignity and ſtation, and the ſenate burſting into tears, he ſmothered his own ſorrow to comfort them, which he did in a ſpeech uttered without the leaſt heſitation: he told the fathers, that he was well appriſed he might be cenſured; for appearing among them while his grief was yet freſh, when few in the firſt tranſports of their ſorrow could endure even the comforting ſpeeches of their relations, or behold the day. Though thoſe who thus indulged their grief were not, he ſaid, to be condemned of weakneſs, yet, for his part, he had ſought for more powerful comforts, ſuch as aroſe from purſuing the welfare of the republic. He then lamented the preſent condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandſons, and his own life in its decline, and begged, that the ſons of *Germanicus*, who alone could leſſen the preſent misfortunes, might be introduced. Hereupon the conſuls went for them, and bringing in the two youths, *Nero* and *Druſus*, preſented them to the emperor, who, taking them by the hand, addreſſed the ſenate thus: "Conſcript "fathers, theſe fatherleſs children I commended to their "uncle, and beſought him, though he had iſſue of his own, "to bring them up, and cheriſh them no otherwiſe than if "they were immediately deſcended from him. *Druſus* be"ing ſnatched from us, I addreſs my prayers to you, and, "in the preſence of the gods and our country, conjure you "to receive into your protection, and take under your tui"tion, the great-grandchildren of *Auguſtus*, deſcended from "moſt illuſtrious anceſtors; fulfil your own duty towards "them, fulfil mine." Then turning to the youths, "To "you *Nero*, to you *Druſus*, theſe are in the ſtead of a fa"ther: your condition is ſuch, that whatever good or evil "befalls you, muſt befall the commonwealth." This diſcourſe was heard with great ſatisfaction, and drew tears from the eyes of all who were preſent. Had *Tiberius* ſtopt here, he had left the hearts of the ſenators full of compaſſion and admiration. But as he repeated anew what he had often ſaid, and what had been as often ridiculed, *viz.* that he deſigned to reſtore the republic, the ſenators began to ſuſpect the ſince-

Tiberius ſhews no concern for the illneſs and death of his ſon.

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

He recommends to them the ſons of Germanicus.

Honours decreed to Druſus.

His obſequies.

rity of his other aſſertions [k]. Before the ſenate broke up, they decreed the ſame honours to the memory of *Druſus*, which they had before decreed to that of *Germanicus*, adding many others to them, agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obſequies were performed with the utmoſt pomp, and the funeral proceſſion diſtinguiſhed with a long train of images, repreſenting *Æneas*, the ſuppoſed father of the *Julian* family, all the kings of *Alba*, *Romulus* the founder of *Rome*, all the heroes of the *Claudian* race, with *Attius Clauſus*, the firſt of that family who came to *Rome*, at the head of them. *Tiberius* himſelf pronounced the panegyric of his ſon, the people and ſenate aſſuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to ſee the houſe of *Germanicus* nearer the throne. Beſides, *Druſus* was generally hated, being cruel (T), paſſionate, given to drinking, and all manner of debauchery (U). However, he lived in a friendly manner with *Germanicus*,

[k] Idem, c. 8.

(T) *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* give us ſeveral inſtances of *Druſus*'s cruelty. The former writer tells us, that when he firſt preſided at a ſhow of gladiators exhibited in the name of *Germanicus* and his own, he betrayed ſuch delight in blood, that his father was ſaid to have reproved him for it. *Dion Caſſius* ſays, that he often upbraided him with his cruelty both in public and in private, and adds, that from him ſharp ſwords were ſtyled *gladii Druſiani*. The perſon who exhibited the ſhow of gladiators uſed, as *Lipſius* obſerves, to examine the weapons of the combatants before they entered the liſts; on which occaſion *Druſus* approved of ſuch only as were exceeding ſharp; and thence ſharp ſwords were called *Druſian* ſwords. This was, no doubt, a great inſtance of his cruelty, as it was of humanity and good nature in *M. Antoninus* to approve, on the like occaſion, of ſuch ſwords only as were blunt, and incapable of occaſioning deep wounds. Beſides *Druſus*, as *Dion* informs us, was very paſſionate, and, upon the leaſt provocation, ready to ſtrike perſons of the firſt quality; whence he was nicknamed *Caſtor*, whom the antients ſuppoſe to have been a famous boxer.

(U) *Tacitus* tells us, that, in relating the death of *Druſus*, he followed the greateſt part of the *Latin* hiſtorians, and the moſt credible; but adds, that a ſtrong report prevailed in thoſe times, and was ſtill current in his, as if *Tiberius* himſelf had, at the inſtigation of *Lygdus*, preſented the poiſonous potion to his ſon. The eunuch, according to this report, charged *Druſus* with a deſign of poiſoning his father; and, privately warning the emperor of this, adviſed him to beware of the firſt draught offered him in the next entertainment at his ſon's houſe. Upon this *Tiberius*, fully perſuaded

Germanicus, and, after his death, ſhewed himſelf kind, at leaſt not ill-diſpoſed, towards his children. He left behind him two ſons born at a birth, one of whom did not long ſurvive him, the other, named *Tiberius Nero Gemellus*, lived to the reign of *Caius*, by whom he was put to death. *Tiberius*, if we may give credit to *Suetonius* [l], deſpiſed them both, as doubting whether they were really the ſons of *Druſus*. As ſoon as the funeral ceremonies were over, *Tiberius* reſumed his uſual employments, prohibited any farther vacation, and, to the ambaſſadors of the *Ilienſes* or *Trojans*, who came ſomewhat too late with their compliments of condolence, anſwered, by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loſs had been quite efficed, that he in his turn condoled with them for having loſt ſo brave and eminent a citizen as *Hector* [m].

His offſpring.

Sejanus, when he ſaw the death of *Druſus* paſs unrevenged, encouraged with the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, began to meditate how he might deſtroy the ſons of *Germanicus*, whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire was now unqueſtionable. But as he could not compaſs his wicked ends by poiſon, on account of the great vigilance of their mother *Agrippina*, and the diſtinguiſhed fidelity of their governors, he choſe to attack them another way, which was to rouſe the old hatred *Livia* bore to *Agrippina*, and by her means raiſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions againſt her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counſels had the deſired effect; for having by a thouſand calumnies and falſe inſinuations rendered *Livia*, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcileable to the widow

Sejanus *attempts to deſtroy* Agrippina *and her children.*

[l] SUET. in Tib. c. 62. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 52.

ſuaded of *Druſus*'s wicked deſign, after he had ſat down to table, delivered to his ſon the firſt cup that was preſented to him, which the young prince, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any plot, gayly drank off. This heightened the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, who, upon the death of his ſon, which happened ſoon after, the potion having beforehand been poiſoned by *Lygdus*, concluded that *Druſus*, through fear and ſhame, had ſwallowed that death which he had prepared for his father. This report our hiſtorian refutes, as void of all appearance of truth. For who can believe, ſays he, that a man of common prudence, much leſs *Tiberius*, ſo long practiſed in great affairs, would to his own ſon, without ſo much as hearing him, preſent with his own hands the mortal potion? He would, no doubt, have tortured the informer, inquired into the plot, endeavoured to diſcover the authors of it, and uſed that caution and ſlowneſs towards his only ſon, hitherto never ſuſpected of any ſuch crime, which was natural to him, even in his proceedings againſt ſtrangers.

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of her grandſon, he compaſſed, by her means, the ruin of that unhappy family, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate.

In the mean time *Tiberius*, reſuming the care of public affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at *Rome*, and diſpatched the petitions from the provinces. At his motion the cities of *Cityra* in *Aſia* and *Ægyra* in *Achaia*, both overthrown by an earthquake, were by a decree of the ſenate eaſed of tribute for three years. *Vibius Serenus*, proconſul of the *Farther Spain* or *Bætica*, being accuſed of governing his province in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and baniſhed into the iſland of *Amorgos*. But *Carſius Sacerdos* and *Caius Gracchus* (W), being charged with ſupplying *Tacfarinas* with corn, were both acquitted [n]. This year at length, after many complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, *Tiberius*, who had before laid the players under various reſtraints, and curtailed their wages, repreſented to the ſenate, that they had on many occaſions raiſed tumults, and diſturbed the public tranquility, that they promoted debauchery in private families, that the obſcenities of the *Oſcan* farce, the ſame with the *Atellana*, of which we have ſpoken in a foregoing volume [o], were grown to ſuch exceſs, that it required the authority of the ſenate to check them, *&c.* Upon theſe complaints from the emperor, the players were all driven out of *Rome* and *Italy* [p], and forbidden, if we believe *Dion Caſſius* [q], to act in any place whatſoever of the *Roman* dominions. The ſame year, died one of *Druſus*'s twins, for whoſe death the emperor was greatly concerned, and no leſs afflicted for that of *Lucius Longus*, his antient and conſtant friend, and the only

Vibius Serenus *tried and condemned.*

Stage-players driven out of Italy.

[n] Idem, c. 13. [o] Hiſt Univerſal. Vol. XI. p. 463. not. (S).
[p] Tacit. c. 14. Suet. in Tib. c. 37. [q] Dio. l. lvii. p 617.

(W) *Caius Gracchus* was ſon to *Sempronius Gracchus*, who, on account of his amours with *Julia*, had been baniſhed by *Auguſtus* into the iſland of *Cercina*, and afterwards aſſaſſinated there by *Tiberius*'s orders. When he firſt left *Italy*, he took his ſon *Caius*, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. *Caius* grew up there among fugitives and men deſtitute of liberal education, and afterwards ſupported himſelf by traffic between *Africa* and *Sicily*. But, notwithſtanding the low condition to which he was reduced, the ſplendor of his illuſtrious family would have occaſioned his ruin, had not *Ælius Lamia* and *Lucius Apronius*, ſucceſſively proconſuls of *Africa*, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

ſenator

ſenator who had attended him in his retreat to *Rhodes*, and ſhared with him both his good and bad fortune; for which reaſon, though he was but a new man, the ſenate decreed him a public funeral, and a ſtatue to be placed in the forum built by *Auguſtus*. At the ſame time, *Lucilius Capito*, the emperor's procurator in *Aſia*, being accuſed before the ſenate by the province, *Tiberius* proteſted, that *Lucilius* had no authority from him but over his ſlaves, that he had only empowered him to collect his domeſtic rents, and therefore, if he had uſurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had therein tranſgreſſed his orders. Hereupon the ſenate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty and condemned him. The cities of *Aſia* were ſo taken with the moderation *Tiberius* ſhewed on this occaſion, and the ſeverity with which he had proceeded the year before againſt *Caius Silanus*, accuſed of cruelty and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, and to the ſenate, and obtained leave to build it. For this conceſſion *Nero* returned thanks to the ſenate and his grandfather in a ſpeech which charmed the fathers, who imagined they heard and ſaw *Germanicus* himſelf[r]. This temple was built at *Smyrna*, and finiſhed three years after as *Dion Caſſius* informs us[s]. Towards the end of this year *Servius Dialginenſis* dying, his ſon was appointed *flamen Dialis*, or prieſt of *Jupiter*, in his room, and *Cornelia* choſen ſuperior of the veſtals in the place of *Scantia*, likewiſe deceaſed. To *Cornelia* a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces was decreed, and a privilege granted to *Livia* of ſitting amongſt the veſtals in the theatre[t], whoſe place was, as *Suetonius* informs us, over-againſt the prætor's tribunal[u], no other women, however diſtinguiſhed, having a peculiar place, but all ſitting promiſcuouſly together, apart from the men, purſuant to the regulations of *Auguſtus*.

Lucilius Capito condemned.

A temple erected to Tiberius.

THE following year, *Sergius Cornelius Cethegus* and *L. Vellius Varro* being conſuls, the pontiffs, and after their example the other prieſts, making vows for the proſperity of the emperor, commended at the ſame time *Nero* and *Druſus* to the gods; which greatly provoked *Tiberius*, who, ſending for the pontiffs, examined them, whether they had paid that compliment to the intreaties or menaces of *Agrippina*. The pontiffs denied both, but nevertheleſs the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years, and afterwards in a ſpeech to the ſenate warned the fathers

Tiberius *betrays ſome diſaffection to* Germanicus's *children.*

[r] TACIT. c. 15. [s] DIO. l. lvii. p. 607. [t] TACIT. l. iii. c. 16. [u] SUET. in Aug. c. 44.

to take care for the future not to feed the pride of the young men with untimely and too early honours. *Sejanus*, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming *Tiberius* againſt *Agrippina*, laid hold of this to inſinuate, that *Rome* was rent into factions, that already ſome had the boldneſs to declare themſelves, openly, the partizans of *Agrippina*, and that there was no other remedy againſt the prevailing ſpirit of faction, but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the moſt forward and powerful. Hereupon it was by the deluded emperor thought expedient, that the ſuppoſed riſing faction ſhould be immediately ſuppreſſed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the houſe of *Germanicus*. The chief among theſe were *Caius Silius* and *Titius Sabinus*, and with them it was agreed to begin this general maſſacre. Other conſiderations, beſides the friendſhip of *Germanicus*, concurred to ruin *Silius*. He had commanded for ſeven years a powerful army, and had been diſtinguiſhed, as we have related above, with the enſigns of triumph for his exploits in *Germany*; he had routed *Sacrovir*, and ſuppreſſed the revolt in *Gaul*; but by boaſting his ſervices, and publicly vaunting that he had ſecured the ſovereign authority to *Tiberius*, by keeping his ſoldiers in their obedience, when the other legions in *Germany* revolted, he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who, thinking himſelf incapable of rewarding, as he ought, ſuch important ſervices, was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the perſon who had rendered them. So that his chief offence was over-much ſervice done to *Tiberius*; thence that refined obſervation of *Tacitus*, that benefits are ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to requite them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, by name *Sofia Galla*, contributed to his ruin by her friendſhip and intimacy with *Agrippina*. Both *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* thought it adviſeable to have *Silius* and his wife arraigned firſt, and poſtpone for ſome time the trial of *Sabinus*. Accordingly, the ſenate was ſummoned, and *Silius* accuſed by *Varro* (X)

Caius Silius *accuſed.*

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Silius*, ſeeing the conſul engaged againſt him as an accuſer, begged the emperor to poſtpone the trial till the time of his conſulſhip was expired; but that his requeſt was rejected by *Tiberius*, who, cloaking his acts of tyranny under venerable old names, anſwered, that as other magiſtrates were allowed to bring particulars upon their trial, the prerogative of a conſul in the like caſe ought not to be infringed, ſince it was chiefly incumbent upon him to take care, that no damage accrued to the republic.

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the conſul of keeping up a correſpondence with the authors of the revolt in *Gaul*, and of diſhonouring his victory with cruel extortions: the behaviour of his wife, and her avarice were likewiſe objected to him. *Silius* made no defence, being well appriſed it would be to no purpoſe: he only dropped ſome words to ſhew by whoſe malice he was oppreſſed. They were both declared guilty of treaſon, for under that article the whole charge was brought againſt them. *Silius* prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his eſtate was confiſcated, contrary to the conſtant cuſtom of *Auguſtus*, who beſtowed on the children of the condemned the eſtates of ſuch as died before ſentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary. His wife *Soſia* was baniſhed at the motion of *Aſinius Gallus*, who propoſed, that one half of her effects ſhould be forfeited, and the other left to her children. *Marcus Lepidus* voted the fourth part to the accuſers, as the law required, and all the reſt to the children. Which of theſe two opinions prevailed, our hiſtorian does not inform us. On this occaſion *Cotta Meſſalinus* moved, that by a decree of the ſenate, governors of provinces, however innocent in themſelves, ſhould be equally puniſhed for the crimes of their wives as for their own. As this decree is mentioned by *Ulpian*, we may ſuppoſe that it paſſed this year, though that writer ſpeaks of it as made four years before. *Calpurnius Piſo* was tried next, and charged by *Quintus Granius* with treaſonable words privately uttered againſt the emperor: to this charge the accuſer added, that *Piſo* kept poiſon in his houſe, and came into the ſenate armed with a dagger. The latter article ſeemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no leſs falſly accuſed, he was put upon his trial, but his condemnation was prevented by a natural death (Y). Then complaints were

Prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

Calpurnius Piſo *tried.*

(Y) *L. Calpurnius Piſo* was one of the boldeſt men at that time in *Rome*, and had threatened as we have related above, to quit *Rome*, and to retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth, where he might be free from the mercileſs purſuits of the informers. *Tiberius* bore this calmly, nay, he even deſcended to ſoften him with kind words. Afterwards, the undaunted *Piſo*, in defiance of the power of *Livia*, proſecuted her favourite *Urgulania*, and could not be prevailed upon to drop the proſecution, though ſhe had taken ſanctuary in the emperor's palace. This a to *Tiberius* diſſembled; but though he often ſuppreſſed his reſentment, yet deep impreſſions remained in his unforgiving ſoul. *Piſo* is now charged with treaſon, and but for a natural death, which very ſeaſonably intervened, muſt have been puniſhed as a traytor.

Cassius Severus *confined to* Seriphos.

made of *Cassius Severus* (Z), who, though formerly confined to the island of *Crete* for his petulant and satirical writings, yet continued even in his exile his former practices, defaming the most illustrious persons in *Rome*. He was therefore stript of his estate, and banished into the inhospitable island of *Seriphos*, which we have described elsewhere [u]. About this time *Plautius Silvanus* prætor killed his wife *Apronia*, by throwing her headlong out of one of the windows of his apartment. Whereupon, being carried by *Apronius* his father-in-law before the emperor, he pretended, that while he was asleep, his wife had been the occasion of her own death. Upon this answer, *Tiberius*, unmindful of his dignity, hastened to *Silvanus*'s chamber, and finding there evident marks of his violence and his wife's struggling, he made his report to the senate, who immediately appointed judges to try the prætor. In the mean time, his grandmother *Urgulania*, who, as we have observed above, was one of *Livia*'s chief favourites, finding she could not with all her interest save the life of her grandson, sent him, by the advice of *Tiberius*, as was supposed, a dagger, which was tacitly advising him to prevent his impending condemnation by a voluntary death. The criminal had not courage enough to make use of the dagger; but causing his veins to be opened, bled to death. After his death, his former wife *Numantia*, whom he had divorced to marry *Apronia*, was

Plautius Silvanus *prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.*

[u] Hist. Univers. Vol. VII. p. 477.

(Z) *Augustus* was the first, as we have observed above, who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty or treason. To this he was chiefly induced by the insolence of *Cassius Severus*, who had in his writings wantonly defamed the most illustrious men and women in *Rome*. He was of a mean descent, but an excellent speaker, and had a particular turn for satyr. He wrote also a history, which we find quoted by *Suetonius* (11) and *Tertullian* (12). *Seneca* makes honourable mention of him in his controversy (13). *Tacitus* tells us in this place, that he grew old among the rocks of *Seriphos*; which is agreeable to what we read in *Eusebius*, viz. that *Cassius Severus*, a famous orator, died of want in the twenty fifth year of his exile, being reduced to such poverty, that he had not wherewithal to cover his nakedness (14). S. *Jerom* supposes him to have died for want of necessaries in the eighth year of his banishment (15).

(11) *Suet. in Vitell. c.* 2. (12) *Tertul in apolog.* (13) *Senec controvers.* 3. *init.* (14) *Euseb. in chron.* (15) *Hier. in chron.*

accused

accuſed of having, by charms and potions, diſordered the underſtanding of her huſband but was acquitted w.

THIS year at length put an end to the war with *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian*, who was utterly routed and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconſul of *Africa*, with the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*, who had ſucceeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*. The proconſul deſired the enſigns of triumph for his victory, which had been granted to three others; but *Tiberius* refuſed him that mark of diſtinction in compliment to *Sejanus*, that the fame of his uncle *Blæſus* might not be thence eclipſed. *Dolabella* on his return to *Rome* brought with him many diſtinguiſhed captives, among whom was the ſon of *Tacfarinas*; and was attended by embaſſadors from the *Garamantes*, a people of the *Inner Libya*, who, being frightened with the death of *Tacfarinas*, whom they had aſſiſted, thought it adviſeable to appeaſe, by an embaſſy, the reſentment of the *Roman* people. To *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, who had bore great ſhare in this war, was diſpatched a ſenator with an ivory ſtaff and an embroidered robe, preſents which the *Roman* people uſed to ſend in antient times to kings, who were their friends and confederates x. The ſame year, one *Titus Curtiſius*, formerly a ſoldier of the prætorian guards, ſowed the ſeeds of a ſervile war, inviting by declarations publicly hung up all ſlaves to reſume their liberty. But this tumult was ſuppreſſed juſt as it was breaking out, the leader himſelf and the moſt reſolute men of his party being ſurpriſed and dragged to *Rome*, which was already in great conſternation on account of the immenſe number of domeſtic ſlaves y.

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

A ſervile war ſuppreſſed in its riſe.

DURING the ſame conſulate, *Rome* ſaw an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, which alone is ſufficient to render the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the lateſt poſterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconſul of the *Farther Spain*, was condemned, as we have related above, for arbitrary adminiſtration, and baniſhed to the iſland of *Amorgos*. But now that unhappy father is dragged from the place of his exile to a freſh trial, being accuſed by his ſon of treaſonable practices againſt the majeſty of the emperor. The father appeared before the ſenate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the diſmal habit of a criminal, while the ſon, in the gayeſt attire, as if he intended to inſult nature itſelf, alledged a plot framed by his father againſt the emperor, accuſing him at the ſame time of having ſent conſpirators into

Vibius Serenus *accuſed by his own ſon.*

w TACIT. ibid. c. 15—22. x Idem, c. 23—27. y Idem, c. 27.

Gaul.

Gaul, to ſtir up the people there to rebellion. He likewiſe charged *Cæcilius Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having ſupplied the conſpirators with money. *Cornutus* though innocent, no ſooner heard himſelf accuſed, than, looking upon his accuſation only as a ſignal of deſtruction, he laid violent hands on himſelf. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his ſon and ſhaking his chains, begged of the gods with tears in his eyes, that they would reſtore him to the place of his exile, where he might paſs his days far from ſuch objects of horror, and that they would one day take juſt vengeance of ſuch a cruel and unnatural ſon. He then urged, that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a falſe accuſation; and challenged his ſon to produce other witneſſes and name other confederates, ſince it was not probable, that with one accomplice only he ſhould have thought of murdering the prince, and introducing a change in the government. The accuſer then named *Cneius Lentulus* and *Seius Tubero*, both men of the firſt rank in *Rome*, and *Tiberius*'s intimate friends. Beſides, *Lentulus* was extremely old, and *Tubero* broken with infirmities; inſomuch, that *Tiberius* himſelf could not help bluſhing in hearing them named. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Lentulus*, finding himſelf, aged as he was, charged with the meditating the murder of the prince and a change of ſtate, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor inſtantly acquitted him, ſaying, *I do not deſerve to live, if I am hated even by* Lentulus [z]. *Tubero* was likewiſe diſcharged, but the ſlaves of the pretended criminal were examined upon the rack, and their teſtimony proved favourable to their maſter. Hereupon the populace, provoked at ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural ſon with the puniſhments inflicted by the laws on parricides; which ſo terrified him, that he fled privately out of *Rome* and withdrew to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, ſtill remembering ſome expreſſions, a little too free, which *Serenus* had uſed in a letter written to him eight years before (A), and no-wiſe diſguiſing

[z] Dio. l. lviii. p. 630, 631.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that after the condemnation of *Libo Druſus*, *Serenus* had by letters upbraided the emperor for not rewarding the ſingular zeal with which he had ſignalized himſelf in that trial, uſing expreſſions more free than the tender ears of a prince, naturally proud and jealous of his prerogative, could bear. Our hiſtorian, in his account of that famous trial, which he ſeems to have deſcribed pretty minutely, does not mention *Serenus* among the informers, though he acted, as appears from this paſſage, a chief part on that occaſion.

his

his old hatred, obliged the ſon to return and purſue the action begun againſt his father. Nothing could be proved againſt him; nevertheleſs the votes being taken, he was ſentenced to death as a traytor. And then *Tiberius*, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from ſuch a crying piece of injuſtice, granted him his life. Hereupon *Aſinius Gallus* was for confining him to the iſland of *Gyarus*, or to that of *Donuſa*; this motion was diſliked by the emperor, becauſe both theſe iſlands were deſtitute of water, and to whom life is granted, ſaid he, the neceſſaries of life ought likewiſe to be granted. *Sereaus* was therefore remanded to *Amorgos* [a]. The death of *Cornutus*, who had laid violent hands on himſelf, gave occaſion to the following motion in the ſenate; *viz.* that when a perſon charged with treaſon ſhould put an end to his own life before he was condemned, the accuſers ſhould loſe their rewards, which were the fourth part of the condemned perſon's eſtate. This motion ſeemed reaſonable, and would have been generally approved of, had not *Tiberius*, throwing off his uſual diſguiſe and reſerve, openly declared himſelf an advocate for the accuſers, ſaying with great ſternneſs, that by this means the laws would be defeated and the republic overturned; and that they had better diſannul the laws themſelves, than remove their guardians. Thus theſe bloody and deſtructive inſtruments, ſays *Tacitus*, never ſufficiently curbed by any terrors or puniſhments, were now allured and encouraged by ample rewards [b]. The ſame year, were accuſed and convicted *Cæcius Cominius*, a *Roman* knight, *Publius Silius*, formerly quæſtor to *Germanicus*, and *Catus Firmius*, a ſenator. *Cominius* had written a ſcurrilous poem againſt the emperor, who nevertheleſs pardoned him at the intreaties of his brother, who was a ſenator. *Silius*, being convicted of taking a bribe in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the ſenate only condemned to be driven out of *Italy*; but this ſentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he cauſed him to be baniſhed into an iſland, after having declared upon oath, that he conſulted therein the welfare of the republic. This ſeverity, which was then ſharply cenſured, turned afterwards to the emperor's praiſe: for *Silius*, returning to *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, proved an abandoned mercenary, and one of the moſt miſchievous miniſters of that inhuman prince; a proof this, of *Tiberius*'s deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. *Catus Firmius* was likewiſe by the ſentence of the

The revengeful temper of Tiberius.

He openly countenances the accuſers.

Several perſons accuſed.

[a] TACIT. c. 28—30. [b] Idem, c. 30, 31.

ſenate

ſenate to be expelled *Italy* for forging crimes of treaſon againſt his ſiſter. But as he had been inſtrumental in procuring the deſtruction of *Libo Druſus*, by firſt maliciouſly ſeducing him, and afterwards informing againſt him, as we have related above, *Tiberius*, mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, ſaved him from baniſhment, but did not oppoſe his being expelled the ſenate [c].

Cremutius Cordus *arraigned.*

Tacitus begins the following year, when *Coſſius Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Aſinius Agrippa* were conſuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of *Cremutius Cordus*, a celebrated hiſtorian, who was accuſed of having praiſed *Brutus* in the annals he had publiſhed, and ſtyled *Caſſius the laſt of the* Romans, which was the elogium beſtowed upon him by *Brutus* himſelf. His accuſers were *Satrius Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, both creatures of *Sejanus*; which he looking upon as a ſignal of his deſtruction, and beſides obſerving great ſternneſs and indignation in the countenance of *Tiberius*, he caſt away all hopes of life, ſpoke in his own defence with the ſpirit, and in the ſtyle, of a true *Roman* (B), and

c Idem, c. 31.

(B) "As to facts, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I am ſo free from "guilt, that words only are produced againſt me. But neither "were my words uttered againſt the prince or his father, who are "the only perſons compriſed under the law of treaſon. I am charg-"ed with having praiſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, men whoſe exploits "many have diſplayed, and all in honourable terms. *Titus Livius*, "one of our moſt famous writers, both for eloquence and veracity, "beſtowed ſuch high encomiums upon *Pompey*, that *Auguſtus* ſty'ed "him a *Pompeian*; nor did this in the leaſt prejudice their friend-"ſhip. He no where calls *Scipio Africanus*, nor even this *Caſſius*, "the *Brutus*, *thieves* and *parricides*, as they are now-a days com-"monly termed, but often mentions them as worthy and famous "men. The writings of *Aſinius Pollio* have conveyed down to us "the memory of the ſame men under honourable characters. *Meſ-"ſala Corvinus* was proud of having had *Caſſius* for his general; "and for all this both theſe writers flouriſhed, both in wealth "and honours, under *Auguſtus*. *M. Cicero* extolled *Cato* to the "ſkies; and nevertheleſs *Cæſar* the dictator contented himſelf "with anſwering it in the ſame ſtyle, as if he had been before his "judges. The letters of *Marc Antony*, the ſpeeches of *Brutus*, are "full of reproaches againſt *Auguſtus*, falſe indeed and groundleſs, "but urged with great bitterneſs. The poems of *Bibaculus* and "*Catullus*, though ſtuffed with ſatirical and virulent reflections "upon the *Cæſars*, are ſtill read. The deified *Julius*, the deified "*Auguſtus*,

and then, withdrawing from the ſenate, ſtarved himſelf to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles; but they were ſtill privately diſperſed and read, both in *Tiberius*'s time and many ages after: whence our hiſtorian takes occaſion to deride the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine

Ends his life by abſtinence.

" *Auguſtus*, bore theſe invectives, and winked at them, whether " with greater moderation or wiſdom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For " things of that nature, if neglected, are but ſhort-lived; where- " as they argue, when reſented, a guilty conſcience. I forbear " mentioning the *Greeks*, among whom, not only the freedom, " but even the licentiouſneſs, of ſpeech is unpuniſhed; or if any " correction is returned, it is only by revenging words with words. " It has been ever allowed, and at no time thought matter of re- " proach, to paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom death hath ex- " empted from hatred and favour. Do I with ſeditious harangues " inflame the people to civil wars, or exhort them to join *Caſſius* " and *Brutus*, now in arms, and maſters of the fields of *Philippi*? " *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, now above ſeventy years ſlain, are ſtill known " in their ſtatues, which even the conqueror did not deſtroy: " why then may not an hiſtorian preſerve their memories in his " writings? Impartial poſterity does every one juſtice; and if " my death is determined, there will not be wanting ſome, who " will not only maintain the memory of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but " mine too." Notwithſtanding this noble defence, the hiſtorian, not doubting but he would have been condemned by the ſervile ſenate, returned home, and ended his life by abſtinence. What *Cordus* ſays here of the ſtatues of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, is confirmed by other writers, namely by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Auguſtus* took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, ſhould be preſerved inviolable to them after their death, and relates to this purpoſe the following ſtory: As *Auguſtus* was paſſing through the city of *Mediolanum* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he obſerved a ſtatue of *Brutus*, which was of excellent workmanſhip, and ſtrongly reſembled the original. Upon this he halted, and, in the preſence of many who attended him, called the magiſtrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league, and honoured one of his enemies. At firſt the magiſtrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he drove at, ſtared upon one another, as men under an inexpreſſible ſurpriſe. Then *Auguſtus*, pointing to the ſtatue, aſked them with a frown, *Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very heart of your city?* At theſe words the magiſtrates, ſtill more aſtoniſhed, were ſtruck dumb. Whereupon *Auguſtus*, ſmiling, commended them for their conſtancy to their friend, though in adverſity; and left orders, that the ſtatue ſhould remain ſtanding as he found it. (16).

(16) *Plut in Bruto.*

they can by their preſent power conceal the tranſactions of their times from future ages; whereas it happens quite otherwiſe; for the puniſhment of writers gains credit to their writings, and kings reap no other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves, and glory to thoſe whom they thus perſecute [d]. But time has done what the emperor could not effect with all his authority; only ſome few fragments of *Cremutius Cordus*'s hiſtory have been tranſmitted to us by *Seneca* [e], the reſt having been long ſince loſt. For this whole year accuſations were purſued with ſuch warmth, that even during the feſtival of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, while *Druſus*, probably the ſon of *Germanicus*, who had been appointed governor of *Rome*, was aſcending the tribunal to take poſſeſſion of his new employment, *Calpurnius Salvianus* accoſted him with a charge againſt *Sextus Marius*, which *Tiberius* highly reſented, publicly rebuking the informer, who was thereupon immediately baniſhed by the ſenate. The inhabitants of *Cyzicum* were this year accuſed of neglecting the worſhip of the deified *Auguſtus*, which they had eſtabliſhed in their city, and of committing violences upon ſome *Roman* citizens (BB). They were therefore deprived of their liberty, which had been formerly granted them by the *Roman* people, in conſideration of their gallant behaviour during the *Mithridatic* war [f], as we have related elſewhere. *Fonteius Capito*, formerly proconſul of *Aſia*, was accuſed at the ſame time, but acquitted, it plainly appearing,

The inhabitants of Cyzicum *deprived of their liberty.*

[d] Tacit. c. 34. Dio. l. lvii. p. 619. Senec. ad Marc. c. 22. Cassiod. chr. Alex. p. 492. [e] Vide Senec. in ſuaſ. de mort. Cic.
[f] Tacit. c. 36. Suet. in Tib. c. 37. Dio. l. lvii. p. 619.

(BB) The *Cyzicans* had begun to build a temple in honour of *Auguſtus*, but neglected to finiſh it, and beſides, had committed violences upon ſome *Roman* citizens (17). Of the latter fault they had been guilty alſo in the reign of *Auguſtus*, who thereupon deprived them of their liberties, which, however, he reſtored to them ſoon after (18). In the *Mithridatic* war they ſuſtained a ſiege, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Pontus*, with incredible bravery, and repulſed the king. But now, without any regard to their former ſervices, they are ſtript of thoſe privileges, which they had purchaſed by a moſt gallant behaviour, and at the expence of their blood (19). We do not find, that their liberties were ever after reſtored to them; whence we conclude, that *Strabo* was either dead, or had put the laſt hand to his work before this year, the eleventh of *Tiberius*'s reign, ſince he writes, that in his time the city of *Cyzicum* was free (20).

(17) *Suet. in Tib. c.* 37. (18) *Dio. l.* liv. (19) *Tacit. c.* 36. *Dio.* l. lvii *p.* 619. (20) *Strab* l. xii.

that

that the crimes laid to his charge by *Vibius Serenus*, were forged. And yet *Serenus* eſcaped unpuniſhed; nay, the public hatredhe hadincurred,by falſly arraigning perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, rendered him the more ſecure: for, as our hiſtorian obſerves, the more miſchievous an accuſer was, the ſafer he was, thoſe only of the tribe being ſurrendered to puniſhment, who were incapable of doing great miſchief [g].

ABOUT this time, embaſſadors arrived in *Rome* from the *Farther Spain*, to beg leave of the ſenate to erect a temple, after the example of *Aſia*, to *Tiberius* and his mother. When they were introduced to the ſenate, the emperor laid hold of that occaſion to confute thoſe who had taxed him with ambition, for having allowed the *Aſiatics* to pay him divine honours, and ſpoke in the following manner: "I know, con- "ſcript fathers, that I am generally blamed, and taxed with "inconſtancy, for not oppoſing the cities of *Aſia*, when "they petitioned for this very thing. I ſhall therefore now "acquaint you with the motives of my former ſilence, and "at the ſame time with the rules I propoſe to follow for the "future. As the deified *Auguſtus* did not oppoſe the found- "ing of a temple at *Pergamus* to himſelf and the city of "*Rome* (C), I, with whom all his actions and ſayings have the

Tiberius's wiſe reaſoning againſt admitting divine honours.

[g] TACIT. ibid.

(C) Though in *Auguſtus*'s time temples were built even in honour of the proconſuls and governors of provinces, yet that prince, as *Suetonius* informs us, would ſuffer no temples to be erected to him alone, but jointly to him and the city of *Rome*. Thus the temple mentioned here by *Tiberius*, was built at *Pergamus* by the communities of *Aſia*, and conſecrated to *Rome* and *Auguſtus*. The repreſentation of this temple is to be ſeen on ſeveral coins which have reached our times, with this legend, *Com Aſiae. Rom. et Aug* that is, *The communities of* Aſia *to* Rome *and* Auguſtus (21). The *Smyrneans* firſt erected a temple to *Rome* in the year of the city 558 (22): their example was followed about twenty four years after by the inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria* (23). In proceſs of time, a temple was erected in the city itſelf to *Rome* and *Venus*. Of this temple *Prudentius* ſpeaks in the following lines:

— colitur nam ſanguine & ipſa
More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
Æque urbis Veneriſque pares ſe culmine tollunt
Templa, ſimul geminis adolentur thura deabus.

(21) *Vide Dion. l.* li. *ad annum* 735. (22) *Tacit. c.* 56. (23) *Liv.* l. xliii.

" the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved " the more willingly, becauſe to the worſhip beſtowed up- " on me was annexed that of the ſenate. But as the accept- " ing of that honour in one inſtance deſerves pardon, ſo to be " adored in every province, under the ſacred repreſentations of " the deities, favours of pride and ambition: beſides, the ren- " dering common, and in a manner proſtituting, this honour, " would be detracting from the glory of *Auguſtus*. For myſelf, " conſcript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have " poſterity to know, that I am a mortal man, and ſubject, " like others, to the common functions of nature. It is e- " nough for me to hold the chief place among you, and poſ- " terity will ſufficiently honour my memory, if they believe " me to have been worthy of my anceſtors, careful of your " affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearleſs of private hatred for " the public welfare. Theſe are the temples which I would " raiſe in your breaſts, theſe the beſt and moſt laſting images. " As for temples and ſtatues of ſtone, if thoſe who are wor- " ſhipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of " poſterity, they are deſpiſed as their ſepulchres. I there- " fore here implore our allies and citizens, all the gods and " goddeſſes, beſeeching the latter to grant me, to the end of " my life, a mind undiſturbed, and a thorough knowledge of " the laws human and divine, and the former to celebrate my " actions, whenever my diſſolution comes, with a kind re- " membrance." Thus ſpoke *Tiberius*; but his reaſoning, however judicious and wiſe, was variouſly conſtrued, ſome aſcribing his thus rejecting divine honours to modeſty, others to diffidence, and many to a meanneſs of ſpirit unbecoming a prince. But whatever was his motive, he thenceforth conti-

The ſame poet addreſſes elſewhere *Rome* as a goddeſs, thus:

Exaudi, regina tui pulcherima mundi,
Inter ſydereos Roma recepta polos.

Claudian places this temple on mount *Palatine*:

Conveniunt ad tecta deæ, quæ candida lucent
Monte Palatino, &c.

Says that poet ſpeaking of the temple conſecrated to *Rome* (24).

(24) *Claudian. de laud. Stilic. l.* ii.

nued

nued to ſlight, upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, divine honours †.

AND now *Sejanus*, intoxicated with his exceſſive power, and beſides egged on by the importunity of *Livia*, the wife of *Druſus*, who was continually reminding him of his promiſe, preſented a memorial to the emperor, begging that if a huſband were ſought for *Livia*, he would remember his *friend*, to whom he had already given innumerable inſtances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that *Auguſtus*, in the diſpoſal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts of ſome *Roman* knight; that he had nothing in view but the glory of ſuch an affinity, and the ſafety of his children, ſince their alliance with the imperial family would ſufficiently ſcreen them againſt the wrath and malice of *Agrippina*; for himſelf, he ſaid, he cared to live no longer, than he could be ſerviceable to ſo gracious and benevolent a prince. *Tiberius*, for a preſent anſwer, commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, curſorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his requeſt with more maturity. At length he returned this anſwer: "That princes were not, "like other men, guided in their purſuits by the notions of "conveniency, but were, in their actions, chiefly to conſi- "der the applauſe and approbation of the public; and there- "fore, that he would not put *Sejanus* off with this obvious "and plauſible anſwer, that *Livia* could herſelf determine "whether ſhe would marry again or no, or that ſhe had a "mother and grandmother, with whom, as nearer relations, "ſhe might adviſe; but would deal more candidly with "him. And, in the firſt place, as to the enmity of *Agrippi-* "*na*, it would become more outrageous, if, by the marriage "of *Livia*, the houſe of the *Cæſars* were rent, as it were, "into two oppoſite parties; that even as things ſtood, great "emulation reigned among the women, which occaſioned a "mutual miſunderſtanding in his grandſons. What would be "the conſequence, if, by ſuch a marriage, the conteſt and "diſagreement were heightened? For you are deceived, *Se-* "*janus*, if you think to continue then in the ſame rank you "are now in. Can you imagine that *Livia*, who was firſt "married to *Caius Cæſar*, and afterwards to *Druſus*, will "be ſatisfied to grow old with a perſon only of the equeſtrian "rank? If I ſhould ſuffer you, after your marriage, to re- "main in the ſame ſtation, do you think that thoſe would "ſuffer it, who have ſeen her brother, her father, and her "anceſtors, ſhining in the firſt dignities? You propoſe con-

Sejanus aſks young Livia *in marriage.*

Tiberius's *anſwer to him.*

† Idem, c. 37, 38.

"tinuing

" tinuing in your preſent rank; but thoſe very magiſtrates,
" and great men, who, in all affairs, affect to conſult you,
" openly complain, that you are already lifted up above the
" rank of a knight, that you ſurpaſs in power all my father's
" friends, and therefore, out of hatred to you, cenſure me.
" *Auguſtus*, you ſay, had ſome thoughts of giving his daugh-
" ter in marriage to a *Roman* knight. What wonder, if diſ-
" tracted with innumerable cares, and well appriſed to what
" a great height he raiſed the perſon whom he diſtinguiſhed
" with that match, he talked of *Proculeius* (D), and ſome
" others of the ſame rank, remarkable for the retiredneſs of
" their lives, and no-ways engaged in affairs of ſtate? But
" if we are moved by the heſitation of *Auguſtus*, how much
" more ought we to be influenced by the reſolution he took
" in the end of giving his daughter firſt to *Agrippa*, and af-
" terwards to me? Theſe conſiderations I have, out of
" friendſhip, ſuggeſted to you; however, I will not oppoſe
" your inclinations, or thoſe of *Livia*. What I am now
" meditating with myſelf in your favour, by what ties I am
" contriving to bind you to me, I will forbear at preſent to
" relate. Thus much only I will ſay, that there is nothing
" ſo high, but your abilities and zeal for me may juſtly
" claim. Theſe my ſentiments I will, on a proper occaſion,
" declare either in the ſenate, or the aſſembly of the people."
Sejanus was alarmed at this anſwer, as being well acquainted with the emperor's obſcure and diſtruſtful temper: laying therefore aſide all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he earneſtly intreated him not to give ear to the ſlanderous reports of his enemies, nor hearken to the malicious inſinuations of ſuch as hated him, only on account of his unſhaken fidelity. The more he reflected on *Tiberius*'s anſwer, the more apprehenſive he grew of giving him any umbrage. He was chiefly at a loſs how to comport himſelf with reſpect to the crouds of perſons of all ranks, who daily frequented his houſe to court

(D) *Caius Proculeius* was brother to *Varro Muræna*, who conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*. Their ſiſter was married to *Mecænas* (25). His two brothers, *Scipio* and *Muræna*, having loſt their eſtates in the civil wars, he reſerved only one third of his eſtate for himſelf, and gave the reſt to them, for which generoſity he is deſervedly celebrated by *Horace* in the following lines:

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(25) *Dio. l.* liv.

his

his favour. To refuſe them admittance would be impairing his power, and the encouraging them might, as he juſtly apprehended, furniſh a handle for criminal accuſations. In this perplexity he came at length to the following reſolution, *viz.* to urge the emperor to leave *Rome*, and to retire to ſome pleaſant place remote from the noiſe and hurry of the city. From this counſel he promiſed himſelf great advantages; there could be no acceſs to the prince but by him; all letters and expreſſes, as they were conveyed, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, by ſoldiers, who were at his devotion, would paſs through his hands; the emperor, declining in age, and, growing ſlothful and effeminate through the ſolitude of the place, would more eaſily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himſelf ſhould be removed from the crouds of ſuch as, to make their court, attended him at *Rome*, which would ſtop one ſource of envy. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of buſineſs at *Rome*, cunningly inſinuating to *Tiberius*, the great and enormous inconveniencies of the city, the conſtant trouble of attending the ſenate, the diſcontented and ſeditious temper of the people, highly extolling at the ſame time a quiet and ſolitary retirement, a life without anguiſh of mind, free from envy and ill-will, and therefore more fit to diſpatch important and weighty matters. A trial, which happened about this time, gave no ſmall weight to the cunning inſinuations of *Sejanus*. One *Votienus Montanus* (E), a man of great wit, was charged with contumelious ſpeeches againſt the emperor. *Æmilius* the witneſs, a rough and unthinking ſoldier, to make good his evidence, repeated word for word what he had heard. The fathers endeavoured with their clamours to ſtop his mouth; but to no purpoſe, *Æmilius* obſtinately perſiſting in the odious detail, and rehearſing with a loud voice all the reproaches he had ever heard uttered againſt the prince, who was ſo affected with them, that he could not forbear crying out, that he would inſtantly clear himſelf, either in their preſence, or before an aſſembly of the people. *Votienus* was condemned, and, according to *Euſebius* [h], confined to the

Sejanus urges the emperor to leave Rome, *and his views in this.*

Votienus Montanus *accuſed and condemned.*

[h] EUSEB. in chron.

(E) *Votienus Montanus* is commended by *Seneca* as an orator of great fame (26), and by *Ovid* as a poet of no mean character:

Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Suffecit, & gemino carmine nomen habes.

(26) *Senec. l. v. controver. 7.*

Balearic

Balearic iſlands. At the ſame time was condemned to baniſhment *Aquila*, a woman of diſtinction, for adultery, and *Apidius Merula* expelled the ſenate for not having ſworn upon the acts of *Auguſtus*[i]. Next were heard embaſſadors from the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*, about the right each people claimed to a temple of *Diana*, which the ſenate, after hearing the parties, adjudged to the latter[k]. The citizens likewiſe of *Segeſtum* in *Sicily* ſent deputies to *Rome*, begging that the temple of *Venus Erycina*, fallen through age, might be rebuilt. This charge *Tiberius* readily took upon himſelf, becauſe the *Segeſtani* were ſuppoſed to be likewiſe deſcended from the *Trojans*. Then a petition was heard from the inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, claiming the eſtate of one *Volcatius Moſchus*, who, being baniſhed from *Rome* and by them admitted a citizen, had left to their republic, as to his country, his whole fortune. Their claim was approved, and the eſtate of *Moſchus* ſurrendered to them. This year died three *Romans* of great diſtinction, viz. *Cneius Lentulus*, *Lucius Domitius*, and *Lucius Antonius*. *Lentulus* had been conſul, and rewarded for his victories over the *Getuli* with the enſigns of triumph: he had long borne private poverty with great patience, and afterwards with equal modeſty enjoyed great wealth virtuouſly acquired. *Domitius* was the ſon of *Lucius Domitius*, who, being condemned by the *Pedian* law as privy to the murder of *Julius Cæſar*, though he was no ways acceſſary to it, betook himſelf to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who were his kinſmen, and continued with them till their death; after which he retained the command of the fleet, which they had given him long before, and conſiderably augmented it in ſpite of all his diſaſters. At length, when the republican party was irrecoverably ruined, he ſurrendered the fleet under his command to *Marc Antony*, and was the only perſon, condemned by the *Pedian* law, who was allowed to return to his native country, where he was advanced to the higheſt honours. Upon the breaking out of the civil war between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former appointed him his lieutenant; but he not approving of *Antony*'s conduct, and ſome offering to confer the ſupreme command upon him, he retired to *Auguſtus*, and died a few days after[l]. His ſon, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, led a *Roman* army beyond the *Elb*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any had done before him; whence he was honoured with the enſigns of triumph. He married *Antonia* the younger, or, as *Suetonius* has it, the elder[m], and had by her

Embaſſadors from the Lacedæmonians *and* Meſſenians.

The death of ſome illuſtrious Romans.

[i] Tacit. c. 41, 42. [k] Idem, c 43. [l] Suet. in Ner. c. 5. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 5.

Cneius

Cneius Domitius, the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Lucius Antonius*, who likewiſe died at this time, was the ſon of *Julius Antonius*, whom *Auguſtus* put to death on account of his criminal converſation with *Julia*. Upon the death of the father the emperor removed the ſon, then a child, to *Marſeilles*, where, under pretence of purſuing his ſtudies, he was long kept in an honourable exile. However, as he was the grandſon of *Octavia*, *Auguſtus*'s ſiſter by his mother *Marcella*, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his bones were, by a decree of the ſenate, repoſited in the tomb of the *Octavian* family [n]. During the adminiſtration of the ſame conſuls, *Lucius Piſo*, governor of the *Hither Spain*, as he travelled through the province unguarded, was attacked unawares by a peaſant, and diſpatched with one blow. The aſſaſſin, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, eſcaped to a neighbouring foreſt, and there quitted him. But the horſe being taken, the owner was ſoon diſcovered, ſeized, and put to the rack, which he bore with incredible conſtancy and reſolution, declaring in the language of his country, that his accomplices might ſafely ſtand by; for no torture or pain, however exquiſite, ſhould extort from him a diſcovery. The next day, as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and daſhed his head with ſuch violence againſt a ſtone, that he immediately expired [o].

Lucius Piſo *governor of* Hither Spain *killed by a peaſant.*

THE following year, *Lentulus Getulicus*, the ſon of *Cneius Lentulus* mentioned above, and *Caius Calviſius Sabinus* being conſuls, *Poppæus Sabinus* was honoured with the enſigns of triumph for his ſucceſsful exploits againſt the wild *Thracians*, who had taken arms, and endeavoured to drive the *Romans* out of their country, on account of their raiſing recruits amongſt them, and conveying their ſtouteſt youth out of the country. They were, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, utterly defeated by *Sabinus*, and forced to ſubmit. This year, diſcord began to reign in the imperial family, which we ſhall ſee end at laſt in the deſtruction of *Agrippina*. *Claudia Pulchra*, her couſin, being accuſed by *Domitius Afer* of adultery with one *Furnius*, and likewiſe of employing magical charms and preparing poiſon for the emperor, ſhe flew to *Tiberius*; and finding him by chance ſacrificing to *Auguſtus*, as ſhe was, notwithſtanding her great virtue, of a violent temper, ſhe took occaſion from the ſacrifice he was offering to upbraid him, and tell him, that it ill became the ſame man to offer victims to the deified *Auguſtus*, and proſecute his poſterity; that his divine ſpirit was not transfuſed into dumb ſtatues and images;

Poppæus Sabinus *defeats the* Thracians.

Agrippina's *juſt reproach upon* Tiberius.

[n] TACIT. c. 44. [o] Idem, c. 45, 46.

that the genuine images of *Auguſtus* were his deſcendants, of whom ſhe herſelf was one, in great diſtreſs and in the ſtate of a ſuppliant. She added, that other crimes were in vain alledged againſt *Pulchra*, when the only cauſe of her intended ruin was, that ſhe had unadviſedly loved *Agrippina*, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of *Soſia*, whoſe condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the ſame crime, the like unſeaſonable affection. Theſe bitter words highly provoked *Tiberius*; but nevertheleſs, as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her, by telling her in a *Greek* verſe, which he quoted out of an ancient tragedy, *If you do not reign, you think yourſelf injured*; and then diſmiſſed her, without vouchſafing her any further anſwer. *Pulchra* and *Furnius*, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of *Agrippina*, were both condemned. Some time after, *Agrippina* falling ſick, the emperor went to pay her a viſit, when ſhe, after many tears and long ſilence, at length intreated him to give her a huſband, in whom ſhe and the children of *Germanicus* might find a faithful protector againſt the malicious deſigns of their enemies. But *Tiberius*, well apprized to what a height of power in the ſtate the perſon would be raiſed, who married the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, and, on the other hand, not caring openly to withſtand ſo reaſonable a requeſt, leſt it ſhould betray jealouſy or fear in him, inſtantly left her, though very preſſing with him, without returning her any anſwer. This behaviour was highly reſented by *Agrippina*, and *Sejanus*, to inflame her ſtill more, and by that means haſten her ruin, employed his ſecret agents to warn her, under colour of friendſhip, that poiſon was prepared for her, and that ſhe ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As *Agrippina* was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation, ſhe followed their advice; and though ſhe ſat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat; which *Tiberius* obſerving, to be the better convinced of her ſuſpicions, after having praiſed the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome of them to her with his own hand. This only increaſed the ſuſpicion of *Agrippina*, who, without ſo much as offering to taſte them, delivered them to the waiters. However, *Tiberius*, always dark and reſerved, ſpoke not a word openly; but turning to his mother, *Wonder*, ſaid he, *if I ſhould uſe ſeverity with her, ſince ſhe charges me with a deſign of poiſoning her.* Hence a rumour was immediately ſpread abroad, that her ruin was reſolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, had chose to diſpatch her by ſome ſecret means. *Tiberius*, to ſupport that report, by diverting the public talk upon other topic, attended the ſenate with great aſſiduity, and

She diſcovers a ſecond huſband.

She is deceived by the ſecret agents of Sejanus.

an I gave audience to ſeveral em'baſſadors from *Aſia*, contending in what city the temple lately decreed to *Tiberius*, ſhould be built. For this honour eleven cities ſtrove; but when the votes of the ſenators were collected, the pretenſions of *Smyrna* were preferred (F). It was alſo moved by *Vibius Marſus*, that

(F) For this honour eleven cities ſtrove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity and diſtinguiſhed zeal for the *Roman* people, during their ſeveral wars with *Perſes*, *Ariſtonicus*, and other kings. But the *Hypæpenians*, *Trallians*, *Laodiceans*, and *Magneſians*, were diſmiſſed at once as not ſufficient for the charge. The *Ilenſes* or *Trojans* repreſented, that *Troy* was the mother of *Rome*; but had no advantage above the reſt, beſides the glory of antiquity. The *Halicarnaſſians* urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been ſhaken by earthquakes, and promiſed to lay the foundations of the temple on a ſolid rock. The ſame plea was brought by the inhabitants of *Pergamus*; but as a temple was already erected in their city to *Auguſtus*, that diſtinction was judged ſufficient for them. The cities of *Epheſus* and *Miletus* were thought already ſufficiently taken up with the ceremonies of their pecular deities, the former with thoſe of *Diana*, the latter with thoſe of *Apollo*. Thus the diſpute was confined to *Sardes* and *Smyrna*. The former urged their antiquity, power and opulence; they recited a decree of the *Hetruſcians*, acknowledging them for kinſmen. For they pretended to derive their original from *Atys*, the ſon of *Hercules* by *Omphale*, who, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Lydia*, is ſuppoſed to have had two ſons, *Lydus*, and *Tyrrhenus*; the former remained in his native country, which from him was called *Lydia*, and the latter ſettled in *Hetruria*, where his followers were from him named *Tyrrhenians*. They likewiſe enlarged on the opulence, of the ancient *Lydians*; on the colonies ſent under *Pelops* into *Greece*, which from him took the name of *Peloponneſus*; their league with *Rome* during the war with *Macedon*, &c. The account they give here of their original does not intirely agree with what we read of it in *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Velleius Paterculus* (27). The *Smyrneans* likewiſe diſplayed the glory of their antiquity and founders, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of *Aſia*; but inſiſted chiefly on their early friendſhip with *Rome*, and kindly offices to the *Roman* people, whom they aſſiſted, not only in their foreign wars, but in thoſe which were waged in the very bowels of *Italy*. They deſired the fathers to remember, that they had, before any other people whatſoever, erected a temple to *Rome*, when the power of the *Roman* people was indeed great, but not yet raiſed to its greateſt height, ſince *Carthage* was ſtill ſtanding, and *Asia* governed by mighty kings: they laid great ſtreſs on their generoſity to *Sylla*, the miſerable condition of whoſe army, ready to periſh in a ſevere

(27) *Vide Dion. Halicar. l.* i. *& Vell. Paterc. l.* i.

that *Lentulus*, to whom had fallen the province of *Aſia*, ſhould have a legate extraordinary appointed to ſuperviſe the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and *Lentulus* impowered to chuſe whom he pleaſed; but he through modeſty declining to name one, *Valerius Naſo* was drawn by lot from among thoſe who had been prætors [P].

Tiberius *abandons* Rome. Year after the flood, 3025. Before Chriſt, 26. Of *Rome*, 774.

THIS year at length, the twelfth of his reign, *Tiberius* put in execution the deſign, which he had long meditated and from time to time deferred, of leaving *Rome*. At his departure he gave out, that he was going into *Campania* only to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and one at *Nola* to *Auguſtus*; but in truth determined never to return to *Rome*. Moſt hiſtorians, who wrote before *Tacitus*, aſcribe this his reſolution to the artful inſinuations of *Sejanus*; but, as he continued in his retirement ſix years after the diſgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, that writer thinks he was influenced by ſome other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing in the darkneſs of a retired and ſolitary place his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdneſs, and debauchery (G). Some believed, that

[P] Idem. c. 53—57.

winter for want of cloaths, was no ſooner related to the citizens of *Smyrna*, at that time by chance aſſembled, than they all ſtript themſelves of their own garments, and ſent them to the naked legions. This ſignal inſtance of their great fidelity and ſincere attachment to the *Roman* people made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the whole aſſembly, that the honour, for which ſo many cities contended, was by a great majority conferred upon them (28).

(G) As to his debauchery, *Suetonius* tells us, that in his youth he was much given to drinking, that inſtead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed *Biberius Caldius Mero*. Afterwards being raiſed to the ſovereign power, continues the ſame writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he ſpent one night and two days in carouſing with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piſo*, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of *Syria*, and to the other the government of *Rome*, ſtyling them in his letters, *jucundiſſimos & omnium horarum amicos*. Being invited to ſupper by *Sextius Gallus*, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by *Auguſtus*, and ſeverely reprimanded by himſelf in the ſenate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition, that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were ſerved at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of a mean extraction, who ſtood for the quæſtorſhip, to ſeveral competitors of great diſtinction, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had drank with him an incredible quantity of wine

(28) *Tacit. c.* 55, 56.

at

that in his old age he was aſhamed of the figure of his perſon; for he was very thin, tall, and ſtooped; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and for the moſt part beſmeared with ointments (H). During his retirement at *Rhodes*, he uſed to avoid as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the receſs of a ſolitary life; whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not ſo much by the plauſible perſuaſions of *Sejanus*, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some gave out, that he was driven from *Rome* by the reſtleſs and

at one meal. He preſented *Aſellius Sabinus* with two hundred thouſand ſeſterces for a dialogue he wrote between the muſhroom, the beccafico, or fig-pecker, the oyſter, and the thruſh, which were all his favourite diſhes (29). As to his lewdneſs, exceſſes ſo deteſtably infamous are related of him by the ſame writer, that they ſeem almoſt incredible. We ſhall not defile our hiſtory with the infamous detail he gives us of them, but only relate one inſtance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very ſcandalous picture, done by the famous *Parrhaſius*, and repreſenting *Atlanta* and *Meleager*, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he ſhould have a million of ſeſterces paid him immediately in its ſtead, he not only preferred it to the ſaid ſum, but cauſed it to be hung up in his room (30).

(H) *Suetonius* deſcribes his perſon thus: he was, ſays he, of a ſtrong well-ſet body, ſomewhat exceeding the common ſize; broad in the breaſt and ſhoulders, in the reſt of his limbs from head to foot well proportioned. He uſed for the moſt part his left hand, in the joints of which he had ſuch ſtrength, that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however found, and ſtun a man with a fillip. His complexion was fair; his hair long behind, ſo as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the *Claudian* family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with ſmall pimples; he had large eyes, and could ſee in the dark, but only for a ſhort time, and when he firſt awaked. He ſtooped, eſpecially when he walked, and ſhewed always a great deal of ſeverity in his ſtern looks. He was ſlow of ſpeech, and in private converſation was continually moving his fingers, in a manner which no-ways became him. All theſe imperfections, ſays the ſame writer, and indications of arrogance, *Auguſtus* obſerved in him, and frequently endeavoured to excuſe to the ſenate and people, repreſenting to them, that they were defects in nature, but no imperfections in his mind. He was very healthy, and ſcarce ever out of order the whole time he was emperor, though from the thirtieth year of his age he lived as he pleaſed, without hearkening to his phyſicians (31).

(29) *Suet ibid. c.* 42. (30) *Idem ibid.* (31) *Idem ibid c.* 68.

inſupportable

What prompted him to retire.

inſupportable ambition of his mother, whom on one hand he ſcorned to admit as a partner in the ſovereignty, but on the other could not intirely exclude, ſince the ſovereignty itſelf was her gift (I). Whatever was his motive, though he removed to ſeveral places, he never returned once to the city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a ſmall attendance, having with him but one ſenator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly conſul, and well verſed in the knowledge of the laws, one *Roman* knight, beſides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius Atticus* (K), and ſome men of letters, chiefly *Greeks*, with whoſe converſation he was pleaſed and amuſed [q]. *Suetonius* tells us, he left orders, that during his abſence no one ſhould come near him, and that on his journey he declined all communication [r]. Upon his departure the aſtrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under ſuch a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. That he was never to return to *Rome* proved true; but the conjectures, publiſhed by the aſtrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the falſhood of that art, ſince it proved fatal to its profeſſors, of

[q] Tacit. c. 57, 58. [r] Suet. ibid. c. 40.

(I) *Livia* having preſſed him very earneſtly, as we read in *Suetonius*, to advance a perſon, whom he had admitted citizen of *Rome*, into the number of the decuries, he abſolutely refuſed to do it, unleſs ſhe would allow it to be inſerted in the regiſter; *That it was extorted from him by his mother.* This *Livia* took greatly amiſs, and immediately produced certain letters which *Auguſtus* had formerly written to her, complaining of his ſtubborn temper and the intolerable perverſeneſs of his manners, and cauſed them to be publicly read. This inſpired him with ſuch an averſion to the empreſs, who had ſo long preſerved, and ſo maliciouſly produced, theſe letters, that being no longer able to bear the ſight of her, he was thought by ſome to have withdrawn from *Rome*, that he might have no farther intercourſe or communication with her (32). *Tacitus* makes no mention of theſe letters, but only ſays, that *Livia*, who knew he was indebted to her alone for the empire, ſince ſhe had prevailed upon *Auguſtus* to adopt, contrary to his inclination, *Tiberius*, and exclude *Germanicus*, imperiouſly reclaimed the power which ſhe had procured him.

(K) *Curtius Atticus* was in high favour with *Tiberius*, which was the cauſe of his ruin, *Sejanus*, who was jealous of his power, having by falſe inſinuations brought him into diſgrace. To him *Ovid* inſcribed two elegies, *viz.* the fourth and ſeventh of his ſecond Book *de Ponto*.

(32) *Idem ibid. c.* 51.

whom

whom many were, for their predictions, either put to death, or involved in endleſs calamities, which with all their knowledge of the ſtars they had not foreſeen [f]; whereas *Tiberius* lived eleven years after his retreat. However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being fulfilled ſoon after his departure; for, as he was ſupping in a cave of one of his villas, called thence *Spelunca* (B), its mouth fell ſuddenly

[f] TACIT. ibid.

(B) *Seneca* tells us, that the *Romans*, generally ſpeaking, choſe to build their country ſeats near ſome cave, to which they frequently reſorted, eſpecially in the ſummer. He gives us a very particular deſcription of two grottos or caves adjoining to the country ſeat of *Vatia*. The cave ſpoken of here lay, according to our hiſtorian, between the *Amyclean* ſea and the mountains of *Fundi*, or, as it is now called, *Fondi*, that is, between *Caieta* and *Tarracina*; for between theſe two places ſtood *Amyclæ*, which gave its name to the neighbouring ſea. *Pliny* (33) and *Solinus* (34) tells us, that the territory of *Amyclæ* was ſo infeſted with ſerpents and vipers, that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their dwellings and ſettle elſewhere. *Amyclæ* is mentioned by *Virgil*:

——————— *ditiſſimus agri*
Qui fuit Auſonidum, & tacitis regnavit Amyclis,

ſays that poet (35). He gives the epithet of *tacitus*, *ſilent*, to *Amyclæ*, either becauſe it was built by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they followed the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, always inculcating ſilence, were thence called *taciti*, or, becauſe of a law which obtained in this place, forbidding under ſevere penalties any one to mention the approach of an enemy. Theſe are the conjectures of *Servius* in his comments upon this place. He adds, that before this law was made the city was daily alarmed by falſe reports, as if the enemy had been already at the gates, from which terrors and uneaſineſs the abovementioned law indeed delivered them; but in the end it proved their ruin; for no one venturing to tranſgreſs it, even when the enemy appeared unexpectedly under the walls, the city was taken and deſtroyed. To this *Silius* alluded in the following words;

——————— *quaſque evertere ſilentia, Amyclæ* (36);

and *Lucilius*, as quoted by *Servius*, *I muſt ſpeak*, for by *ſilence the*

(33) *Plin. l iii c* 5. (34) *Sol de Italia, c.* 2. (35) *Virg. Encid.* 10 *v.* 564. (36) *Sil. l viii. v.* 529.

city

denly in, and buried under it ſome of his attendants; which ſo frightened the reſt, that, abandoning the emperor, they all fled, except *Sejanus*, who covering the emperor's body with his own, and ſtooping upon his knees and hands, received all the ſtones that fell from the roof; ſo that *Tiberius* eſcaped quite unhurt. From this time the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardleſs of his own ſafety and only ſolicitous about his, repoſed an intire confidence in him, blindly following all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive. This confidence the wicked miniſter abuſed to the deſtruction of the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious deſigns. He attacked firſt *Nero*, *Germanicus*'s eldeſt ſon, and conſequently next in ſucceſſion, ſuborning perſons to miſrepreſent all his actions to *Tiberius*. *Nero* was a young prince no-ways ambitious, but unmindful of that circumſpection which his preſent ſituation required. He was alſo miſled and ill-adviſed by his freed-men and followers, who, deſirous of having the power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and reſolution becoming a perſon in his ſtation; that both the people and ſoldiery longed to ſee him ſhare the government with his grandfather; and that as to *Sejanus*, he would not dare to oppoſe him, though he now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an old man and the ſloth of a youth. As the young prince gave ear to ſuch ſuggeſtions, ſome unguarded expreſſions eſcaped, which were immediately catched up by the ſpies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would not ſo much as allow him the privilege of clearing himſelf. He was even betrayed by his wife *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and *Livia*, who acquainted her mother and by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the ſighs and dreams, of her huſband. His brother *Druſus* was likewiſe drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately ſucceeding *Tiberius*, if his elder brother, already in diſgrace, were effectually ſet aſide (C). The emperor, thus prejudiced againſt him, even by his neareſt relations and thoſe who were thought to be his beſt friends, al-

Sejanus expoſes his perſon for Tiberius.

He brings Nero *into diſgrace with* Tiberius.

city of Amyclæ *was deſtroyed.* *Amyclæ* was built by a colony from another city of the ſame name in *Laconia* (37).

(C) *Druſus* was prompted to combine againſt his brother, not only by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual and too common competition among brothers, but alſo by the partiality of *Agrippina*, who was fond of *Nero*, and ſhewed no great affection for him (38).

(37) *Sol. in ibid.* (38) *Tacit. c.* 60.

ways

ways received him with a ſtern countenance; if the youth ſpoke, there were crimes in his words; and crimes in his ſilence, if he ſpoke nothing. *Sejanus*, having by theſe baſe arts ſet *Tiberius* againſt *Nero*, began to conſult with his creatures how he might inflame him at the ſame time againſt *Druſus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be involved in the ſame ruins [r]. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſteps he took towards the compaſſing of that deſign. In the end of this year, died *Aſinius Agrippa*, deſcended of a family renowned rather than antient (D), himſelf not unworthy of his anceſtors; and *Quintus Haterius* of a ſenatorial family, and famous for eloquence while he lived, tho' the orations he left behind him were not much eſteemed, the harmony of his voice, as our hiſtorian obſerves, which charmed the ears of his hearers, dying with him [s] (E). This year *Pontius Pilate* was appointed by *Tiberius* governor of *Judæa* in the room of *Valerius Gratus* [u]. How he behaved during his ten years adminiſtration, appears from *Philo* [w], and from what we have ſaid in our hiſtory of the *Jews* [x].

Conſults how to deſtroy the whole family of Germanicus.

THE following year, *M. Licinius Craſſus* and *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo* being conſuls, *Atilius*, one of the race of freedmen, having built an amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, in order to exhibit in it a ſhow of gladiators, vaſt crouds flocked thither from *Rome*, eager for ſuch ſhows, as during the reign of *Tiberius* they were debarred from diverſions at home. But, as the ſpectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but ſlightly built and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall deſtroyed or maimed fifty thouſand perſons [y]. *Suetonius* ſays, that twenty thouſand

Fifty thouſand perſons deſtroyed or maimed by the fall of an amphitheatre.

[r] TACIT. c. 60. [s] Idem, c. 61. [u] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [w] PHILO, legat. ad Caium. [x] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 287, & ſeq. TACIT. c. 62.

(D) *Aſinius Agrippa* was the ſon of *Aſinius Gallus*, of whom we have ſpoke above, and grandſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, by whom he was raiſed to great honours, though the *Aſinian* family had made no figure till his time; and hence *Tacitus* ſays, that *Aſinius Agrippa* was of anceſtors more illuſtrious that antient.

(E) *Quintus Haterius* is mentioned alſo by *Seneca*, who names him among the orators more applauded for their delivery than their compoſitions. *Euſebius* calls him a ready and *popular* orator, and adds, that he lived in great honours, and died in the ninetieth year of his age (39).

(39) *Euſeb in chron.*

ſouls periſhed by this ſad ſtroke [z]. On this occaſion the great men of *Rome* threw open their doors to receive ſuch as had been hurt, ſupplied them with medicines, and took all poſſible care of them till they recovered. Thus, to the great ſatisfaction of the city, was revived at this juncture the public ſpirit of the antient *Romans*, who after great battles conſtantly relieved the wounded, ſuſtained them by their bounties, and reſtored them with care. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius*, upon the news of this dreadful calamity, immediately left *Capreæ*, paſſed over to the continent, and allowed perſons of all ranks to come to him; but according to *Tacitus* he had not yet withdrawn to that iſland, but was either at *Capua* or *Nola*. *Atilius*, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials and unſkilful workmen, was baniſhed; and it was provided for the future by a decree of the ſenate, that no man, who was not worth four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſhould exhibit the ſhow of gladiators [a]. The public affliction from this terrible blow was yet freſh, when another ſupervened. A fire breaking out on mount *Cœlius* burnt with ſuch rage and violence, that it utterly conſumed all the houſes in that quarter of the city. On this occaſion *Tiberius* gave proofs of a generoſity truly worthy of a great prince. For at his own expence he made good the loſs of every ſufferer, ſeeking out, of his own accord, the unknown, and, without any ambitious views, without the application of friends, relieving them by his bounty. For this the ſenate returned him thanks, and decreed, that mount *Cœlius* ſhould for the future be ſtyled *Mount Auguſtus*, ſince the ſtatue of *Tiberius*, which ſtood there in the houſe of *Junius* the ſenator was ſpared by the flames, tho' every thing round it was conſumed (F).

Mons Cœlius *conſumed by fire.*

Tiberius's *generoſity on that occaſion.*

As the univerſal zeal of the great men in *Rome* and the generous bounty of the prince adminiſtered great relief in the preſent misfortunes, ſo the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved without alleviation

[z] Suet. ibid. c. 40. [a] Tacit. c. 63.

(F) *Suetonius* diſagreeing, as he often does, with *Tacitus*, tells us, that *Tiberius* exerted on this occaſion his generoſity, and made good to the ſufferers all the loſſes they had ſuſtained; but that he did it with ſo much affectation of his own liberality, that he cauſed mount *Cœlius* to be called thenceforth mount *Auguſtus*, with a view of perpetuating the memory of his liberality. *Tiberius* was, as evidently appears from innumerable inſtances, an utter enemy to all flattery, pomp, and oſtentation, which inclines us to prefer the authority of *Tacitus* to that of *Suetonius*.

the

the moſt illuſtrious citizens in endleſs calamities. *Quintilius Varus*, a man of great wealth and related to the emperor (G), was accuſed by *Domitius Afer*, the ſame who had arraigned his mother *Claudia Pulchra*. The informer had, it ſeems, ſquandered away what he had earned by procuring the condemnation of *Claudia*; and therefore in hopes of a more ample reward had marked out and doomed to deſtruction *Varus*, one of the moſt wealthy men in *Rome*. The city was ſurpriſed to ſee *Publius Dolabella*, a man of an illuſtrious family and nearly related to *Varus*, join a perſon of ſuch an infamous character as *Afer*, againſt his kinſman. The ſenate was ſo ſhocked with it, that they refuſed to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial ſhould be poſtponed till the return of the emperor [b].

Informers become more dreadful.

IN the mean time, *Tiberius*, having dedicated the temples in *Campania*, though he had by an edict warned the public not to diſturb him, and poſted ſoldiers on all the roads to prevent the concourſe of people to the towns where he reſided, nevertheleſs hating all towns and every place on the continent retired at length to *Capreæ*, an iſland ſeparated from the cape of *Surrentum* by a chanel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted by a mountain, and refreſhed in the ſummer by gales from the weſt. The ſea, open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence was ſeen then one of the moſt beautiful coaſts in the world; but which was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of mount *Veſuvius*. The iſland was ſurrounded on all ſides with inacceſſible rocks, and a profound and almoſt bottomleſs ſea, which was void of havens, and had but few ſtations for the ſmaller veſſels, and thoſe very difficult of acceſs; ſo that none could put in unperceived by the guards (H); and this, as is commonly believed, was what chiefly took

Tiberius retires to Capreæ.

[b] Idem, c. 66.

(G) *Quintilius Varus* was probably ſon to the commander of that name, who was with the *Roman* legions cut off in *Germany* in the manner we have related above. He married one of *Germanicus*'s daughters, as we read in *Seneca* (40). Beſides, he was the ſon of *Claudia Pulchra*, whom *Tacitus* calls *Agrippina*'s couſin, and by that means too related to the reigning family.

(H) *Suetonius* tel's us, that a few days after his arrival in the iſland of *Capreæ*, a fiſherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary ſize; but that the emperor, inſtead of rewarding him,

(40) *Senec. l.* i *controverſ.* 3.

took *Tiberius*, who confined himself to twelve stately villas on the island, some of which were probably built by *Augustus*, who, liking the solitude and mild air of the place, purchased it, according to *Dion Cassius* [c], of the *Neapolitans*. There *Tiberius* spent the last ten years of his life, giving himself intirely up to the most infamous lewdness and debaucheries, which for us shall be buried in oblivion, who think the detail *Suetonius* has published of them equally scandalous and unworthy of an historian. In that dark recess he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been to that time very assiduous in the administration of justice, and wholly intent upon public cares. But nevertheless he retained his old inclination to suspicions, and gave more credit than ever to informers, *Sejanus* inflaming his jealousies and fomenting his distrusts for the private views of his ambition. Secret spies and informers were employed in all parts of the city, which caused daily disturbances and the ruin of many worthy citizens. If a person of merit testified any zeal for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected it was from a secret design of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous person, and one who aimed at re-establishing the commonwealth. To praise any of the antient *Romans* was a capital crime; to bewail *Augustus* was complaining of *Tiberius*, &c. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the most innocent discourses expressed evil designs; a discreet silence concealed mischievous intentions; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death, melancholy envy of his prosperity, and fear the just apprehensions of a guilty conscience. So that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or assured, were all crimes, and frequently punished with death. But *Sejanus*'s pernicious practices and wicked devices were chiefly levelled against *Agrippina* and her son *Nero*. As there was now no access to *Tiberius*, but by him, he made no longer his attempts upon them a secret, but openly placed guards about them to observe the messages they sent, the visits and company they received, their behaviour in public, their private conversation, &c. Besides, he suborned some of their friends,

Gives himself there up to all manner of wickedness.

The effects of his suspicions.

[c] Dio. l. lii. p. 495.

caused him to be used most barbarously, being frightened with the consideration, that he had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inaccessible (41).

(41) *Suet. ibid. c.* 60.

to

to adviſe them, as they were thus diſtreſſed, either to fly to the armies in *Germany*, or, embracing the ſtatue of *Auguſtus* in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the ſenate and *Roman* people. Theſe counſels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution [d].

THE following year, when *Appius Junius Silanus* and *P. Silius Nerva* were conſuls, began tragically. *Titius Sabinus*, an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, was hurried to priſon, for no other crime but his ſteady and faithful adherence to the family of *Germanicus*, being circumvented by the blackeſt treachery. One *Latinius Latiaris*, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip with a deſign to betray him, firſt bewailed the caſe of *Agrippina* and her ſon *Nero*; and then, as *Sabinus* burſt into tears, inveighed bitterly againſt *Sejanus*'s pride and cruelty, not ſparing the emperor himſelf. *Sabinus*, not aware of the ſnare, approved all he ſaid; and being ſoftened with compaſſion for the misfortunes of the unhappy family of his friend *Germanicus*, he added many, but ſevere, reflections of his own upon the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and imperious conduct of his favourite miniſter. And now the traytor, wanting only witneſſes to compaſs the ruin of one who repoſed in him an intire confidence, placed three ſenators, who had combined with him againſt *Sabinus*, between the roof of his room and the ceiling, a place no leſs unbecoming men of their rank, than the treachery, which made them thus degrade themſelves, was execrable. The ſenators, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus* and *Marcus Opſius*, who, having been all prætors, aſpired at the conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by *Sejanus*, and his favour was to be purchaſed only by iniquity, having thruſt themſelves into the above-mentioned lurking-place, *Latiaris* went abroad to find out *Sabinus*, whom he eaſily drew home and into his chamber, under pretence of relating to him ſome late diſcoveries. Then he began his former complaints, ſpeaking mighty things of *Germanicus*, and exclaiming againſt the cruelties of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*. *Sabinus* not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily joined him, and, reſuming his former detail of the calamities they had already undergone, and were likely to undergo, inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the authors of them, *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*. This was enough; the three ſenators, who had been liſtening the whole time with their ears cloſe to holes and chinks, diſpatched forthwith a memorial to the emperor, acquainting him with what had paſſed, though they could not well do it,

Titius Sabinus *how circumvented.*

[d] Idem, c. 67.

without

without diſcovering to him at the ſame time their own deteſtable infamy. *Tiberius* immediately wrote to the ſenate, and after having charged in his letter *Sabinus* with treaſon, required the conſcript fathers in plain terms to take vengeance of a traytor, who had aimed at his life. Hereupon the ſuppoſed criminal was immediately ſentenced to death, and the ſame day, the firſt of the new year, which was a great feſtival among the *Romans*, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (I). The city was never ſeized with greater dread; one relation feared another; a general diſtruſt reigned among men of all ranks; ſtrangers and acquaintance were equally avoided; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occaſioned dread and circumſpection. The emperor no ſooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the ſenate, thanking them for having puniſhed an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, that he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehenſions of the ſnares of his enemies; though he named none, yet it was no ways doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, againſt whom he was conſtantly incenſed by *Sejanus* and his creatures. Juſt vengeance ſoon overtook the authors and contrivers of ſuch a black piece of treachery; for ſome of them periſhed miſerably under the

He is condemned and executed.

His accuſers meet their juſt doom.

(I) *Sabinus*, ſays *Tacitus*, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe and a rope about his neck: but nevertheleſs, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, *With theſe ſolemnities the year begins; theſe are the victims which* Sejanus *offers*; for on the firſt day of the new year victims were ſlain in all the temples. Such a diſmal ſight occaſioned univerſal terror, flight, and ſolitude,; where-ever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compaſſion, fled, and withdrew in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that all along, as he paſſed, the ſtreets were empty, and the public places deſerted. Some, however, who had fled, returned and ſhewed themſelves again, dreading, that their having diſcovered dread might prove fatal to them. The law, which had been enacted a few years before, granting to every condemned perſon ten days reſpite, was, it ſeems, neglected on this occaſion; for *Tacitus* tells us, that the unfortunate *Sabinus* was immediately after condemnation hurried away and executed without being impriſoned. The fidelity of *Sabinus*'s dog made his death be more ſpoken of; for he conſtantly kept cloſe to him, followed his body while it was dragged through the ſtreets, and threw himſelf after it into the *Tiber*, where he periſhed (42). *Pliny* relates this ſtory at length, and aſſures us, that it was preſerved in the public regiſters of the city (43).

(42) *Dio. l. lviii. p.* 621. (43) *Plin. l. viii. c.* 40.

emperor

emperor *Caius*, and ſome under *Tiberius* himſelf, who, though he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his tyranny to be cruſhed by others, yet, ſurfeited with their infamy, he ofen ſacrificed them himſelf to the public vengeance, to make room for new ones, who were daily offering the ſame vile ſervices [e].

WHEN *Tiberius*'s letter was read in the ſenate, *Aſinius Gallus* moved, that the prince ſhould be deſired to explain his fears, and ſuffer the ſenate to remove the cauſe of them. This the emperor highly reſented, thinking that *Aſinius* was appriſed of his diſſimulation; but, however, ſmothered his wrath for the preſent, *Sejanus* ſtriving to appeaſe him, not out of any kindneſs to *Gallus*, but becauſe he knew the more his anger was reſtrained, the more tragical it would prove at laſt. This year the *Friſians*, no longer able to bear with the tyranny of the *Romans* ſent to govern them, ſhook off the yoke, and defeated *L. Apronius*, who was diſpatched againſt them with a conſiderable force (K). But *Tiberius* choſe rather to diſſemble

The Friſians *revolt and defeat* L. Apronius.

[e] Idem. c. 68—70. DIO. l. lviii. p. 621.

(K) The *Friſians*, ſays *Tacitus*, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors, than impatient of the *Roman* yoke. *Druſus* laid a tribute upon them ſuited to their poverty, obliging them only to furniſh certain hides for the uſes of the ſoldiers, without inſiſting upon any particular ſize or thickneſs. But *Olennius*, whom *Tiberius* appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of ſome wild bulls, inſiſted upon their paying the tribute according to that meaſure. As their domeſtic cattle were but ſmall, this proved a very hard taſk upon them: at length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds, next reſigned their lands, and laſtly ſurrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miſeries and complaints made no impreſſion on their hard-hearted governor, which ſo provoked them, that in the end they reſolved to ſeek relief from war. Accordingly, they fell unexpectedly upon the ſoldiers, who were gathering the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. *Olennius* had the good luck to make his eſcape to a neighbouring caſtle, which was defended by a numerous garriſon both of *Romans* and auxiliaries. *Lucius Apronius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, upon the firſt intelligence of this diſturbance, drew together ſome companies of the legions, and a choſen body of auxiliaries both horſe and foot, which he carried down the *Rhine*, and made a deſcent on the country of the *Friſians*. The enemy, who had inveſted *Olennius* in his caſtle, no ſooner heard of the arrival of *Apronius*, than they raiſed the ſiege, and marched with all their forces to meet him. *Apronius*, ſeeing them approach in order of battle, ordered his auxiliaries, ſupported by ſome legionary horſe, to charge them. The *Friſians* not only ſtood

ble the loſs the empire had ſuſtained, than truſt any able general with the command of the army. The ſenate indeed met on this occaſion; but, inſtead of deliberating about an affair of ſuch importance, they only decreed ſtatues to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, being no ways affected with the loſſes ſuſtained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on ſecuring themſelves, by the moſt ſhameful flattery, againſt the evils that threatened them at home. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated ſolicitations, that they would be pleaſed only to ſhew themſelves in *Rome*. But to no purpoſe; they could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it ſufficient condeſcenſion to quit their iſland for a few days, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the coaſt of *Campania*. Thither crouded ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to be ſeen by *Sejanus*, who was more difficult of acceſs than the emperor himſelf, and admitted ſuch only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to him. His thus ſeeing the greateſt men of the empire crouching, with the meanneſs of ſlaves, before him, heightened his arrogance; nay, perſons of the firſt rank were not aſhamed to cringe to his ſlaves, to court the favour of his porters, and bear their inſults with incredible

Tiberius *returns for a few days to the continent.*

Sejanus's *arrogance.*

ſtood their ground, but repulſed firſt the auxiliaries, and afterwards five cohorts, ſent ſucceſſively to their relief. Hereupon *Apronius* ordered the whole cavalry of the legions to advance; but that body being put into diſorder by thoſe who fled, before they could charge the enemy, *Cethegus Labeo*, legate of the fifth legion, was ordered to fall upon the *Friſians* at the head of the reſt of the auxiliaries. He was attended with no better ſucceſs; for his men, being ſoon put into diſorder, would have given ground, had not the whole army, and firſt of all the fifth legion haſtened to their relief. Then the *Friſians* retired in good order, the *Roman* general not thinking it adviſeable to purſue them: nay, he did not deem it ſafe to remain on the field of battle, till he had buried the dead, tho' many officers of diſtinction were ſlain. Beſides thoſe who fell on the ſide of the *Romans* in the engagement, a body of nine hundred men, who had ſeparated from the reſt, were all cut off, after having defended themſelves the whole night in a grove called *Baduhenna*. Another band of four hundred men, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a country-ſeat of a petty prince, named *Cruptorix*, once a tributary to *Rome*, and fearing they ſhould be delivered up to the enemy, choſe rather to fall by the hands of one another. This diſgrace *Tiberius* diſſembled, not daring to truſt any experienced commander with the conduct of the war. So that the *Friſians* enjoyed their ancient liberties unmoleſted till the ſucceeding reign (44).

(44) *Tacit. annal. l. iv. c.* 72, 73.

patience.

patience. Many, after having continued ſeveral days and nights in the open fields, in hopes of being admitted at laſt to his preſence, were in the end ordered to depart without the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him. Theſe returned trembling, and ſeized with dread and terror; whereas ſuch as he had deigned to receive were filled with joy, not knowing how fatal his friendſhip would ſoon prove to them. As for *Tiberius*, having here betrothed *Agrippina*, his granddaughter by *Germanicus*, to *Cneius Domitius* (L), and ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at *Rome*, he quitted the continent and returned to his iſland [f]. This year died *Julia*, grand-daughter to *Auguſtus*, by whom, after her marriage with *Æmilius Paulus*, ſhe had been, on account of her looſe and ſcandalous behaviour, baniſhed to the iſland of *Trimetus*, where ſhe died after twenty years of exile.

THE following year, *L. Rubellius Geminus* and *Caius Fuſius Geminus* (M) being conſuls, died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, *The death and character of* Livia.

[f] TACIT. c. 71—75.

(L) *Cn. Domitius* was deſcended of a very antient family, and beſides was nearly related to the *Cæſars*: for he was the ſon of *L. Domitius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and *Antonia Major*, the daughter of *Octavia* and *Marc Antony*; ſo that *Auguſtus* was his great uncle. By *Agrippina* he had the emperor *Nero*, and was, as *Suetonius* obſerves, worthy to be the father of ſuch a prince, being in every part of his life deteſtable In his youth he attended *Caius Cæſar* into the *Levant*, and there ſlew one of his freed men, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he refuſed to drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to *Rome* he drove his chariot over a boy on purpoſe, and trod him to death: in the midſt of the forum he pulled out the eye of a *Roman* knight, for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign he was accuſed of treaſon, of adultery, and of inceſt with his ſiſter *Lepida*; but *Tiberius* dying, he eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crimes. He died under the emperor *Caius* of a dropſy, leaving behind him *Nero* by *Agrippina*. We are told, that being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his ſon *Nero*, he anſwered, that nothing could proceed from *Agrippina* and him, but what was deteſtable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (45)

(M) The conſulate of the two *Gemini* is famous in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, many of the antient chriſtian writers having held, that our Saviour was crucified during their adminiſtration, which opinion is

(45) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 5, & 6.

Tiberius, commonly ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions *Julia Auguſta*, becauſe adopted by *Auguſtus* in his laſt will into the *Julian* family. We have already ſpoken of her deſcent and marriage with *Auguſtus*, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; but by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her blood came to be mixed with that of *Auguſtus* in their great-grandchildren. She had an abſolute ſway over *Auguſtus*, which ſhe acquired and maintained, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, by a ready acquieſcence to his will, without ever betraying the leaſt deſire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealouſy or diſſatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women [g]. In her were united the wiſdom of her huſband and the diſſimulation of her ſon. She was ſo paſſionate for the grandeur of her children, that ſhe was, not without good grounds, ſuſpected of having purchaſed it with the deſtruction of her huſband's family. For ſhe was charged with the death of *Marcellus*, of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, nay, and of *Auguſtus* himſelf, which ſhe was ſuppoſed by ſome to have haſtened. She was an irreconcileable enemy to *Julia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and never ceaſed perſecuting her whole offſpring. She challenged an equal ſhare with her ſon in the power which ſhe had procured him. This *Tiberius* was not of a temper to bear; and hence the miſunderſtanding between them, which gave occaſion to the ſatirical verſes, we have related above. He frequently warned her not to meddle with ſtate affairs, which he ſaid were above the ſphere of a woman. He avoided her converſation, eſpecially in private, as much as he decently could, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be governed by her counſels. Being informed, that on occaſion of a fire ſhe had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them and the ſoldiers to ſtop the rage of the flames, as ſhe uſed to do in the time of *Auguſtus*, he reprimanded her with ſome acrimony [h]. We are told, that by degrees he arrived at ſuch a height of iniquity, as to hate and deteſt her [i]. At leaſt it is certain, that during the three years

Tiberius's ingratitude to her.

[g] Dio. l. lvii. p. 619. [h] Suet. ibid. c. 50. [i] Idem, c. 51. Dio. l. lvii. p. 603.

now followed by very few. *Aulus Plautius*, famous for his wars in *Britain* under *Claudius*, and *L. Nonius Aſprenas* were ſubſtituted to the two *Gemini* the fifteenth day of *July*, as we gather from *Gruter*'s inſcriptions (46), and cardinal *Noris*'s *epiſtola conſularis*, printed at *Bologna* in 1682 (47).

(46) *Grut. inſcript. p.* 1087. (47) *Nor. ep. con. p.* 10.

ſhe

ſhe lived after his retirement, he never ſaw her but once, and then for a very ſhort time. In her laſt malady, he never came near her, though he conſtantly gave out that he deſigned to pay his laſt offices to her; inſomuch, that her body was kept in a continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrify, and could be no longer borne. Afterwards he excuſed himſelf by a letter to the ſenate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not ſuffer any divine honours to be paid to her memory, pretending her expreſs command to the contrary. Nay, in his letter to the ſenate, he reflected on thoſe who courted the friendſhip of women, alluding to the conſul *Fuſius*, who was a great favourite of the ſex, in high eſteem with *Livia*, but hated by *Tiberius*, whom, as he was a man of wit, he uſed to play upon with biting ſarcaſms [k]. We are told, that he proſecuted all her friends, above all, thoſe to whom ſhe had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few, and that he ſuppreſſed her laſt will, which was not executed till after his death under his ſucceſſor *Caius*, who cauſed divine worſhip to be appointed her [l]. She died, according to *Plinv* [m], in the eighty-ſecond, according to *Dion Caſſius*, in the eighty-ſixth year of her age.

He becomes more cruel after her death.

THOUGH *Tiberius* allowed his mother no great power, nevertheleſs, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he avoided openly oppoſing her; ſo that by her means many innocent perſons were ſaved from ruin, *Sejanus* not daring to arrogate an authority ſuperior to that of a parent. But after her death, both the prince and his favourite, being let looſe from all reſtraint, ſet no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately diſpatched to the ſenate againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*, which were thought to have been written before, and ſuppreſſed by *Livia*. They were couched in terms remarkably bitter, and yet they charged *Nero* with no crimes againſt the ſtate, but only with unnatural luſt and other impure pleaſures. *Agrippina's* known virtue ſcreened her from any imputations of this nature; her haughty looks therefore, and her violent, imperious, and ungovernable, temper, were alledged againſt her. Theſe letters, when read in the ſenate, ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. The fathers continued long ſilent, looking with ſurpriſe at one another, till at length, ſome, deſirous of currying favour with *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, demanded that they ſhould proceed upon the

Writes to the ſenate againſt Agrippina and Nero.

[k] TACIT. annal. l. v. c. 1. [l] SUET. ibid. & LIPS. in Tacit. annal. 5. not. 5. [m] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 16. [n] DIO. l. lviii. p. 621.

emperor's letters. The magiſtrates and leading men were at a loſs how to behave on ſo nice and critical a ſubject; for though the expreſſions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the reſt was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with *Junius Ruſticus*, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, ſince by him he had been appointed to keep a journal of their proceedings. *Ruſticus* had never before ſhewn the leaſt inſtance of generoſity, but nevertheleſs either by ſome ſecret impulſe, or becauſe unmindful of preſent dangers, he dreaded leſs *Tiberius* than the children of *Agrippina*, he oppoſed *Cotta Meſſalinus*'s cruel motion, and exhorted the conſuls to ſuſpend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, ſince one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the ſame time, the people carrying with them the images of *Agrippina* and *Nero*, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and, wiſhing happineſs and proſperity to *Tiberius*, cried out inceſſantly, that the letters were counterfeit, and that the ruin of the prince's family was purſued againſt his will, and without his privity. Nothing was therefore concluded that day. In the mean time, ſeveral ſpeeches were diſperſed about the city, ſaid to have been uttered in the ſenate againſt *Sejanus* by the conſulars; but all feigned, and filled with moſt bitter and ſatirical reflections, as the authors of them were not known. This fired *Sejanus*, who immediately wrote to the ſenate, upbraiding them in the ſharpeſt terms with deſpiſing the reſentments of the prince, with liſtening to popular and diſaffected harangues, with paſſing new and unprecedented acts, *&c.* He concluded, that nothing wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head thoſe, whoſe images they had already choſen for their enſigns. *Tiberius* likewiſe wrote a ſecond letter to the ſenate, repeating his reproaches againſt his grandſon and daughter-in-law, and complaining of *Ruſticus*, the ſenate, and the people, for inſulting his authority, and making no account of his reſentment; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the final deciſion of the whole affair. The ſenate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly declared, that they were ready to inflict the deſerved puniſhments on ſuch as had by their crimes provoked his diſpleaſure, provided he would allow them on ſo juſt an occaſion to exert their authority [o]. We are ſorry we cannot give ſuch an account as the reader may expect of the further proceedings of the emperor and the ſenate againſt the unhappy *Agrippina* and her children, being deſtitute

Sejanus's letter to the ſenate.

[o] Tacit. annal. l. v. c. 2—5.

in

in this place of our faithful guide *Tacitus*, in whoſe excellent hiſtory begins here a chaſm for almoſt three years, by which we have loſt the detail of the moſt material tranſactions of *Tiberius*'s reign, namely of the condemnation and baniſhment of *Agrippina* and her two children, *Nero* and *Druſus*, of the diſgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, of the further wickedneſs and death of *Livilla*, the widow of *Druſus* and daughter-in-law to *Tiberius*, &c. In ſhort, time has robbed us of the flower, we may ſay, of *Tacitus*'s incomparable annals; ſo that we muſt, for the tranſactions of this year and the two following, recur to other writers, and be ſatisfied with their accounts, however imperfect. As for *Agrippina*, ſhe was condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, now known by the name *Santa Maria*, over-againſt *Tarracina* and *Gaeta*. We are told, that, as ſhe could not forbear reproaching *Tiberius* with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing againſt him, the centurion, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed, gave her ſo many blows on the face, that he ſtruck out one of her eyes [p]. *Nero* her eldeſt ſon, was likewiſe condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of *Pontia*, now *Ponza*, near that of *Pandataria*; and *Druſus*, her ſecond ſon, by the ſame vile arts of *Sejanus*, declared an enemy to the ſtate, and kept under cloſe confinement in the lower part of the palace. *Nero* died ſoon after in the place of his exile, ſome ſay for want of neceſſaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, frightened at the ſight of the executioner, who entered his room with the inſtruments of death in his hand, as if he had been ſent by the ſenate, choſe to put an end to his life by voluntary abſtinence [q]. *Agrippina* and *Druſus* lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of *Chriſt* 33, when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of their tragical end. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* was this year appointed commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, in which employment he was continued for the ſpace of ten years [r].

Agrippina and Nero condemned.

THE next conſuls were *L. Caſſius Longinus* and *M. Vinicius* (N). This year the ſenate decreed many extraordinary honours

Extraordinary honours decreed to Sejanus

[p] SUET. ibid. c. 54. [q] Idem, c. 53. [r] DIO. l. liii. p. 657.

(N) Both theſe conſuls were choſen two years after by *Tiberius* for huſbands to two of *Germanicus*'s daughters: *Vinicius* married *Julia*, and *Caſſius Druſilla*, who became ſo famous, or rather infa-

mous, in the reign of her brother *Caligula*, who took her by force from

honours to *Sejanus*; amongſt the reſt, it was ordained that his birth day ſhould be yearly celebrated; that his ſtatues, which were ſet up in every quarter of the city, ſhould be adored; that vows and ſacrifices ſhould be offered for his ſafety, &c. In ſhort, he became, after the diſgrace and condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, ſo powerful and formidable, that he was more reſpected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himſelf. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, the ſoldiers, the ſenators, and all the great men of the empire, were intirely at his devotion; ſo that by their means he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to diſcover to the emperor the ambitious deſigns and views of his miniſter, though they were all well appriſed of them [r]. However, he began to ſuſpect him at laſt. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Antonia*, the widow of his brother *Druſus*, having received private intelligence of the deep deſigns and ſecret practices of *Sejanus*, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, ſending the letter to *Capreæ* by *Pallas*, one of her moſt truſty domeſtics, the ſame who afterwards became ſo famous under the emperor *Claudius* [s]. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his fatal blindneſs, began to conſider with himſelf, how he might thwart the ambitious views of his over-powerful miniſter, and deliver himſelf from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more addicted to the miniſter than to the ſovereign, being filled with his creatures; the ſenate was intirely at his devotion; even thoſe whom the emperor had about him were ſo many ſpies in the pay of *Sejanus*; ſo that *Tiberius* was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was no eaſy matter to diſengage himſelf. But he ſurmounted all difficulties with incredible addreſs, which he thought it more adviſeable to employ than open force, leſt *Sejanus*, finding himſelf diſcovered, and thence driven to deſpair, ſhould make a bold puſh and attempt the empire. The firſt ſtep he took was to remove him from *Capreæ*, and in order to this, he declared his intention of taking upon him the conſulate the next year, and named *Sejanus* for his colleague. This the haughty miniſter, not ſuſpecting any ſnare, looked upon as the greateſt mark of diſ-

Tiberius begins to ſuſpect him.

He names him his colleague in the conſulſhip.

[r] Idem, l. lviii. p. 653. [s] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

from her huſband (48). *C. Caſſius Longinus* and *L. Nævius Surdinus* were ſubſtituted to them in the conſulate (49). In an ancient inſcription quoted by *Spon*, *Vinicius* is called *Venicius* (50).

(48) *Suet. in Calig. c.* 24. (49) *Noris ibid.* (50) *Spon.* p. 34.

tinction

tinction the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted, but he created him at the ſame time ſenator; for *Sejanus* five years before, when the emperor removed from *Rome*, was but a knight, and we have not in the whole *Roman* hiſtory an inſtance of a knight being raiſed to the conſular dignity. In the end of the year, *Tiberius* diſpatched *Sejanus* to *Rome* to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity there, on the kalends of *January*, which he did accordingly; but the emperor did not remove from his iſland, where he entered upon his fifth conſulſhip, and held it to the fifteenth of *May*, when he reſigned the faſces to *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla* [u] (O). As *Tiberius* continued to ſhew the ſame affection to *Sejanus*, the ſenate was for the greateſt part of the year wholly taken up in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of *Tiberius* in all inſcriptions; new ſtatues were erected to him, and victims ſlain before them: a decree paſſed confirming the conſulate to him and *Tiberius* for the term of five years; his houſe was crouded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks; nay, the greateſt men in *Rome* were not aſhamed to court, with the meaneſt ſubmiſſions, the favour of his ſlaves and freedmen. In ſhort, one would have taken *Tiberius*, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, for the prince of his ſmall iſland, and *Sejanus* for the ſovereign of *Rome*. However, ſeveral prodigies are ſaid to have happened at this time, which ſeemed to forbode the downfal of the favourite miniſter; but if any deity, ſays our hiſtorian, had revealed what happened ſoon after, no one would have believed him [w]. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, and diſcover the partizans of *Sejanus*, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers at one time, that he was greatly indiſpoſed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and deſigned

New honours conferred on Sejanus.

[u] SUET. ibid. c. 26. NORIS ep. conſ. p. 13. GRUT. inſcrip. p. 1087. [w] DIO. ibid. p. 623, 624.

(O) As the name of *Sejanus* was razed out of the conſular tables, ſeveral writers of chronicles mark the name of *Tiberius* alone this year. Both he and *Sejanus* reſigned the faſces, before the conſular year expired, the one to *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla*, the other to *Sextidius Catullinus* (51). *L. Fulcinius Trio* and *L. Pomponius Secundus* were ſubſtituted to them; the former held the conſulate to the end of the year, but *Pomponius* reſigned it on the kalends of *October* to *P. Maximus Regulus* (52).

(51) *Grut. p.* 1087. (52) *Vide Pagi, an.* 30.

in

in a ſhort time to return to] *Rome*: in ſome of his letters he blamed, in others he commended *Sejanus*. This conduct ſurpriſed the miniſter and his friends, who inſenſibly began to abandon him, ſeeing his authority with the prince ſomewhat diminiſhed. The ſenate, however, conferred on him the proconſular power on his reſigning the conſulſhip; which he did, according to ſome, on the eighth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of *May*, to *Sextidius Catullinus*. At the ſame time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his ſon with a place amongſt the pontiffs; but could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to give him permiſſion to return to *Capreæ*. The pretence *Sejanus* alledged for ſuch a permiſſion was, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, to viſit his future ſpouſe, probably *Livilla* the widow of *Druſus*, who was indiſpoſed; but his real deſign was, to ſecure the perſon of the prince, whoſe guards were all at his devotion. *Tiberius*, to keep both him and the ſenate in ſuſpenſe, returned no other anſwer to his earneſt and repeated intreaties, than that he deſigned to come himſelf very ſoon to *Rome* [x].

He forſaken by ſome of his friends.

Tiberius *refuſes him leave to return to* Capreæ.

In the mean time, he began to heap honours on *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreæ*, and artfully concealed under a deceitful appearance of modeſty his ſavage and inhuman temper. He had ſo well learnt to bide his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, eſcaped him, though all arts were uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. Young as he was, he ſmothered with the deepeſt diſſimulation all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow. He was ſo obſervant of *Tiberius*, that he made it his whole buſineſs to ſtudy the bent of his temper, and to ſecond it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his words and manner of expreſſion, and conformed even to the change and faſhion of his dreſs. Hence the obſervation of the orator *Paſſienus* that *never lived a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter*. *Tiberius* made him this year augur, in the room of his brother *Druſus*, and raiſed him before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of *Auguſtus*, beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, as if he deſigned to appoint him his heir and ſucceſſor. This awaked the rage and jealouſy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himſelf his paſt indolence. In the tranſports of his paſſion he condemned himſelf for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was veſted with the conſular authority: he reflected with the utmoſt

The character of Caius Caligula.

Honours heaped upon him by Tiberius.

[x] Idem, ibid. 625.

anguiſh

anguiſh on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to ſecure the perſon of the prince, and ſeize the empire; but the great joy the people teſtified at the preferments of *Caius*, deterred him at preſent from any attempts of that nature. At the ſame time, he had the mortification to ſee ſome of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room. But nothing mortified him ſo much as a letter from *Tiberius* to the ſenate concerning the death of *Nero*; wherein he named *Sejanus*, without the uſual encomiums and commendations which he beſtowed on him in all his letters. Neither did he doubt, but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worſhip to be paid to any mortal man; for vows were every-where made, and victims ſlain, before the ſtatues of *Sejanus*; nay, he was arrived at ſuch a height of arrogance that he joined his adorers, and, with an impudence hardly to be matched, offered ſacrifices to himſelf[y]. After ſo many tokens of coolneſs in the emperor towards his favourite miniſter, many who had profeſſed an inviolable friendſhip for him, began to withdraw through fear of being involved in the calamities, which they apprehended would ſoon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him, in time conſult their own ſafety. The crouds, which daily frequented his houſe, inſenſibly diminiſhed: few perſons, and thoſe not of the firſt quality, attended him abroad; no farther mention was made of him in the ſenate, *&c.* This encouraged *Tiberius*, who had hitherto doubted of the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, to come to a final reſolution; which was to ſecure himſelf, without further delay againſt the dangers that threatened him, by the utter deſtruction of *Sejanus* and his friends. However, to proceed in ſo nice an affair with all poſſible caution, and to prevent *Sejanus* from putting himſelf upon his defence, or taking any deſperate meaſures, he gave out, that he deſigned to inveſt him with the tribunitial power. But in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, one in whom he knew he could confide: and diſpatched him to *Rome* with a letter to the ſenate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully inſtructed him how to behave, with reſpect both to *Sejanus* and the ſenate. *Macro* entered *Rome* late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the conſul *P. Memmius Regulus* who had been ſubſtituted to *L. Pomponius Secundus*; for the

The power of Sejanus *inſenſibly leſſened.*

Tiberius *reſolves upon his deſtruction.*

He writes to the ſenate.

[y] Idem, p. 625, 626.

other conſul, *L. Fulcinius Trio*, was a friend to *Sejanus*. *Regulus* early next morning ſummoned the ſenate to aſſemble in the palace, whither *Sejanus* conveyed himſelf, attended according to his cuſtom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he was entering the palace, he was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee *Macro*, the more, becauſe he had brought no letters for him from the emperor; but *Macro* accoſting him, whiſpered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the ſenate, wherein the emperor beſought them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. *Sejanus*, over-joyed at this news entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of *Apollo*, where moſt of the fathers were already met. In the mean time, *Macro*, having firſt ſhewn to the ſoldiers of the prætorian guard his commiſſion from the emperor, appointing him to command them in the room of *Sejanus*, and aſſured them, that *Tiberius* had ordered a very conſiderable ſum to be diſtributed among them, took poſſeſſion of his new office, by remanding them to their camp without the walls of the city. In their ſtead *Gracinus Laco*, who was privy to the ſecret, and commanded the *vigiles*, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent diſturbances, placed a ſtrong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple.

The caution uſed by Tiberius *on this occaſion.*

And now the fathers being aſſembled, *Macro* appeared before them with the emperor's letter in his hand; which he had no ſooner preſented to the conſuls, than he withdrew, haſtening to the camp in order to prevent any diſturbance that might happen there. In the mean time, *Regulus* read aloud the emperor's letter, which was very long, and wrote with great craft and addreſs. For, after a long preamble upon other matters, came ſome complaints againſt *Sejanus*, which were immediately interrupted by quite different affairs: then followed other complaints, but without any bitterneſs of expreſſion; ſo that *Sejanus* hitherto betrayed no great concern. But when at length the emperor's orders were read touching the execution of two of his moſt intimate friends, who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous deſigns, he was ſtruck with ſuch terror, that he could not utter a ſingle word in their favour. Before he recovered from the conſternation, into which thoſe fatal orders had thrown him, he heard to his great ſurpriſe another article relating to himſelf, wherein the emperor, in an angry ſtyle, injoined the fathers to ſecure his perſon. Hereupon the tribunes and prætors, quitting their ſeats, placed themſelves by him, to prevent him from making his eſcape and raiſing diſturbances[z]. *Suetonius* tells us, that

Tiberius orders him to be ſecured.

[z] Idem, p. 626, 627. Juvenal, ſatyr. 10. v. 71. 95.

in

in this letter *Tiberius* betrayed a meanneſs of ſpirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongſt other things, of the ſenate, that they would ſend one of the conſuls with a convoy of ſoldiers to conduct to *Rome* a poor old man forſaken by all. The ſame author adds, that he was under ſuch apprehenſions, that he had given private orders to *Macro* to ſet *Druſus*, in caſe of any diſturbance at liberty, to preſent him to the ſenate and people, and even to declare him emperor. He had ſeveral ſhips ready to put to ſea, and convey him to ſome of his legions, if his affairs at *Rome* ſhould not take a good turn. He kept himſelf the whole time upon the top of a high rock, to know by certain ſignals agreed on what paſſed in the capital, fearing the meſſengers might betray him, or not bring him the news with the neceſſary expedition [a]. *Seneca* tells us, that while the conſul was reading the emperor's letter, a huge globe of fire appeared in the air, and ſoon after vaniſhed [b]; a true ſymbol of what paſſed in the ſenate. For the ſenators at firſt, not doubting but the emperor demanded in his letter the tribunitial power for *Sejanus*, crouded round him, each ſtriving to be the foremoſt in congratulating him with flattering ſpeeches upon his new dignity. But they no ſooner learnt the real contents of the fatal letter, than they all to a man forſook him, not one perſon in ſo numerous an aſſembly daring to utter a word in his favour. Even thoſe who happened to ſit by him, abandoning their places, ſeated themſelves elſewhere, fearing they might be looked upon as his friends, if they continued near him. The laſt article was no ſooner read, than the whole temple reſounded with curſes and moſt bitter invectives, againſt the very perſon, on whom they had a few minutes before beſtowed the higheſt commendations. Some inveighed againſt him out of the hatred they bore him, and others through fear of being reckoned amongſt his friends. Though all the ſenators declared againſt him, nevertheleſs, as he had many friends and relations among them, the conſul *Regulus* thought it adviſeable not to propoſe condemning him to death, nor even to gather the ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly. He therefore only aſked the opinions of ſome, whom he looked upon as the moſt impartial and unprejudiced; and finding they were for committing him to priſon, he conducted him thither himſelf, attended by *Gracinus Laco*, and all the magiſtrates. A memerable inſtance this of the viciſſitude of fortune, and the inſtability of all human grandeur! How different was *Sejanus* ruling the univerſe with an abſolute ſway, raiſing to

He is abandoned by all;

[a] SUET. ibid. c. 65. [b] SENEC. nat. quæſtion l. i. c. 1.

the higheſt honours, or dooming to death whom he pleaſed, from himſelf loaded with chains, and dragged like a common malefactor to the public priſon! Had he ſucceeded in his attempts, and entailed the *Roman* empire upon his race, there would not have been wanting flattering poets and hiſtorians, who would have echoed his praiſes, his liberality, his politics, with all the other topics which are urged in commendation of *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*. But *Sejanus* failed, and is owned to have been a traytor; *Cæſar*'s iniquity and that of *Auguſtus* were triumphant, and ſo were their names. Iniquity unproſperous or puniſhed no man praiſes; but ſucceſsful iniquity never wants flatterers. But to return to *Sejanus*; he was followed from the palace to the priſon by immenſe crouds, the populace all the way loading him with curſes, upbraiding him with the many murders he had committed, and inſulting him with bitter ſarcaſms upon his tribunitial power. His confuſion was ſo great, that, not able to bear it, he threw his robe over his head, in order to cover his face; but the guards who attended him, obliged him to ſhew himſelf to the multitude, eager to ſee him humbled, and to inſult one who had ſo long rid upon their necks. At the ſame time, the populace in a ſudden tranſport overturned and broke in pieces all his ſtatues, thoſe very ſtatues which a few hours before they had adored. They ſame day, the ſenate aſſembled the ſecond time in the temple of *Concord*, near the priſon, when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city, by the care and vigilance of *Macro Gracinus*, and the conſul *Regulus*, pronounced, without heſitation, no one daring to ſpeak in favour of the criminal, ſentence of death againſt *Ælius Sejanus*, accuſed and found guilty of high treaſon. The ſentence was put in execution the ſame day, that is, the ſeventeenth of *October*, notwithſtanding the late law, indulging ten days reſpite to every criminal after condemnation. His body was expoſed, like thoſe of other malefactors, on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the ſtreets of *Rome*, and mangled it to ſuch a degree that the executioner could ſcarce find a limb intire to throw, according to cuſtom, into the *Tiber* [d] (P).

And committed to priſon;

Inſulted by the people.

Condemned and executed.

[d] Dio. ibid. p. 627, 629. Senec. de tranq. c. 11. Juvenal. ſatyr. 10.

(P) The mighty power of *Sejanus*, his diſgrace and downfal, the inconſtancy of the multitude, and inſtability of all human grandeur, are, with great elegance and no leſs humour, deſcribed by *Juvenal* in his tenth ſatire, to which we refer the reader.

The

THE death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general ſlaughter of all his friends and relations. *Tiberius*, after having for a courſe of years deſtroyed every man who was obnoxious to this execrable favourite of his, deſtroyed every man who had been well with his favourite. He ſpared none who were accuſed of any intelligence with *Sejanus*, and any thing upon earth, the moſt fortuitous, the moſt ſlight or fooliſh, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence. All the ſtreets of *Rome* were covered with ſingle carcaſes, or filled with carcaſes in piles; perſons of all ranks, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were promiſcuouſly butchered, and their bodies caſt into the public ſtreets; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or bewail them, nor even at laſt to behold them: ſpies were placed every-where to watch countenances and the ſigns of ſorrow; and when they putrified, and became noiſome, and were thrown into the *Tiber*, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, no one ventured to touch them, no one dared to bury or burn them. Among the many who periſhed on this occaſion, *Junius Blæſus*, uncle to *Sejanus*, of whom we have often ſpoken above, ſeems not to have eſcaped the common ſlaughter, being loaded with many odious imputations [e]. *Publius Vitellius* being charged with offering the public treaſure, which was committed to his care, towards compaſſing a revolution, was nevertheleſs only delivered into the hands of his brother *Lucius*, father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor. *Publius* being ſoon weary of his confinement, and finding his trial put off from day to day, called for a penknife under pretence of writing, and pricked his veins with it, but timorouſly and without effect. However, he died, before his trial, of grief, and by his death ſaved both his eſtate and the reputation of his family [f]. He left, it ſeems, ſome writings behind him; for we find him quoted by *Tertullian* [g]. *Pomponius Secundus*, who had a little before reſigned the faſces to *P. Memmius Regulus*, was likewiſe accuſed of treaſon, becauſe *Ælius Gallus*, who was a friend to *Sejanus*, had, after the execution of that traytor, fled to the gardens of *Pomponius*, as to a place of ſafety. However, he was not committed to the public priſon, but conſigned to the cuſtody of his brother *Quintus Pomponius*, who generouſly became his ſurety. As *Pomponius* was a man of a gay temper, he bore his diſgrace with great conſtancy and reſolution; ſo that he outlived *Tiberius*, and was ſet at liberty by his ſucceſſor *Caius*.

The general ſlaughter of Sejanus's *friends.*

Junius Blæſus *put to death.*

Publius Vitellius *arraigned;*

And Pomponius Secundus,

[e] TACIT. annal. v. c 7. [f] TACIT. ibid. c. 8. SUET. in Vitell. c. 2. & 3. [g] TERTULL. in apologet.

This

This is the ſame *Pomponius*, according to *Voſſius* [h], whoſe victories over the *Catti* we ſhall ſee in the following reign honoured with a triumph. If *Pomponius* was kept confined ſo long as *Tiberius* lived after the death of *Sejanus*, that is, ſeven years, only for ſome ſigns, not ſhewn by him neither, of friendſhip between him and a friend of *Sejanus*, we may judge from thence with how much ſeverity his relations were treated, and his avowed partizans, who had been privy to his ambitious deſigns [h].

The execution of Sejanus's *children.*

And now the chief friends and favourites of *Sejanus*, who could give any umbrage, being all to a man maſſacred, the ſenate ordered the two remaining children of the wicked miniſter to be executed; in order to cut off the whole family root and branch. *Sejanus* had three children, of whom the eldeſt ſon was already put to death, as *Tacitus* ſeems to inſinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumſtances of his execution, by reaſon of the lamentable chaſm in *Tacitus*'s annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. There ſtill remained of that unhappy and generally abhorred family a ſon and a daughter, who were by a decree of the ſenate both ſentenced to death, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of their age, and carried to priſon; the boy, ſenſible of his impending death; but the girl ſo ignorant of it, that ſhe often aſked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if ſhe had done any thing amiſs, they might take the rod and whip her, and that ſhe would do ſo no more. But the ſenate had no regard either to her age or innocence; ſhe was by the common executioner ſtrangled in priſon with her brother, and the tender bodies of both firſt expoſed on the *ſcalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged with an iron hook through the city, and thrown into the *Tiber*. We are told by ſome writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard of to puniſh a virgin with death, the executioner deflowered her juſt before he tied the rope [i] (Q).

Every

[h] Tacit. ibid & Dio. l. lix. p. 644. [i] Idem, ibid. c. 9.

(Q) The word *Virgo*, in the law forbidding a virgin to be put to death, ſignified a girl, or a young woman under ſuch an age, whether ſhe was a virgin or no; but the grave ſenators with a chicane worthy only of ſuch mean, crouching, ſlaves, took it in a ſenſe quite different from that of the law, which they pretended to obſerve, by cauſing the innocent girl to be deflowered by the executioner before ſhe was put to death. With a like cavil the triumvirs, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, that they might not ſeem to tranſgreſs the law forbidding children to be put to death, caused one, whom they

EVERY one hoped, that, after the execution of *Sejanus* and his accomplices, the reign of *Tiberius* would prove more mild, ſince to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly imputed the many executions, which had occaſioned ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt citizens. But, when they expected ſome alleviation of their evils, they found themſelves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor waxing daily more cruel, and from this time commencing, as it were an open enemy to his people, and delivering himſelf up to cruelty without reſtraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciouſneſs and plunder, a vice to which he hitherto ſeemed to have no biaſs. No perſon, however virtuous and cautious, could be ſafe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard againſt the ſnares of the accuſers, and the falſe reports of informers; but they were liable to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themſelves ſecure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts. He was under perpetual apprehenſions of the great lords of the ſenate and making daily victims of them: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and quality, gave him umbrage: he was almoſt equally jealous of friends and enemies. Thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, fell all at length victims to his furious and diſtruſtful temper. He was ſo afraid of conſiderable men, and ſo unwilling to give them employments that made them ſo, that ſome, who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; inſomuch, that great provinces for a courſe of years were left deſtitute of their governors, and abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, *Tiberius* chuſing rather to ſuffer the inſults and invaſion of the enemy, than truſt any one with the power of avenging the ſtate and repulſing the public foe. This year *Apicata*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced, as we have related above, in hopes of marrying *Livia* or *Livilla* the widow of *Druſus*, ſeeing the bodies of her children publicly expoſed among thoſe of the other criminals, wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the manner of his ſon *Druſus*'s death, with no other view but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. *Tiberius*, who had aſcribed his ſon's death to his own intemperance and irregular life, was ſo tranſported with rage, when he underſtood he had been

Tiberius more cruel than ever.

Spares nobody.

Is informed of the ſecret of Druſus's death.

they had condemned, to put on the manly robe before he was executed (53).

(53) *Dio. l.* xlviii.

poiſoned

poiſoned by a conſpiracy of *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, that he reſolved to exterminate all thoſe who had ever ſhown the leaſt token of friendſhip to either [k], *Suetonius* tells us, that he applied himſelf to the examination of that affair ſo ſeriouſly, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depoſitions of ſome witneſſes, that an inhabitant of *Rhodes* was arrived, at whoſe houſe he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be put to the rack, having at that time nothing in his thoughts, but blood, torments, and revenge. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards when he came to himſelf, and was ſenſible of his miſtake, he commanded the innocent *Rhodian* to be privately murdered, leſt he ſhould divulge the injury he had received [l]. Such as he condemned in the iſland of *Capreæ* were from a rock thrown headlong into the ſea, where numbers of ſeamen were diſpoſed beforehand with their oars and long poles to diſpatch them. He ſuffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent: for he looked upon death as ſo ſlight a puniſhment, that when he heard one of his priſoners, named *Carnulius*, had laid violent hands on himſelf, he cried out, *Carnulius has eſcaped me.* One of his priſoners begging him to haſten his execution, *No*, anſwered *Tiberius*, *You and I are not yet ſo good friends* [m]. But notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which he puniſhed others, *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was inclined to pardon *Livilla* his daughter-in-law, in regard of her mother *Antonia*; but that *Antonia* herſelf oppoſed ſuch an unſeaſonable inſtance of mercy; ſo that *Livilla* was this year by *Tiberius*'s orders ſtarved to death [n].

Various inſtances of his cruelty.

Livilla *put to death.*

The following year, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* being conſuls (R), furious orders were

[k] Dio. ibid. p. 628. [l] Suet. ibid. c. 62. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Dio, ibid. p. 628.

(R) *Domitius*, the ſame who married *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, continued in the conſulſhip the whole year; *Aulus Vitellius*, uncle to the emperor of the ſame name, was his collegue from the firſt of *July* to his death; for *Vitellius* died in his conſulate (54). We find the name of *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* in an ancient inſcription quoted by *Gruter*, (55), where he is ſaid to have been conſul the year after the fifth conſulſhip of *Tiberius*; but the name of his collegue is razed both out of this, and out of another

(54) *Suet. in vit. c.* 2. *Noris ep. con f.* 15. (55) *Gruter. p.* 2087.

made

were paſſed againſt the ſtatues and memory of *Livilla*, and likewiſe a decree of the ſenate, commanding the effects of *Sejanus* to be taken out of the public treaſury, and placed in that of the emperor. This was the motion of *Scipio*, *Silanus*, and *Caſſius*, the principal men in the ſenate, who all urged it almoſt in the ſame words, and with great zeal and eagerneſs. *Tagonius Gallus* moved, that *Tiberius* ſhould chuſe twenty ſenators to wait upon him under arms, and defend his perſon as often as he entered the ſenate. The emperor, who was too wiſe to allow the ſenators arms, returned them thanks for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but rejected, and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it, adding in his letter, that he did not think his life of ſuch importance to have it thus protracted. *Junius Gallio* moved, that the prætorian ſoldiers, after their term of ſervice, ſhould have the privilege of ſitting in the theatre among the *Roman* knights. This propoſal was highly reſented by *Tiberius*, who in his letter to the ſenate fell upon *Gallio* with great warmth, demanding, as if he had been preſent, what buſineſs had *Gallio* with the ſoldiers, whoſe duty it was to obſerve only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards; *Gallio* indeed meant to flatter, but *Tiberius* highly reſenting that motion, which he ſaid tended to corrupt the military diſcipline, and debauch the minds of the ſoldiers, he was inſtantly expelled the ſenate, and baniſhed *Italy*. He choſe the iſland of *Lesbos* for the place of his baniſhment; but the ſenate, thinking his exile would be too eaſy there, recalled him, and put him under cloſe confinement in the houſe of a magiſtrate. Such was the reward of his ſtudied flattery. In the ſame letter the emperor demanded the death of *Sextus Paconianus*, who had conſpired with *Sejanus* to compaſs the ruin of *Caligula*; but he eſcaped for the preſent by making an ample diſcovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among theſe was *Latinius Latiaris*, of whoſe deteſtable character we have ſpoken above. He was one of the moſt miſchievous informers in *Rome*, and had procured the deſtruction of many illuſtrious citizens; but now met his juſt doom, being to the great joy of the whole city condemned and executed. The next accuſed was *Cotta Meſſalinus*, the moſt forward man in the ſenate to gratify on all occaſions the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and therefore univerſally hated. He was charged

Several flattering motions in the ſenate.

The motion of Gallio *reſented by* Tiberius.

How his flattery was rewarded.

made this year at *Terni*, which inclines us to believe that he was he ſame *Furius Camillus*, who afterwards rebelled againſt the emeror *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* (56).

(56) *Suet in Claud. c.* 13.

with having ſpoken contemptuouſly of *Caligula*, *Livia Auguſta*, and of *Tiberius* himſelf (S); and the charge was proved by men of the firſt rank in *Rome*. But *Cotta* appealing to *Tiberius*, a letter was ſoon after brought from him in behalf of the criminal, wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendſhip with *Cotta*, and his many good ſervices to himſelf, he beſought the fathers not to wreſt into crimes words perverſely conſtrued, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (T). Hereupon the fathers not only diſcharged *Cotta*, but inflicted on *Cæcilianus* the ſenator, who was the chief evidence againſt him, the ſame puniſhment which had been formerly decreed againſt the accuſers of *Lucius Arruntius*, one of

Cotta Meſſalinus *accuſed and by the favour of* Tiberius *diſcharged.*

(S) He had traduced *Caligula* as guilty of the moſt ſcandalous debaucheries, as a pathic, as one deſtitute of all ſhame and modeſty; in celebrating among the prieſts the birth-day of *Livia*, the emperor's mother, he had ſpoken of her with diſreſpect without ſparing *Tiberius* himſelf: in complaining of the great ſway which *Manius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, with whom he had a ſuit about money, bore in the ſenate, he had ſaid, *They indeed will be ſupported by the ſenate, but I by my little* Tiberius. Theſe were the crimes alledged againſt him; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal; but as he ſtudied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of *Tiberius*, and was the author, as our hiſtorian tells us, of every moſt bloody counſel, the emperor took him under his protection, and ſhewed that mercy to him, which he would have denyed to the moſt worthy man in the ſenate.

(T) The beginning of his letter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words, *What to write to you, conſcript fathers, or in what manner to write to you at this time if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies, than thoſe under which I feel my ſelf daily periſhing.* Such were the horrors that haunted him even among the rocks of *Capreæ*; though hardly acceſſible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that purſued him, nor inſure his tranquillity. This great prince, this ſovereign of *Rome*, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of ſecret aſſaſſins, inceſſantly racked by his own apprehenſions; and conſequently with all the eclat of empire, the moſt miſerable being in his dominions. His power indeed was unlimited; but ſo was his miſery; the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. All the pleaſures and debaucheries in which he wallowed without controul, had not ſufficient charms to allay or mitigate his dreadful apprehenſions, and the anguiſh under which he felt himſelf daily periſhing. Private perſons, however obnoxious and threatened, had but ſome things and ſome perſons to fear; whereas *Tiberius* dreaded all men, and every thing but to do evil, which yet was the ſole cauſe of his fears. Such was his ſituation and life, and ſuch are the natural conſequences of the abuſe of power.

the

the moſt virtuous men in *Rome*; but what this puniſhment was, we find no where recorded. Afterwards, *Quintus Servæus* and *Minutius Thermus* were arraigned, *Tiberius* charging them as principals in the treaſon of *Sejanus*, and ordering *Caius Ceſtius*, a ſenator, to report to the ſenate what he had written to him. Thus *Ceſtius* undertook the accuſation; for in thoſe calamitous times the moſt illuſtrious chiefs of the ſenate were not aſhamed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, to degrade themſelves to the mean office of informers, ſome openly, ſome ſecretly, but both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers; for words ſpoken in the forum, or in private converſation, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, thoſe who uttered them were accuſed, every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, ſome for their own ſafety, others as it were infected with the common contagion of informing. *Mutius* and *Servæus* were condemned, but ſaved themſelves by becoming evidence againſt others, namely *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus*. While all men elſe were affecting to renounce the character of friends to *Sejanus*, a *Roman* knight by name *Marcus Terentius*, being accuſed on this very account, owned the charge before the ſenate in the following ſpeech, which well deſerves to be recorded: "It would "perhaps be more wiſe in me, conſcript fathers, to deny "than to acknowledge the crime with which I am charged. "But whatever be the reſult, I cannot, I will not, deny it. "I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one of "*Sejanus*'s friends, that I courted and ſought his friendſhip, "that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. And what wonder "that I did ſo? I ſaw *Sejanus* joined with his father in the "command of the prætorian guards, and next governing the "ſtate and the ſoldiery both as a miniſter and a general: his "kinſmen and friends were raiſed to the firſt employments; "as every man was in credit with *Sejanus*, he was fa-"voured by *Tiberius*; ſuch on the contrary as incurred his "diſpleaſure, were perſecuted without mercy. Of this I "need give no inſtances. *Sejanus* therefore the *Volſinian* was "not the man we courted; but *Sejanus* ingratted by alliance "into the *Claudian* and *Julian* families; *Sejanus*, your ſon-"in-law, O *Cæſar*, your collegue in the conſulſhip, your "favourite, and under you charged with the adminiſtration "of the empire. It does not belong to us to judge who he "is, whom you think fit to raiſe above the reſt, nor on what "conſiderations you have raiſed him. To you the gods have "left the ſupreme diſpoſal of all things, and to us the glory "of obedience. We only behold the outward appearance of "things; we perceive upon whom you beſtow wealth and

Other perſons of diſtinction arraigned.

The noble defence of Marcus Terentius.

" honours, to whom you truſt the greateſt power of reliev-
" ing or oppreſſing us, which no man can deny *Sejanus* to have
" had. But to pry into the ſecret thoughts of the prince, and
" the deſigns which he induſtriouſly conceals, is both unlaw-
" ful and dangerous Let us not conſcript fathers, fix our
" thoughts on the laſt day of *Sejanus*; but remember him
" for the ſpace of ſixteen years, during which time we
" adored ſuch of his retainers as *Satrius* and *Pomponius*,
" and reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with
" his porters and freedmen. I ſpeak here of thoſe only
" who were guiltleſs of his laſt deſigns. Let thoſe be puniſh-
" ed who conſpired with him againſt the ſtate, who were pri-
" vy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; nothing
" can be more juſt. But as for us, who are charged only
" with offices of friendſhip, and inſtances of benevolence,
" towards *Sejanus*, you cannot condemn us, O *Cæſar*, with-
" out condemning at the ſame time yourſelf." The liberty of this ſpeech, and the joy that one was at laſt found, who had courage enough to ſpeak aloud what they all thought in their hearts, had ſuch a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers, that *Terentius* was abſolved, and his accuſers, for this and other crimes, condemned, ſome to baniſhment, others to death [o]. *Tiberius* himſelf approved of the proceedings of the ſenate on this occaſion, probably not daring to oppoſe a truth ſpoken with ſuch liberty, and ſo generally applauded. But what induced him to diſſemble an affront offered him at this time by *L. Sejanus* the prætor, probably one of the diſgraced miniſter's kinſmen, 'tis no eaſy matter to gueſs. For the prætor, in the ſhows which he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed ſuch only as were bald, and diſpoſed five thouſand boys, all ſhaved, with torches in their hands, to light the ſpectators home. No-body doubted but this was done to deride *Tiberius*, who was bald; but nevertheleſs he took no more notice of it than if he had never known it [p].

Who is abſolved.

Next came letters from *Tiberius* againſt *Sextus Veſtilius*, formerly prætor, one whom *Tiberius* had long ſince admitted into the number of his friends, in regard of his brother *Druſus*, to whom *Veſtilius* was exceeding dear. He was accuſed of having compoſed a ſatyr againſt *Caligula*, reproaching him with the lewdneſs of his life. *Tiberius* forbad him his table, which ſo grieved him, that he reſolved to lay violent hands on himſelf. Accordingly having, with a trembling and feeble hand, as he was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince, imploring his mercy;

Tiberius *ſacrifices his own friends.*

[o] Tacit. ibid. c. 7, 8. [p] Dio. l. lviii, p. 633.

but

but *Tiberius* returning him an angry anſwer, he opened them agai , and died. Not even women eſcaped the fury of accuſers: as they could not be charged with deſigns of uſurping the ſovereign power, their tears were made treaſonable; and *Vitia*, the mother of *C. Fuſius Geminus*, conſul three years before, was condemned and executed in her old age, for bewailing the death of her ſon condemned by the ſenate. Neither did *Tiberius* ſpare his own friends; for by him were this year doomed to die *Veſcularius Flaccus* and *Julius Marinus*, two of his oldeſt friends, who had followed him to *Rhodes*, and not forſaken him at *Capreæ*. The former had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of *Libo Druſus*, and the latter had been employed by *Sejanus* to procure the ruin of *Curtius Atticus*, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year died *Lucius Piſo*, who, being ſubſtituted to *Taurus Statilius* in the government of *Rome*, diſcharged that important office with ſuch credit, that, by a decree of the ſenate, he was diſtinguiſhed with a public funeral. He had obtained, for his warlike exploits in *Thrace*, a triumph, was univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and nevertheleſs died in the eighteenth year of his age by the courſe of nature, a rare thing, as our hiſtorian obſerves, in a man of great parts, and of ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent [q] (U). A motion was afterwards made in the ſenate by *Quinctilianus*, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the ſibyl, which *Caninius Gallus*, one of the college of fifteen, had begged might be received by a decree amongſt the reſt of that propheteſs. The decree paſſed without oppo-

Lucius Piſo *dies.*

[q] Idem, c. 10, 11.

(U) We read in *Tacitus*, that *Piſo* governed *Rome* twenty years: if ſo, he muſt have been raiſed to that dignity by *Auguſtus*; for he died in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign. But, on the other hand, both *Pliny* (57) and *Suetonius* (58) tell us in expreſs terms, that he was created governor of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, for having continued drinking with him a night and two days, or two days and two nights, as *Pliny* will have it, after he was emperor. We therefore conclude with *Lipſius*, that ſome miſtake has crept into the text of *Tacitus*. That writer thinks, that we ought to read *ten* inſtead of *twenty*, becauſe *Pomponius Flaccus*, who was with *Piſo* at that famous debauch, was, on that ſcore, raiſed to the government of *Syria*, which, at the time of *Piſo*'s death, he had held ten years (59).

(57) *Plin. l.* xiv. (58) *Suet. ibid. c.* 42. (59) *Vide Lipſ. in hunc locum Tacit.*

ſition

ſition; but *Tiberius*, in a letter to the ſenate, deſired, that the book might firſt be examined by the quindecemvirs (W).

THIS year the dearth of corn occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiouſneſs. *Tiberius*, alarmed at their boldneſs, cenſured, in his letter to the ſenate, both them and the magiſtrates, for not quelling, by their authority, the mutinous populace. This encouraged the fathers to paſs a ſevere edict againſt rioters, and ſuch as diſturbed the public tranquillity, which reſtored peace and quiet to the city. In the end of the year *Geminus*, *Pompeius*, and *Julius Celſus*, all *Roman* knights, were arraigned of treaſon, and condemned. *Geminus* was indeed one of *Sejanus*'s friends, but had never been truſted by him with his private deſigns. However, he was executed with *Pompeius*; but *Celſus*, by ſtretching his chain over his head, and ſtraining with great violence againſt it, broke his neck, and eſcaped the infamy of a public execution[r]. This year *Tiberius*, having croſſed the chanel between *Capreæ* and *Surrentum*, ſailed along the coaſt of *Campania*, and entering the *Tiber*, as if he deſigned to proceed to *Rome*, came as far as the gardens on that river,

Other arraignments and executions.

[r] Idem, c. 13, 14.

(W) In his letter he gently chid *Quinctilianus* as young, and therefore not well acquainted with the antient cuſtoms; but fell upon *Gallus* with ſome bitterneſs, for propoſing to a thin ſenate the receiving of a book, whereof the author was unknown, among the prophetic books of the ſibyl: he told him, that he who was ſo well ſkilled in the ſcience of ſacred ceremonies, ought not to have taken ſuch a ſtep without hearing the opinion of his own college, and without the uſual reading and deliberation with the other prieſts. He alſo put the ſenators in mind of the conduct of *Auguſtus*, who, to ſuppreſs the many fictitious predictions every-where publiſhed under the name of the ſibyl, had ordered, that within a fixed day they ſhould be carried to the prætor, and declared it unlawful for any private perſon to keep them. Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate, notwithſtanding their decree, ordered the book to be examined by the college of the quindecemvirs. Whether the book was admitted amongſt the authentic prophecies of the ſibyl, we are no-where told. *Auguſtus*, as we have obſerved in his reign, having gathered together a great number of prophecies, and books of predictions, written by unknown authors, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*, he cauſed them all to be burnt, to the number of two thouſand and upwards, reſerving only ſome ſelect pieces, which he depoſited under the pedeſtal of *Apollo Palatinus* (60).

(60) *Vide Suet. in Aug. c.* 31.

having

having firſt poſted guards all along the banks, to keep off the multitude. But he advanced no farther, being aſhamed of his cruelties and abominable luſts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks and beloved ſolitude, where he rioted, without check or controul, in the moſt infamous and unnatural debaucheries [r].

The daughters of Drusus *married.*

THE next conſuls were *Servius Sulpicius Galba* (X) and *L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.* This year *Tiberius* diſpoſed of his two granddaughters, who were now of age, beſtowing *Druſilla* on *Lucius Caſſius*, and *Julia* on *Marcus Vinicius*, as we have related above. On this occaſion he wrote to the ſenate, with a ſhort commendation of the young men; then touching upon the cauſes of his abſence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himſelf by his zeal for the republic, he deſired that *Macro*, commander of the prætorian guards, with ſome few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the ſenate. The fathers readily granted him his requeſt, without any limitation, either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him [s]: nay, they paſſed a decree, ordering that whenever the prince came to the ſenate, all the ſenators ſhould be ſearched, to prevent their carrying arms under their robes [t]. But, for all this, *Tiberius* never appeared in the ſenate, nor entered the walls of *Rome*, though he came ſometimes to the very gates, for the moſt part by ſolitary and by-ways, and flying back with great precipitation. This year great diſturbances being raiſed by the debtors, the emperor, to adminiſter ſome relief, declared that he would lend a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces for the term of three years without intereſt, provided each borrower

Tiberius demands a guard.

[r] Idem, annal. 6. c. 1. SUET. in Tib. c. 72. [s] TACIT. c. 15. [t] DIO. l. lviii. p. 633.

(X) *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was afterwards raiſed to the empire: *Suetonius* obſerves, that he ſucceeded in the conſulſhip *Cn Domitius* the father of *Nero*, and was ſucceeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of the emperor of the ſame name. As the name of *Otho* is not marked in the conſular tables, *Onuphrius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the learned cardinal *Noris*, conclude, that he was ſubſtituted to *Galba*. *Lucius Vitellius*, one of the following year's conſuls, was father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was likewiſe emperor, and ſucceeded *Otho*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* having ſent for *Galba*, during his conſulſhip, and ſifted him upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him in *Greek*, that one day he ſhould taſte of empire, ſignifying thereby his ſhort ſovereignty (61).

(61) *Tacit. c.* 20.

mortgaged in land double the value of what he borrowed. But this generosity did not in the least allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himself with his cruelties, many illustrious persons being this year condemned and executed, and many others banished, upon the most groundless suspicions. Among these, *Considius Proculus*, while, void of all apprehension, he was celebrating his birth-day, was suddenly accused of treason, hurried to the senate, condemned, and executed. *Pompeia Macrina* was sentenced to exile; her husband and his father, two men of great distinction among the *Greeks*, were both executed; but her father, an illustrious *Roman* knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that *Macrina*'s husband being descended from *Theophanes*, who had been one of the confidents of *Pompey the Great*, they had all paid divine honours to that illustrious *Greek*. The death of *Sextus Marius*, the most wealthy man in *Spain*, reflected great disgrace upon *Tiberius*; for though he was accused of incest with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his immense riches had occasioned his ruin; and indeed not without good grounds; *Tiberius* having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himself his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public. So many bloody executions, instead of satiating, served only to whet and inflame *Tiberius*'s cruelty. For this year he commanded all those to be put to death without distinction of sex or age, who were kept in prison under accusation of any attachment to *Sejanus* w. Insomuch, that twenty were executed on one day, and among them several women and children; their bodies were exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, from thence with iron hooks dragged through the city, and then thrown into the *Tiber*. The butchery, says *Tacitus*, was dreadful and general; exposed to the sun lay the carcases of the noble and ignoble; those of every sex and age scattered up and down, or ignominiously thrown together in heaps: their surviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail them, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch countenances, and observe the signs of sorrow: when the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the *Tiber*, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourse of humanity, and banished every symptom of pity and tenderness.

Further instances of his cruelty.

A general massacre of Sejanus's friends.

w Idem, c. 19.

Among

Among the reſt periſhed this year three of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the empire, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Druſus* the ſon of *Germanicus*, and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Of *Aſinius Gallus* we have ſpoken above [x] (Y). He was the ſon of the famous *Aſinius Pollio*, one of *Auguſtus*'s chief favourites, and married *Vipſania* the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*: ſo that his children were brothers to *Druſus*, whom *Tiberius* had by *Vipſania*, nephews to *Agrippina*, and nearly related to the *Cæſars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him on account of his marrying *Vipſania*, but with his uſual diſſimulation concealed his hatred till this year, when *Gallus* being, we know not about what buſineſs, diſpatched to him by the ſenate, he received him in a moſt obliging manner, but at the ſame time wrote to the ſenate, requiring his condemnation; ſo that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table in *Capreæ*, he was condemned as a traitor at *Rome*, and a prætor was ſent to ſee the ſentence put in execution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately diſpatched; but cauſed him to be kept under cloſe confinement, no one being ſuffered to come near him, except ſuch as were charged to watch, leſt he ſhould, by a voluntary death, put an end to his miſeries. He periſhed at length, after three years painful confinement, through famine; but whether of his own accord, or ſtarved by *Tiberius*'s orders, was never known. The pleaſure of the emperor being conſulted, whether he would ſuffer him to be buried, he was not aſhamed to reckon his allowing the laſt offices to be paid to him as a particular favour [y]. As for *Druſus*, he was condemned by the emperor to be ſtarved; but protracted his life nine days by feeding, for want of other ſuſtenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monſter, not ſatiated with the death of his grandſon, purſued him even beyond the grave with cruel invectives, and in a letter to the ſenate charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering at the ſame time the minutes of his words and actions to be read,

Tiberius' diſſimulation.

The death of Aſinius Gallus.

The death of Druſus.

The mean and ſcandalous behaviour of Tiberius *towards him.*

[x] Vide p. 518. not. N. [y] TACIT. c. 23. DIO. l. lviii. p. 622.

(Y) *Lipſius* takes this *Aſinius Gallus* to be the ſon of *Aſinius Pollio*, who was ſurnamed *Saloninus*, and upon whoſe birth *Virgil* compoſed the famous eclogue *Sicilides Muſæ*, &c. He owns, that no hiſtorian gives *Aſinius* the ſurname of *Saloninus*, but founds his opinion intirely upon the authority of *Servius*, which is very ſurpriſing in ſo wary a critic, ſince *Servius* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Saloninus* died ſoon after he was born; *nam ipſum puerum inter ipſa primordia periiſſe manifeſtum eſt*, ſays that commentator.

which had long and daily been regiſtered by perſons expreſsly appointed to obſerve his looks, to watch all his actions, and note down every word, every complaint, he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror; and indeed, that a grandfather ſhould appoint perſons to watch all the actions, ſhould have all the weakneſſes or crimes, of his grandſon regiſtered by ſecret ſpies, and thus expoſed to the world, ſeems ſuch a ſeries of treachery and meanneſs, as would hardly be credited, were it not atteſted by the moſt eminent writers of antiquity. *Tacitus* quotes the letters of *Actius* the centurion and *Didymus* the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the ſlaves ſet purpoſely to abuſe and provoke *Druſus*, with the ſeveral parts they acted, in order to draw from him complaints againſt *Tiberius*. The centurion, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, being introduced to the ſenate, repeated in the preſence of the fathers, as matter of glory, his outrageous language to the young prince, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of hunger. He told them, that *Druſus*, at firſt pretending to be diſtracted, vented in the ſtyle of a madman diſmal imprecations againſt *Tiberius*; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked him with great deliberation and ſedateneſs the vengeance of the gods, beſeeching them, that as *Tiberius* had ſlaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grand-children, and filled with ſlaughters his whole houſe, ſo they would in juſtice to the anceſtors of the ſlain, in juſtice to their poſterity, avenge on this man of blood, ſo many cruel and barbarous murders. The ſenators, in hearing the centurion, raiſed a mighty noiſe, as if they deteſted thoſe imprecations; but they were ſtruck with amazement in hearing the detail of the barbarities practiſed by the emperor's orders upon his grandſon [z]. The death of the ſon was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the ſeventeenth of *October*. *Agrippina* had been confined before the diſgrace of *Sejanus*, upon whoſe execution ſhe hoped *Tiberius* would uſe her and her ſon *Druſus* with more humanity. But finding him no leſs implacable than before, ſhe put an end to her miſeries by abſtaining from all food. *Suetonius* tells us, that after ſhe had taken a reſolution to ſtarve herſelf, *Tiberius* cauſed her mouth to be opened, and nouriſhment crammed down her throat by force [a]. But *Tacitus* queſtions whether ſhe abſtained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by *Tiberius*'s orders; and a report was afterwards ſpread, that death had been her own choice.

His imprecations againſt Tiberius.

The death of Agrippina.

[z] Idem, c. 23, 24. [a] Suet. ibid. c. 53.

Be that as it will, her death did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the outrageous tyrant, who charged her with several abominable crimes, especially with adultery, as if she had maintained a criminal correspondence with *Asinius Gallus*, and upon his death become weary of life. But *Agrippina*'s character and known chastity sufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for she had sacrificed, as *Tacitus* observes, to a manly ambition all the passions and vices of her sex. The emperor, in his letter to the senate, observed, that she died the same day on which *Sejanus* had been executed two years before, adding, that such a day ought to be particularly distinguished; nay, he boasted of his clemency, since he had not caused her to be strangled, and her body to be exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged to the *Tiber*. For this instance of mock-mercy the senate solemnly thanked him, and decreed, that on the seventeenth of *October*, the day of the death of *Agrippina* and *Sejanus*, a yearly offering should be consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* for ever [b]. The death of *Agrippina* procured that of her declared enemy *Plancina*, the widow of *Cneius Piso*. She was guilty of many other crimes, besides that which was laid to her charge of poisoning *Germanicus*. When her husband fell, she was protected by the solicitations of *Livia*, and also by the animosity of *Agrippina*, whom the spiteful *Tiberius* could not find in his heart to gratify with the death of a person whom she abhorred. But as there was now no further room for favour or hatred, justice prevailed; and *Plancina*, being accused of crimes long since sufficiently proved, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late than too severe. Notwithstanding the pleasure *Tiberius* took in destroying the most illustrious families in *Rome*, yet he was sensibly affected with the death of *Cocceius Nerva*, though it was intirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the most learned civilians in *Rome*, had been consul twelve years before, had attended *Tiberius* to *Capreæ*, and was in high favour with him, so that he had no reason to be weary of life. But tho' thus in full prosperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, he resolved to die, and accordingly refused all nourishment. *Tiberius*, having learnt his design, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives, and descended even to intreaties, declaring that it would be a great affliction to him, that it would reflect disgrace upon him, and tarnish his reputation, if one of his most intimate friends, his inseparable companion, should thus shew

Tiberius endeavours to blacken her reputation.

Plancina lays violent hands on herself.

The death of Cocceius Nerva.

[b] TACIT. c. 25, 26. SUET. ibid. c. 53.

himſelf weary of life. But notwitſtanding the remonſtrances and reaſoning of *Tiberius*, *Nerva* perſiſted in his purpoſe, and ended his life by abſtinence. Towards the end of this year died three illuſtrious citizens, *Ælius Lamia*, *Manius Lepidus*, and *Pomponius Flaccus*. *Lamia* had for ſeveral years held the government of *Syria*, but had never been allowed to viſit his province. Upon the death of *L. Piſo*, which happened the preceding year, *Tiberius* diſcharged him from the mock-adminiſtration of *Syria*, and appointed him governor of *Rome*. A public funeral was decreed him by the ſenate[c]. He was ſucceeded in his laſt employment by *C. Coſſus*, who, though a famous drunkard, was never known, as *Seneca* informs us[d], to diſcloſe a ſecret; whence *Tiberius* truſted him with his moſt private counſels. *Lepidus* was one of the moſt worthy men in *Rome*; we have already given various inſtances of his wiſdom and moderation: as to his abilities, he was in the opinion of *Auguſtus*, as we have obſerved in the beginning of this reign, well qualified for the ſovereign power, but not fond of it. *Pomponius Flaccus* was by *Tiberius* firſt raiſed to the government of *Mœſia*, where he betrayed and ſeized *Rhaſciporis*, as we have related above. He was afterwards made proprætor of *Syria*, either for this piece of treachery, or upon the merit of his famous debauch with *L. Piſo* and *Tiberius*. This year, *Claudia* daughter to *Marcus Silanus*, a ſenator diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth and great eloquence, was married to *Caius Caligula*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus*. The people were no leſs pleaſed with this match, than diſſatisfied with that of *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and widow of *Nero*, who debaſed herſelf to marry *Rubellius Blandus*, whoſe grandfather was a native of *Tybur*, and only a *Roman* knight[e].

Of Ælius Lamia, M. Lepidus, &c.

Chriſt crucified. This year, the thirty-third of the common æra and nineteenth of *Tiberius*'s reign, our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers; *Phlegon*, the emperor *Adrian*'s freedman, who wrote ſixteen books of the olympiads, ſeems to ſpeak of the darkneſs which happened at his death: his words are; *There happened the greateſt and moſt remarkable eclipſe that ever had been known; at the ſixth hour the day was ſuddenly turned into night, inſomuch, that the ſtars were ſeen: at the ſame time, an earthquake in* Bithynia *overturned many houſes in the city of* Nice. This darkneſs, which *Phlegon* calls an eclipſe, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two hundred and

[c] Idem, c. 27. [d] Senec. epiſt. 87. [e] Tacit. c. 27.

second

ſecond olympiad, which ended about the middle of the preſent year [f].

THE following year, when *Paulus Fabius Perſicus*, or, as ſome call him *Priſcus*, and *L. Vitellius* were conſuls, many eminent perſons fell, either by their own hands, or thoſe of the public executioner, among the reſt *Pomponius Labeo* and *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*; the former once governor of *Mœſia*, being charged with male-adminiſtration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife *Paxea* following his example. The latter a noble orator, a man of an illuſtrious deſcent, but a profeſſed debauchee, was accuſed by *Servilius* and *Cornelius* of adultery with *Livia* the widow of *Druſus*, and of offering magical ſacrifices, but his true crime was the hatred *Macro* bore him; for *Macro*, who was at this time as much in favour with *Tiberius*, and no leſs miſchievous than *Sejanus* had ever been, prejudiced the emperor againſt him, by perſuading him, that *Scaurus*, in a tragedy which he had compoſed, deſcribed him, and diſplayed his cruelties under the name of *Atreus*. But the pretended criminal, before ſentence was awarded againſt him, laid violent hands on himſelf, being encouraged thereto by his wife, who died with him [g]. *Servilius* and *Cornelius*, his accuſers, were ſoon after baniſhed into ſeveral iſlands for accepting a bribe, to drop the proſecution, which they had begun againſt *Varius Ligur.* *Abudius Ruſo* likewiſe, once ædile, was himſelf condemned and driven out of *Rome*, while he attempted to get *Lentulus Getulicus*, under whom he had commanded a legion, condemned, becauſe he had eſpouſed his daughter to a ſon of *Sejanus*. *Getulicus* was at this time commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, and by them extremely beloved on account of his great mildneſs and clemency. He was likewiſe acceptable to the legions of *Lower Germany* in conſideration of their general *Apronius*, his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to *Tiberius*, that not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had ſought the alliance of *Sejanus*; that he had been as liable to be deceived as *Tiberius*, and that it was not reaſonable a fault common to both ſhould paſs unblamed in one, and be puniſhed in another: he added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the allegiance he owed him, and that he would continue unſhaken in his fidelity to the laſt, provided no dark plots were framed againſt him; but that he would look upon a ſucceſſor

Several perſons arraigned.

Lentulus Getulicus *accuſed.*

His bold letter to Tiberius.

[f] ORIG. contra. Celſum, p. 89 & 99. edit. Græc. [g] TACIT. c. 29.

as the meſſenger of death; and therefore, that they ſhould, as it were, ſtrike up an agreement between them, by which the prince ſhould enjoy the reſt of the empire, and he always retain his province. This proceeding, however ſurpriſing, was believed, becauſe of all thoſe who were allied to *Sejanus*, *Getulicus* alone eſcaped unhurt, and continued in high favour to the laſt. *Tiberius*, ſenſible that he was univerſally hated, and that his authority was ſupported more by reputation than by force, did not care to attack a man, who had both ſufficient power and courage to defend himſelf [f].

A counterfeit Druſus

This year, as *Dion Caſſius* will have it, or four years before, while *Druſus* was yet living, as *Tacitus* relates it, a young man gave out, that he was *Druſus* the ſon of *Germanicus*. He was firſt ſeen in the *Cyclades*, and ſoon after on the continent, attended by ſome of the emperor's freedmen, and by great crouds of people, who flocked to him from all parts. But in the mean time, *Poppæus Sabinus*, governor of *Greece* and alſo of *Macedon*, where he was at that time, hearing the ſtory haſtened to *Nicopolis*, a *Roman* colony, to obviate the evil conſequences of ſuch a report. There he learnt that this counterfeit *Druſus*, being artfully examined, had declared himſelf to be the ſon of *Marcus Silanus*, and that many of his followers falling off, he had embarqued, as if he deſigned to ſail to *Italy*. Further than this, ſays *Tacitus*, we have found nothing concerning the origin or iſſue of that affair [g]. But *Dion Caſſius* adds, that the impoſtor being received by many cities, and ſtrengthened with vaſt numbers of followers, would have reached *Syria*, and probably been acknowledged there by the armies of his pretended father, had he not been diſcovered by ſome who knew, ſeized, and ſent, him to *Tiberius* [h]. The ſame writer tells us, that this year, the twentieth of *Tiberius*'s reign, ending on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, the conſuls ſolemnized it with public vows and ſacrifices; which the emperor highly reſenting, as if they had taken upon them to confirm to him the ſovereign power for a further term of ten years, cauſed them both to be arraigned, condemned, and executed [i]. What *Dion* ſays of the conſuls of this year is not to be underſtood of thoſe we have named, but of others, who were ſubſtituted in their room, it being evident both from *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, that *L. Vitellius*, the father of the emperor *Aulus Vitellius* was ſent the year following into *Syria* to govern that province. We

Two conſuls of this year put to death.

[f] Idem, c. 30. [g] Tacit. annal. 5. c. 10. [h] Dio l. lviii. c. 637. [i] Idem ibid. p. 656.

ſhall

ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him in the following reign (Z).

IN the following conſulſhip of *Ceſtius Gallus* and *M. Servilius Nonianus*, the domeſtic evils continued, *Tiberius*, though now three years ſince the execution of *Sejanus*, being no ways appeaſed, either by time or the innumerable victims he had already ſacrificed to his jealouſy. He ſtill purſued with freſh rage ſtale and dubious imputations, puniſhing them as recent, heinous, and proved, crimes. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons who periſhed this year, were *Fulcinius Trio*, *Granius Martianus*, *Tatius Gratianus*, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sextius Paconianus*. *Trio*, who was conſul the year that *Sejanus* was executed, being accuſed of having been privy to the treacherous deſigns of that miniſter, made his laſt will, in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities

The death of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that in the conſulſhip of *Fabius* and *Vitellius*, after many ages the phœnix appeared in *Egypt*, and furniſhed the learned, both of that country and of *Greece*, with matter for various obſervations concerning that miraculous bird. On this occaſion he acquaints us with the opinions of ſuch as have written on that ſubject and tells, that they all agree in this, *viz.* that it is a creature ſacred to the ſun, and that as to its beak and feathers it differs from all other birds; but as to the length of its life relations vary: the common opinion is, ſays our hiſtorian, that it lives five hundred years; but there are not wanting ſome who extend its life to 1461, and affirm, that the three former phœnixes appeared in reigns greatly diſtant, the firſt under *Seſoſtris*, the next under *Amaſis*, and that the laſt was ſeen under *Ptolemy*, the third king of the *Macedonian* race, and flew to the city of *Heliopolis*, accompanied by a vaſt number of other birds wondering at her ſtrange ſhape. But the Accounts of antiquity, ſays *Tacitus*, are obſcure: between *Ptolemy* and *Tiberius*, ſcarce paſſed two hundred and fifty years; whence ſome thought that this was no true phœnix, nor come from *Arabia*, and that it had nothing of the inſtinct which antient tradition aſcribes to the genuine; according to which tradition the true phœnix, having completed a certain courſe of years, builds juſt before its death a neſt in its native land, upon which it ſheds a generative power, whence ſprings up a young one, whoſe firſt care, when grown up, is to bury its father: this it does not undertake unadviſedly; but firſt tries its ſtrength by gathering and carrying a great way loads of myrrh: when it finds itſelf equal to the burden and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the ſun, and there burns it (62). Such were the opinions of the antients, touching this miraculous, or rather fabulous, bird.

(62) *Tacit.* c. 28.

and

and dreadful invectives againſt *Macro* and the emperor's chief freedmen, not ſparing the prince himſelf, whom he ſtyled an old dotard, and, on account of his long abſence, a deſpicable exile. Theſe invectives were ſuppreſſed by the heirs of *Trio*; but *Tiberius*, not aſhamed to publiſh his own infamy, ordered them to be read in the ſenate, either to ſhew that he could bear ſuch liberties, or becauſe he was willing, ſince he had been ſo long ignorant of the black enormities of *Sejanus*, that whatever was ſaid, and however ſaid, concerning him and his adminiſtration, ſhould be divulged, that he might at leaſt learn from the reproaches uttered againſt him, the truths which flattery ſtudied to diſguiſe. *Granius Martianus*, the ſenator, being charged with treaſon by *Caius Gracchus*, laid violent hands on himſelf (A). *Tatius Gratianus*, who had been prætor, was for the ſame charge ſentenced to death; and alſo *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been likewiſe prætor, and formerly appointed by the ſenate guardian to the ſons of *Cotys*, king of *Thrace*; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. *Paconianus*, who had been choſen by *Sejanus* to plot the overthrow of *Caligula*, as we have related above, was after three years confinement ſtrangled in priſon for verſes made there againſt *Tiberius* [k]. In the end of the year, died *Poppæus Sabinus*, who had been conſul under *Auguſtus*, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed for the ſpace of twenty four years the two *Mœſias*, to which *Tiberius* had added in the ſecond year of his reign *Macedon* and *Achaia* [l]. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was not diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or abilities; but was nevertheleſs raiſed and favoured by the princes, becauſe he had talents equal to the employments given him, and not above them [m]. He was

[k] Idem c. 38. 39. Dio. p. 626. [l] Tacit. ibid. Dio. p. 637. [m] Tacit. ibid.

(A) No wonder, that voluntary deaths ſhould be ſo common at *Rome*, not yet illuminated with the light of the goſpel. For thoſe, who fell by the hand of the executioner, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarred the honour of burial. Their bodies were publicly expoſed to the inſults of the populace, dragged through the ſtreets with iron hooks, and thrown into the *Tiber*. No criminal, of what rank ſoever, nay not even women, were exempted from this baſe treatment. On the other hand, the bodies of ſuch, as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred; their wills remained in force, and their eſtates devolved to their children (63).

(63) *Tacit. c.* 29. *Dio. l. lviii. p.* 630. *Suet, in Tib. c.* 53.

ſucceeded

ſucceeded in the government of the above-mentioned provinces by *C. Memmius Regulus* [n]. As for the diſturbances which happened this year in *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Cilicia*, the reader will find them deſcribed by us at length in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms.

THE following year, *Q. Plautius* and *Sextus Papinius Gallienus* being conſuls, the ſame courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting. *Lucius Aruſeius* and ſeveral others were condemned and executed. Such executions were now become ſo frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of; but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a *Roman* knight, ſtruck all with terror and amazement. After his accuſers had finiſhed their pleadings againſt him, he pulled out poiſon, which he had concealed under his gown, and ſwallowed it in open ſenate. He immediately fell, ſo potent was the poiſon; but nevertheleſs was haſtily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where, though ready to expire, he was ſtrangled by the common executioner [o]. *Caius Galba*, a conſular and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two *Blæſi*, fell by their own hands; *Galba*, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to caſt lots for the government of a province; and the *Blæſi*, becauſe *Tiberius* beſtowed their prieſthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this they took as a ſignal of death, and obeyed it. *Tigranes*, grandſon to *Herod* king of *Judæa* by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* by his mother *Glaphyra* [p], and who had himſelf reigned ſome time in *Armenia*, was accuſed like a private citizen, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals [q]. This prince and his elder brother *Alexander* had renounced the *Jewiſh*, and embraced the *Pagan*, religion, out of complaiſance to their grandfather *Archelaus*. *Agrippa* their couſin german was in the month of *September* dragged to priſon loaded with chains, and kept there under cloſe confinement till the death of *Tiberius*, as we have related in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. The ſame year, the city ſuffered greatly by an inundation of the *Tiber* [r], and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to mount *Aventine*, and all the buildings on the mount itſelf. This misfortune turned to the glory of the prince, for he paid the value of the houſes deſtroyed, and expended in this bounty a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; which proved the more ac-

Tigranes put to death.

The generoſity of Tiberius on occaſion of a fire.

[n] DIO. ibid. [o] TACIT. c. 40. DIO p. 634. SUET. in Tib. c. 61. [p] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [q] TACIT. c. 40. [r] DIO. p. 638.

ceptable to the people, ſays *Tacitus*, as he had ever been ſparing in private buildings (B). To make an eſtimate of every man's loſs, he appointed his four ſons-in-law, *Cneius Domitius*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Rubellius Blandus*, aſſiſted by *Publius Petronius*, nominated by the conſuls.* The eccleſiaſtic writers tell us, that in this or the preceding year, *Pontius Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* on account of the paſſion, reſurrection, and miracles, of our Saviour, adding, that the number of his followers daily increaſed, and that he was accounted a god. Hereupon the emperor, ſay they, made a report of the whole matter to the ſenate, with this favourable ſuffrage, that Chriſt might be reckoned among the gods: the ſenate oppoſed this motion, and even by an edict commanded all chriſtians to be baniſhed the city. But *Tiberius* by another edict threatening their accuſers with death, the perſecution ceaſed, and the number of the believers daily increaſed both in *Judæa* and at *Rome*†. Whether this account is conſiſtent with the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate, and the dread they were all under of oppoſing any motion made by the emperor, is what we refer to the judgment of every impartial reader.

The next conſuls, and the laſt under *Tiberius*, were *Cneius Acerronius Proculus* and *Caius Pontius Nigrinus*, or, as *Suetonius* calls him, *Niger*. The emperor was now in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indiſpoſed ſince he came to the empire, though he neglected, and was even wont to ridicule, the rules and preſcriptions of

* Tacit. c. 45. † Tertull. in apol. c. 5. & 21. Euseb. in chron. & hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 2. Gildas.

(B) *Tacitus* tells us, that this bounty proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever ſparing in private buildings; and adds, that his public works never exceeded two, *viz.* the temple of *Auguſtus*, and the ſcene of *Pompey*'s theatre; nor, when he had finiſhed both, did he conſecrate either, whether prevented by old age, or deſpiſing popularity, is uncertain. Thus *Tacitus* (64), with whom *Suetonius* does not intirely agree. During the whole time he was emperor, ſays that writer, he built nothing that was great and magnificent; the temple of *Auguſtus*, and the reparation of *Pompey*'s theatre, the only public works he ever undertook, he left unfiniſhed after ſo many years (65). And in the life of *Caligula*, he finiſhed the temple of *Auguſtus*, ſays he, and the ampitheatre of *Pompey*, which *Tiberius* had begun, but not completed (66). So that, according to *Tacitus*, he finiſhed theſe buildings; but left them imperfect according to *Suetonius*.

(64) *Tacit c.* 45. 65) *Suet. ibid. c.* 47. (66) *Idem in Calig. 21.*

phyſicians,

phyſicians, and ſuch as after the age of thirty wanted to be informed, by them, what helped or hurt their conſtitutions. At length he was taken ill at *Aſtura* between *Antium* and *Circæi*, as he was returning to *Capreæ* from the neighbourhood of *Rome* (C). However, he went forward, and reached *Circæi*, where, to diſſemble his indiſpoſition, he not only aſſiſted at the military games exhibited there, but threw darts himſelf at a boar, and killed him. From *Circæi* he advanced to *Miſenum*, and finding his ſtrength began to fail him, he ſettled in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. Already his ſtrength, already his ſpirits, failed him; but his diſſimulation failed him not. To hide his declenſion, now very viſible, he exerted the ſame vigour of mind, the ſame energy in his diſcourſe, and even affected ſometimes to be gay. In the mean time, the courſe of executions was not interrupted at *Rome* by the emperor's illneſs. *Acutia*, once the wife of *Publius Vitellius*, being charged with treaſon by *Lælius Balbus*, was condemned. Afterwards *Albucilla*, who had been married to *Satrius Secundus*, and was infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accuſed of deviſing charms againſt the life of *Tiberius*. In the ſame charge were involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, *Cneius Domitius*, *Vibius Marſus*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, all three perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth and employments. But as the minutes tranſmitted to the ſenate imported, that *Macro* had preſided in the examination of the witneſſes, and torture of the ſlaves, and the minutes were not accompanied by any letter from *Tiberius* againſt the accuſed, the fathers ſuſpected, that while he was ill, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged, perhaps, without his privacy, by *Macro*, an irreconcileable enemy to *Arruntius*. However, that brave *Roman* choſe to die, and to his friends attempting to divert him from that reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that news of the em-

Tiberius is taken ill.

Lucius Arruntius *accuſed.*

His fine and affecting reaſoning.

(C) About the end of the preceding year, *Tiberius*, leaving his iſland, approached *Rome*, and having ſtaid ſome time at *Tuſculum*, he came within ſix miles of the city, and thence beheld his metropolis floating, as it were, in blood. On his return to *Campania*, he was taken ill at *Aſtura*. *Suetonius* tells us, that he removed from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, being frightened with a kind of prodigy; for being wont to feed with his own hand a dragon, in which he took great pleaſure, he found it one morning killed and half devoured by a ſwarm of ants. Hereupon, being warned by the ſoothſayers to avoid the multitude, he haſtened back to *Campania*. We find no accounts of this nature in *Tacitus*, who only tells us, that *Tiberius*, after much ſhifting of places, ſettled in the end at the promontory of *Miſenum* in a villa, which once belonged to *Lucullus*.

peror's death, which would deliver him from the preſent danger, was daily expected, he anſwered in the following manner: "The ſame meaſures are not alike honourable to all men: "I have lived long enough, and have not wherewithal to "reproach myſelf, ſave that I have ſubmitted to bear thus far "an old age expoſed to ſo many dangers, long hated as I was by "*Sejanus*; and am now by *Macro*, always obnoxious to ſome "reigning miniſter, through no fault of mine, but becauſe I am "irreconcileable to the wicked. 'Tis true, I may outlive, "and eſcape, the few and laſt days of *Tiberius*: but how "ſhall I eſcape the young prince, his heir? If *Tiberius*, at "ſuch an age, and after ſo long experience, has been in-"tirely changed by the ſpirit of an uncontrouled power, is it "to be hoped, that *Caligula*, who is yet ſcarce out of his "childhood, unexperienced in affairs, and brought up in the "worſt of principles, will purſue a better courſe, having "*Macro* for his guide? that *Macro*, who, being choſen to "oppreſs *Sejanus* as the more wicked of the two, has ſince "afflicted the republic with more miſchiefs and cruelties. "I foreſee a ſervitude yet more dreadful, and therefore will "fly both from the preſent and the impending calamities". Having uttered theſe words as if he had been inſpired by the gods, he opened his veins, and bled to death [h]. Such was the end of *Lucius Arruntius*, a man of a moſt illuſtrious deſcent, of great fortune, and extraordinary accompliſhments, for which he was accounted by *Auguſtus*, as we have obſerved in the beginning of this reign, equal to the ſovereignty. *Domitius*, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and *Marſus*, by ſeeming reſolved to end his life by abſtinence, outlived *Tiberius*, and eſcaped the preſent danger. As for *Albucilla*, ſhe attempted to lay violent hands on herſelf; but the blow proving ineffectual, ſhe was by order of the ſenate dragged to priſon, and there executed. Againſt the accomplices of her debaucheries, it was decreed, that *Graſidius Sacerdos*, formerly prætor, ſhould be baniſhed to an iſland; and that *Pontius Fregellanus* and *Lælius Balbus*, both ſenators, ſhould be degraded. About the ſame time, *Sextus Papinius*, of a conſular family, probably the ſon of *Sextus Papinius*, who was conſul the foregoing year, ended his life, by throwing himſelf headlong from a high place, to avoid the impure ſolicitations of his own mother, who was thereupon accuſed, but only baniſhed *Rome* for ten years, till her younger ſon had paſſed the dangers of youth [i].

His death.

[h] Idem, c. 48. [i] Idem, c. 49.

In

IN the mean time, *Tiberius*, having read in the journal of the ſenate, that ſome priſoners had been diſcharged, becauſe he had only writ that informations were lodged againſt them without mentioning witneſſes, tranſported with rage, reſolved to return at all adventures to *Capreæ*, and there, as in a place of ſafety, revenge the affront offered him; but the bad weather and his diſtemper kept him againſt his will at *Miſenum* [k]. However, he ſtill hoped to overcome his preſent indiſpoſition, depending upon the predictions of *Thraſyllus*, which he eſteemed as ſo many oracles (D), that famous aſtrologer having aſſured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himſelf, or with a deſign to deceive *Tiberius*, that he might not haſten the execution of thoſe who were

His indiſpoſition prevents his return to Capreæ.

[k] SUET. in Tib. c. 73.

(D) *Tiberius*, during his retirement at *Rhodes*, applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, under the direction of *Thraſyllus*, whoſe skill in that art he proved by the following trial. He led him to a houſe built on the top of a ſteep rock by the ſeaſide, and there minutely conſulted him about various events. *Thraſyllus* gave ſatisfactory anſwers to all his queſtions, aſſured him that he ſhould be ſoon raiſed to the empire, and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened as they had been predicted. *Tiberius*, ſtruck with amazement, asked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foreſee what was to befal him the ſame year, nay, that very day? The reader is to know, that the way to the abovementioned houſe lay croſs ſolitary rocks and dreadful precipices; and that *Tiberius*, if he ſuſpected the predictions of the aſtrologer, whoſe art he meant to try, to be vain, uſed on his return to caſt him headlong into the ſea. This had been the fate of ſeveral, who, unſkilled in the art they profeſſed, had attempted to impoſe upon him with falſe predictions. *Thraſyllus*, therefore, when the abovementioned queſtion was put to him, ſurveying the poſitions of the ſtars and calculating their aſpects, began at firſt to heſitate, then to tremble, and the more he meditated, the more he appeared diſmayed with wonder and dread; at laſt he cried out, that juſt then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At theſe words *Tiberius* embracing him, congratulated him upon his foreſight of dangers and his ſecurity from them; and thenceforth, eſteeming his predictions as ſo many oracles, held him in the rank of his moſt intimate friends (67). *Tiberius* himſelf is ſaid to have been ſkilled in aſtrology, but nevertheleſs died, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited (68), ten years ſooner than he expected; which diſcovers, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, the ſhort bounds between the art and the falſhood of the art.

(67) *Tacit. annal.* 6. *c.* 20. (68) *Dio. l.* lviii. *f.* 635.

in

in priſon. However that be, many were indebted to *Thraſyllus*'s prediction for their lives [l]. *Tiberius*, relying upon this, purſued his former courſe of life, without ſo much as relinquiſhing his ſhameful debaucheries, or mentioning his diſtemper to any phyſician. However, *Charicles*, an eminent man in that profeſſion, who always attended him, as if he were departing upon ſome private affair, under the appearance of kiſſing his hand as he went out of the room, touched his pulſe.

Endeavours to hide his diſtemper.

Tiberius, ſuſpecting the artifice, inſtantly ordered the entertainment to be ſerved up, perſuaded *Charicles* to ſit down again, and continued himſelf at table longer than uſual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewel to his friend, but in reality to feign health and hide his weakneſs. When the entertainment was over he did not forget his old cuſtom; but ſtanding in the middle of the room with an officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the gueſts in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. But for all this, *Charicles* aſſured *Macro*, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not laſt two days longer. Hence the whole court was filled with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were ſent to the generals and armies [m].

Tiberius had no ſurviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandſon, the ſon of *Druſus*, named *Tiberius Nero*, and ſurnamed *Gemellus*, or the *Twin*, becauſe born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, was his grandſon too, but only by adoption, he being the ſon of his nephew *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted by order of *Auguſtus*. Hence he was at a loſs to which of the two he ſhould bequeath the empire. The ſon of *Druſus* was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him, but too young to govern ſuch a mighty empire; being at this time but in the ſeventeenth year of his age. *Caius* was in the flower and vigour of youth, but greatly beloved by the people, which was a ſufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity the emperor thought even of *Claudius*, who was his nephew and brother to *Germanicus*; but the weakneſs of his underſtanding prevented the choice: for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To ſeek a ſucceſſor out of his own family was diſgracing, and in a manner inſulting, the name of the *Cæſars* and the memory of *Auguſtus*. For he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and ſecurity of the *Roman* ſtate. So

Is puzzled about ſettling the ſucceſſion.

[l] Dio. l. lviii. p. 638. [m] Tacit c. 50. Suet. in Tib. c. 72, 73. Dio l. lviii. p. 638.

that,

that, his mind ſtill wavering and his ſtrength decaying, he left to the deciſion of fate a deliberation, to which he was now unequal [n]. Thus *Tacitus*. But *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he bequeathed the empire to *Caius*, whom he knew to be naturally cruel, arrogant, and tyrannical, hoping that his vices would efface the memory of his own wickedneſs, and that he would complete the deſtruction of the *Roman* nobility, being often heard to ſay, that *Priam* was a happy prince, who had the pleaſure to outlive all his ſubjects, and ſee his kingdom with his whole race periſh with him; and that in *Caligula* he had brought up a ſerpent for the people of *Rome*, and a *Phaeton* for the reſt of the world [o]. But with *Dion Caſſius*'s leave, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that ſuch horrible thoughts ſhould have ever entered into the mind even of *Tiberius*; and if they had, we may boldly affirm, that he was not ſo impolitic as ever to have uttered them. *Suetonius* aſſures us, that two years before his death he made his will, of which there were two copies, one under his own hand, the other writen by one of his freedmen, but both to the ſame purpoſe, and witneſſed by perſons of no rank or diſtinction. By that will he left coheirs, *Caius* his grandſon by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius* by *Druſus*, both in equal portions, and ſubſtituting them ſucceſſively [p]. This, in the opinion of a modern critic of no mean character [q], did not ſo much regard the emperor's private eſtate, as the empire; for *Dion Caſſius* tells us in expreſs terms, that the prince left the empire by his laſt will to young *Tiberius* too, that he took care to make this his laſt diſpoſition well known, and even cauſed it to be read by *Macro* in the ſenate [r]. *Suetonius* likewiſe in his life of *Caligula* writes, that the ſenate and people unanimouſly declared *Caligula* ſole emperor, contrary to the expreſs will of *Tiberius*, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grandchildren, who was then under age, and ſtill in his *prætexta* [s]. *Philo* likewiſe the *Jew* aſſures us, that young *Tiberius* was left coheir of *Caius*, and his collegue in the ſovereignty; and adds, that *Tiberius*, if he had lived a little longer, would have cut off *Caius*, and left the empire to his grandſon without either a partner or a rival [t]. *Agrippa*, who was afterwards king of *Judæa*, being come to viſit on *Tiberius*, while he ſtill reſided in his iſland, the emperor recommended to him his grandſon *Tiberius*, and

Various opinions of writers about his laſt will.

According to ſome Caius and young Tiberius left partners in the empire.

[n] TACIT. c. 46. [o] DIO. ibid. p. 636. [p] SUET. ibid. c. 66. [q] CASAUBON. p. 433. [r] DIO. l. lix. p. 640. [s] SUET. in Calig. c. 14. [t] PHIL. legat. p. 1002, 1004.

highly

highly reſented his paying more court to *Caius* than to him; nay, he cauſed him ſix months after to be dragged to priſon, though he had received him on his arrival with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and affection, becauſe, in a private converſation with *Caius*, he had wiſhed young *Tiberius* might ſoon die, and ſurrender the empire to him [u]. *Caius*, therefore, doubting of the inclination of *Tiberius*, left no ſtone unturned to ſecure the empire by other means. He even debaſed himſelf ſo far as to court the favour of *Ennia Næ-via*, the wife of *Macro*, with the promiſe of marriage, as ſoon as he attained the ſovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his intereſt her huſband, whoſe credit with the emperor was known to be great [w]. *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* tell us, that after the death of *Claudia*, who had been eſpouſed to *Caligula*, *Macro* himſelf, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to ſacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to ſecure the young prince by a promiſe of marriage [x]. But *Philo* ſays, that *Macro* was altogether a ſtranger to the infamy of his wife, and ſuſpected nothing diſhonourable in the affection ſhe ſhewed for *Caius*. The ſame writer adds, that *Tiberius*, whom no prince ever ſurpaſſed in ſagacity and penetration, looking upon *Caius* as incapable of the government of ſuch a vaſt empire, and at the ſame time ſuſpecting him an enemy in his heart to the whole race of the *Claudii*, that is, to all his relations on the father's ſide, and conſequently to young *Tiberius*, would have cut him off, inſtead of naming him for his ſucceſſor, had not *Macro* diverted him from this deſign, by excuſing the faults of the young prince, by aſcribing to modeſty his ſeeming want of parts, and aſſuring the emperor, that he had a great reſpect and affection for his grandſon *Tiberius* [y]. *Macro*'s partiality for *Caius* was not unknown to *Tiberius*, who upbraided his miniſter with it, telling him, that he *neglected the ſetting ſun, and courted the riſing*. On ſeveral other occaſions he dropt certain words, which plainly ſhewed, that he foreſaw what would happen after his death (E). As one day *Caius* ridiculed

Caius *ſaved by* Macro.

[u] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [w] Suet. in Calig. c. 12. [x] Tacit. c. 45. Dio. l. lviii. p. 639. [y] Philo. legat. c. 4. p. 997, 998.

(E) *Joſephus* writes, that *Tiberius*, deſirous to know by ſome prognoſtic to which of his grandchildren the gods reſerved the empire, told *Evodus*, one of his freedmen, that he had a mind to ſee *Caius* and young *Tiberius* early next morning. As he was perſuaded,

ed *Sylla* upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe, *Tiberius* told him, that he would have all the vices of *Sylla*, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate ariſing between the two young princes, the emperor embraced with many tears his little grandſon; and, addreſſing himſelf to *Caius*, who, at this demonſtration of kindneſs, betrayed great ſternneſs in his countenance, *Thou*, ſaid he, *wilt one day murder him, and another will murder thee*[z]. This he foretold, not from ſkill in aſtrology, as *Dion* imagines [a], but from his ſagacity, and thorough knowledge of mankind.

His death foretold by Tiberius.

IN the mean time the emperor's ſtrength failing him daily more and more, on the ſixteenth of *March* ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have finiſhed his courſe. Hereupon *Caius*, quitting in haſte the palace to take poſſeſſion of the empire, ſhewed himſelf abroad in the midſt of a great throng of perſons, of all ranks, paying him their congratulations upon his acceſſion to the throne. But, in the height of his joy, ſudden notice was brought him, that *Tiberius* had

Is too haſty to take poſſeſſion of the empire.

[z] TACIT. c. 46. DIO. l. lviii. p. 636. [a] DIO p. 636.

ſuaded, no doubt from his ſkill in aſtrology, that he, who came firſt, ſhould ſucceed him, he charged *Tiberius*'s governor to bring his grandſon to him next morning by break of day, ordering at the ſame time *Evodus* to introduce to him immediately the young prince, who ſhould arrive firſt. Accordingly as ſoon as day appeared, the freedman, purſuant to his orders, went to wait at the door of the emperor's chamber the arrival of the princes, not doubting but *Tiberius*, upon the warning he had had, would get the ſtart of *Caius*. But it happened quite otherwiſe; *Caius* was already there, and immediately introduced by *Evodus* to the emperor, who, in ſeeing him, burſt into tears, but ſoon reſtrained them, to acquaint *Caius* that the gods reſerved the empire for him, and to recommend to him his grandſon, whom they debarred from that power and authority which was due to him by right of ſucceſſion. *Caius* made many fine promiſes, though he meant nothing leſs than to perform them; and the emperor, having named him for his ſucceſſor, died a few days after (69). According to this account, which, in our opinion, ſavours of the fable, *Tiberius* left the empire to *Caius* alone; according to *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius*, to *Caius* and *Tiberius* jointly; and according to *Tacitus*, to neither, but to the deciſion of fate, that is, to the perſon for whom fate or deſtiny reſerved it. The authority of *Tacitus* is of great weight with us, eſpecially in what he relates here, ſince all authors agree in deſcribing *Tiberius* as a fataliſt, or one who was perſuaded that all things were governed by fate.

(69) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 8.

recovered his ſight and voice, and had called for ſome refreſhment, to ſtrengthen his fainting ſpirits This unexpected news ſtruck all with dread and horror; the croud about *Caligula* diſperſed in a trice, every one reſuming falſe ſorrow, or pretending ignorance, and the young prince himſelf, trembling, ſpeechleſs, and not able to ſtir from his place, expected there immediate death inſtead of the empire. *Macro* alone continued undiſturbed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, cauſed the weak old man to be ſmothered with a weight of coverings, under colour of keeping him warm[b]. *Seneca*, as quoted by *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Tiberius*, finding his end approached, pulled off his ring, and held it a conſiderable time in his hand, as if he deſigned to give it to ſome body; that he put it upon his finger again, and that, after having continued a long time motionleſs with his left hand ſhut cloſe, all of a ſudden he called one of his attendants, and no one anſwering, he roſe up; but his ſtrength failing him, he fell down by the bed-ſide, and died[c]. Others write, that *Caius* not only gave him a ſlow-working poiſon, which conſumed him by degrees, but that having commanded his ring to be taken off of his finger, and obſerving *Tiberius* to make ſome reſiſtance, he immediately ſmothered him with a pillow; they add, that this action ſeemed ſo cruel to one of his freedmen, that he could not forbear crying out; which ſo provoked *Caius*, that he cauſed him to be immediately apprehended and crucified. This does not at all ſeem incredible, ſays *Suetonius*, ſince there are authors, who affirm, that he bragged of having attempted to diſpatch the old emperor on another occaſion, publicly owning that, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he went with a dagger in his hand into *Tiberius*'s chamber while he was aſleep; but, being touched with compaſſion, he threw away the weapon, and retired; that *Tiberius* ſaw him, but thought it adviſeable to take no notice of what he had obſerved. This circumſtance inclines us to believe the whole account fabulous, and invented either by *Caius* himſelf, or by thoſe who relate it. He did not indeed want cruelty for ſuch an attempt, but courage and reſolution, if we may depend upon the character which *Tacitus*, and moſt writers, give him. *Tiberius* died, according to *Tacitus*[d] and *Suetonius*[e], on the ſixteenth, according to *Dion Caſſius*[f], on the twenty ſixth of *March*; ſo that he reigned, from the death of *Auguſtus*, twenty-two years, ſix months,

The death of Tiberius. Year of the flood, 3036. Of Chriſt, 37. Of Rome, 785.

[b] Tacit. c 50. Dio. l. lviii. p. 639. [c] Suet. ibid. c. 73. [d] Tacit. c. 50. [e] Suet. c. 73. Dio. l. lviii. p. 639.

and

and twenty ſix days, or ten days more, as *Dion* will have it. He was at his death in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at moſt nineteen, days before [g]. Though he had the preceding year highly obliged the city by a generous bounty on occaſion of a fire, yet the news of his death was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, the populace running up and down the ſtreets in great crouds, and crying, *Throw the tyrant into the* Tiber, or beſeeching their mother *earth*, and the infernal gods, to vouchſafe him no place but among the impious: ſome threatened to drag his vile carcaſe to the *Gemoniæ*, and there expoſe it to the rage and fury of the multitude, provoked not only by his paſt cruelties, but by a new piece of inhumanity, even after his death. For whereas, by the decree we have ſpoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatſoever ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, that term happening to expire with reſpect to ſeveral perſons on the ſame day the news of *Tiberius*'s death reached *Rome*, they earneſtly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting but *Caius* would grant them their lives and liberty. But as he was abſent, and no one elſe at *Rome*, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addreſſed, the keepers of the priſon ſtrangled them of their own accord, and expoſed their bodies to public view; which cruel action increaſed the hatred of the people againſt *Tiberius*, as if his cruelty had outlived him [h]. Several others, however, were ſaved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his ſucceſſor, who ſet them at liberty [i]. The body of the deceaſed emperor was by the ſoldiers, without doubt of the prætorian guards, carried from *Miſenum* to *Rome*, where it was burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, *Caius*, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he ſpoke little of *Tiberius*, but greatly extolled *Auguſtus* and *Germanicus*, without forgetting himſelf. He had written to the ſenate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his acceſſion to the empire, and requiring them at the ſame time to decree thoſe honours to *Tiberius*, which they had formerly beſtowed on *Auguſtus*. But the ſenate, not yet acquainted with the humour of the new emperor, poſtponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he had written; but cauſing the body to be brought into the city in the night-time, expoſed it the next

The joy of the Roman *people at the news of his death.*

His body conveyed to Rome, *and there burnt.*

[g] TACIT. c. 51. DIO. ibid. p. 630. DIO. l. lviii. p. 633.

[h] SUET. ibid. c. 75.

day, and then ordered it to be burnt without any extraordinary pomp or honours [k]. As for his character, every reader may draw it to himſelf, after the detail we have given of the moſt remarkable actions of his life. However, to what we have already ſaid, we ſhall ſubjoin the words with which *Tacitus* cloſes the hiſtory of his reign. *Tiberius*, ſays he, was deſervedly eſteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under *Auguſtus*: with great cunning and addreſs he feigned virtue, while *Germanicus* and *Druſus* lived: he bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother: he did not diſguiſe his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdneſs, while he loved and feared *Sejanus*: at laſt he abandoned himſelf at once to all wickedneſs, being no longer reſtrained either by ſhame or fear, but following the bent of his own diſpoſition and nature [l] (F). Many eminent

His character from Tacitus.

[k] Idem, l. lix. p. 642. [l] Tacit. c. 51.

(F) We ſhall ſubjoin here ſome obſervations on *Tiberius*, which we have found in the antients; but for brevity's ſake avoided inſerting in our text. He was, as *Suetonius* informs us, a great lover of the liberal arts; he was an eloquent and ready ſpeaker, and in his writings imitated *Meſſala Corvinus*, a famous orator; but his too great niceneſs, or rather affectation, rendered his ſtyle perplexed and obſcure; whence he was eſteemed a better ſpeaker without, than upon, premeditation and ſtudy. He wrote a lyric poem, intitled, *A complaint on the death of* Lucius Cæſar, which was greatly eſteemed; and ſeveral *Greek* pieces, in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus* and *Parthenius*, poets whom he admired above the reſt, and whoſe ſtatues he cauſed to be dedicated in the public libraries amongſt thoſe of the moſt celebrated writers. He took great delight in the fables of the poets, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, and uſed to puzzle the grammarians with the following and ſuch-like queſtions; Who was *Hecuba*'s mother? What was the name of *Achilles* amongſt the maids at the court of *Lycomedes*? What ſongs the *Syrens* were ſaid to ſing, &c. The *Greek* tongue he ſpoke with great readineſs and eaſe, but uſed it very ſeldom. In his ſpeeches to the ſenate he took care to avoid *Greek* words; inſomuch, that the *Latin* tongue ſupplying him with no word to expreſs *monopoly*, he begged leave to uſe a foreign one. Having read in a decree of the ſenate the word *emblema*, he deſired the ſenators to alter it, and either put a *Latin* word in its room, or expreſs the meaning of it by circumlocution (70). He betrayed even from his infancy manifeſt tokens of a cruel, ſavage, and untractable temper; whence *Theodorus Gadareus*, who taught him the

(70) *Suet. ibid. c.* 70.

firſt

eminent writers flouriſhed in his reign, of whom we ſhall give a ſuccinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, in our notes (G), to which we refer our readers.

firſt rudiments of learning, uſed to call him, *A maſs of clay tempered with blood* (71). Moſt of the antients, who ſpeak of him, obſerve, that though he could brook no oppoſition, yet he abhorred flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves, and was even aſhamed of the mean and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſions of the ſenate. He never forgave free ſpeakers, never could endure men of a bold ſpirit, whom firſt or laſt he purſued to deſtruction; but at the ſame time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be ſo; whence it was dangerous, ſays *Tacitus*, to practiſe no flattery, and dangerous to practiſe too much, *adulatione, quæ perinde anceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt:* and elſewhere, *libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, well ſupported the dignity of a ſenator, diſcharged with credit the firſt offices of ſtate, and in all likelihood died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation. But being, unhappily for himſelf and his country, inveſted with an uncontrouled power, he let looſe all his paſſions; ſo that he, who might have proved an excellent and uſeful member of a free ſtate, became a prince altogether mercileſs, nay a deſtructive and inſupportable tyrant. What is not to be apprehended from power without controul! and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch great parts, and ſo long experience, as *Tiberius*, was ſo intirely maſtered and intoxicated with it?

(G) Theſe were, *Velleius Paterculus*, of whoſe hiſtory the far greater part is loſt; what ſtill remains of it comprehends the antient hiſtory of the *Greeks* and that of the *Romans*, from the defeat of *Perſes* to the ſeventeenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign. He is thought to have written with candour and impartiality till the times of the *Cæſars*, in whoſe favour he miſerably perverts truth, or utterly ſuppreſſes it. What he writes of *Tiberius* ought rather to be ſtyled a fulſom panegyric, than a hiſtory. *Semper magnæ fortunæ comes eſt adulatio*, ſays he; *Flattery is a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs:* and indeed he is himſelf a remarkable inſtance of the truth of this ſaying, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader in the peruſal of the account he has left us of *Tiberius*'s reign. He accuſes *Germanicus* of cowardice, while he repreſents others as conſummate heroes, who were no-ways to compare with that brave prince, either in courage or conduct. His chief hero, after *Tiberius*, was the favourite miniſter *Sejanus*, on whom he beſtows the higheſt encomiums, not foreſeeing the doom that hung over his head, and

(71) *Idem*, c. 57.

from

ſoon after overtook him. Some writers think, that *Velleius* himſelf fell with *Sejanus*, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he ſo undeſervedly commended. He put the laſt hand to his work in the conſulſhip of *M. Vinicius*, to whom he inſcribed it; that is in the ſeventeenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, as he himſelf informs us (72), and twenty-ſeven after he had been adopted by *Auguſtus*. He was of an equeſtrian family, come originally from *Campania*, and deſcended by the mother from the celebrated *Decius Magius*, who, being condemned by the ſenate of *Capua* to be delivered up to *Hannibal*, for his ſteady adherence to the *Roman* intereſt, was ſent away for *Carthage*, but driven by a ſtorm to the dominions of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who took him under his protection. His paternal grandfather was likewiſe a native f *Campania*, but raiſed to great preferments, firſt by *Pompey the Great*, and afterwards by *Brutus*, under whom he ſerved. He himſelf ſerved nine years under *Tiberius*, firſt as military tribune in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horſe in *Germany*. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quæſtorſhip, the prætorſhip, and, as ſome writers conjecture, with the conſulate; which is not improbable, ſince he was in great favour both with *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* (73).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and ſayings of the antients, wrote about the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign, after the fall of *Sejanus*, as is manifeſt from his own words, and from thoſe of the antients, who quote him. His ſtyle, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is ſuppoſed to have lived in, has prompted ſome to imagine, that his writings are of a much later date. Theſe take it for granted, that all thoſe who wrote in the golden age, wrote well, which others deny. *Voſſius* takes the work, which paſſes under the name of *Valerius Maximus*, to be only an abridgment of what he wrote, done by one *Julius Paris*. In what age the ſuppoſed author of this epitome lived, we are no-where told; but to him is generally aſcribed the treatiſe of *Roman* names, which is ſubjoined to the nine books of *Valerius Maximus* (74).

Strabo, whoſe ſeventeen books of geography are ſo much and ſo deſervedly admired by the learned, obſerves in his ſixteenth book, that the kingdom of *Comagene* had been but very lately reduced to a *Roman* province. This happened, according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers, the eighteenth year of the chriſtian æra, and the fifth of *Tiberius*'s reign; ſo that we reaſonably ſuppoſe *Strabo*, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of *Tiberius*. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionyſius the geographer, who wrote a deſcription of the earth in *Greek* verſe, died, according to *Voſſius*, in the reign of *Tiberius*.

(72) *Vell Paterc. l. ii. c.* 126. (73) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c.* 24. (74) *Idem, ibid. c.* 24.

For

For that writer takes this to be the *Dionyſius* who was ſent into the eaſt by *Auguſtus*, as we read in *Pliny* (75), to ſurvey thoſe countries, and make an exact deſcription of them for the uſe of *Caius Caſar*, who was to be ſent thither. The *Dionyſius* whom *Auguſtus* employed, was a native of *Corax*, called alſo *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and ſituated between the *Tigris* and *Eulæus*. He was the laſt, ſays *Pliny*, who wrote a deſcription of the whole earth. *Scaliger* will not allow the deſcription of the earth, which has reached us, to be the work of that *Dionyſius*, but of another, who flouriſhed under the emperor *Severus*. *Salmaſius*, on the other hand, aſcribes it to one of the ſame name, who wrote in the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and in his notes on the *Auguſtean* hiſtorians (76), promiſes to ſupport this opinion with unanſwerable arguments in a new edition, which he then deſigned, of *Dionyſius*. This promiſe he made in 1620. But in his notes upon *Solinus*, publiſhed in 1629, ſpeaking occaſionally of *Dionyſius* the geographer, he ſays, that he lived under the emperor *Severus*, without taking the leaſt notice of his invincible arguments, or ſo much as deigning to acquaint us with the reaſons which prompted him to change his opinion (77). He ſpeaks of him in another place (78): but there endeavours only to prove, that he did not flouriſh in the reign of *Auguſtus*. *Suidas* mentions three geographers, all bearing the name of *Dionyſius*; one a native of *Corinth*, another of *Miletus*, and the third either of *Rhodes* or *Samos* (79). In ſuch variety of opinions, we will not take upon us to aſcertain the time, in which flouriſhed the author of the deſcription of the earth that has reached us: all we can ſay is, that *Euſtathius*, *Voſſius*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* were certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to have lived in the time of *Auguſtus*, ſince he mentions ſome events, as *Salmaſius* rightly obſerves (80), which happened in the reign of *Domitian*.

Phædrus, who tranſlated into *Latin* verſe the fables of *Æſop*, was, according to *Voſſius* (81), a native of *Thrace*, and one of *Auguſtus*'s freedmen, and died in the reign of *Tiberius*.

Thraſyllus the aſtrologer, of whom we have ſpoken above, was well verſed in ſeveral other ſciences, eſpecially in *Plato*'s philoſophy. *Jonſſius* takes him to be the author of a work, quoted by ſome of the antients, on *the genealogy of* Plato (82). To him are likewiſe aſcribed ſome books of phyſic quoted by *Pliny*. The emperor *Julian* aſſures us, that *Thraſyllus* acquired more fame by the books he left behind him, than by his mighty credit with *Tiberius* (83). *Jonſſius* tells us, that he was put to death by *Tiberius* in the ſixteenth year of the chriſtian æra, that is in the ſecond year of *Tiberius*'s reign (84). But it is manifeſt from *Dion Caſſius*, that

(75) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27.* (76) *Spart. p. 138.* (77) *Salmaſ. in Solin p 628.* (78) *Ibid p. 411.* (79) *Suid. p 747.* (80) *Salmaſ ubi ſupra.* (81) *Voſſ poet. Latin. c. 2.* (82) *Joann Jonſſ. de ſcriptor hiſtoriæ philoſophicæ, l xviii. Genevæ, anno* 1634. (83) *Julian. Auguſt. ad Themiſt.*

Thraſyllu,

Thraſyllus died by the courſe of nature in the thirty-ſixth year of the chriſtian æra, that is, a year before *Tiberius* (85).

L. Feneſtella, the poet and hiſtorian, died towards the latter end of *Tiberius*'s reign. He ſeems to have been greatly eſteemed by the antients (86); but ſome are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatiſe of the *Roman* magiſtrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally aſcribed to *Andrea Domenico Flocco*, a native of *Florence*.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian and preceptor to *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, died in the reign of *Tiberius*, extremely old (87). He wrote, according to *Aulus Gellius* (88), ſeveral books of *memorable things*, and a book of the ſignification of words, which that writer ſometimes quotes (89). We have ſtill ſome fragments of ſeveral of his works, quoted ſometimes by *Macrobius*, and frequently by *Pliny*. He wrote a book of *Faſti*, and a catalogue of all the *Roman* conſuls to his time, which was engraved on marble, and ſet up in the forum of *Præneſte* (90). Moſt writers take the fragments of the *Faſti*, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the capitol at *Rome* to be the ſame that were ſet up at *Præneſte*; but they can alledge nothing in proof of their opinion, except mere conjectures, ſince others, as well as *Verrius*, might have undertaken a work of the ſame nature. The *Faſti Capitolini*, beſides the names of the conſuls, mark the triumphs, ſeveral incidents relating to hiſtory, and alſo the years of *Rome*; but are always a year behind *Varro*, whom moſt authors follow. To theſe we might add many other writers, who flouriſhed under *Tiberius*, according to *Voſſius* and *Juſtus*; but as their works are long ſince loſt, we ſhall not detain our readers with a detail, from which they can reap no profit.

As the reverend fathers, *Catrou* and *Rouillè*, have not yet carried their *Roman* hiſtory beyond this period, the death of *Tiberius*, we think ourſelves bound both in juſtice and gratitude to acknowledge in this place the aſſiſtance we have received from their labours. The copious materials, which they have collected with incredible pains from almoſt innumerable authors, have been, we muſt own, a great help to us, though we have never made uſe of them without conſulting the originals, a caution, we are ſorry to ſay it, which we have found too often neceſſary. But of their moſt material and remarkable miſtakes notice has been occaſionally taken in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory; and in this place we are only to return them thanks, which we do accordingly, for the aſſiſtance they have lent us. We might juſtly be taxed with ingratitude, if we did not at the ſame time diſcharge another obligation, and own ourſelves greatly indebted to a writer of our own

(84) *Tacit. ibid. l.* iii. *c.* 3. (85) *Dio. l.* lviii. *p* 638. (86) *Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 11. *Hier. in Chron.* (87) *Suet. gramm. c.* 17. (88) *Aul. Gell. l.* iv. *c.* 5. (89) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 17, 18. & *l.* xvi. *c.* 14. (90) *Suet. ibid.*

nation;

nation; we mean the ingenious Mr. *Hooke*, whoſe excellent performance has proved more ſerviceable to us, than the numerous volumes of the *Jeſuits*. As we are obliged both by the nature of our undertaking and our engagement with the public, to have immediate recourſe to the antient writers, it is our conſtant cuſtom to compare with them ſuch of the moderns of any repute as have handled the ſame ſubjects with us. Upon this collation, we muſt do Mr. *Hooke* the juſtice to own, that he has with a ſcrupulous exactneſs adhered all along to his authors; which is more than we can ſay of the *Jeſuits*, of monſieur *Vertot*, or monſieur *Rollin*, who, like moſt writers of their nation, ſeem to take delight in embelliſhing their narrations with circumſtances unknown to the antients, which, in other words, is adulterating truth with romance, and paſſing fables upon the readers for hiſtory; ſince there are but few who have either the leiſure or convenience of undeceiving themſelves by recurring to the originals. Thus much we have thought ourſelves obliged to ſay, in commendation of a writer, who deſerves ſo well of the public, and of us in particular, tho' the favourable reception, which his undertaking has already met with, may ſeem to have rendered our teſtimony in ſome degree uſeleſs.

A N

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The end of the thirteenth Volume.

AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

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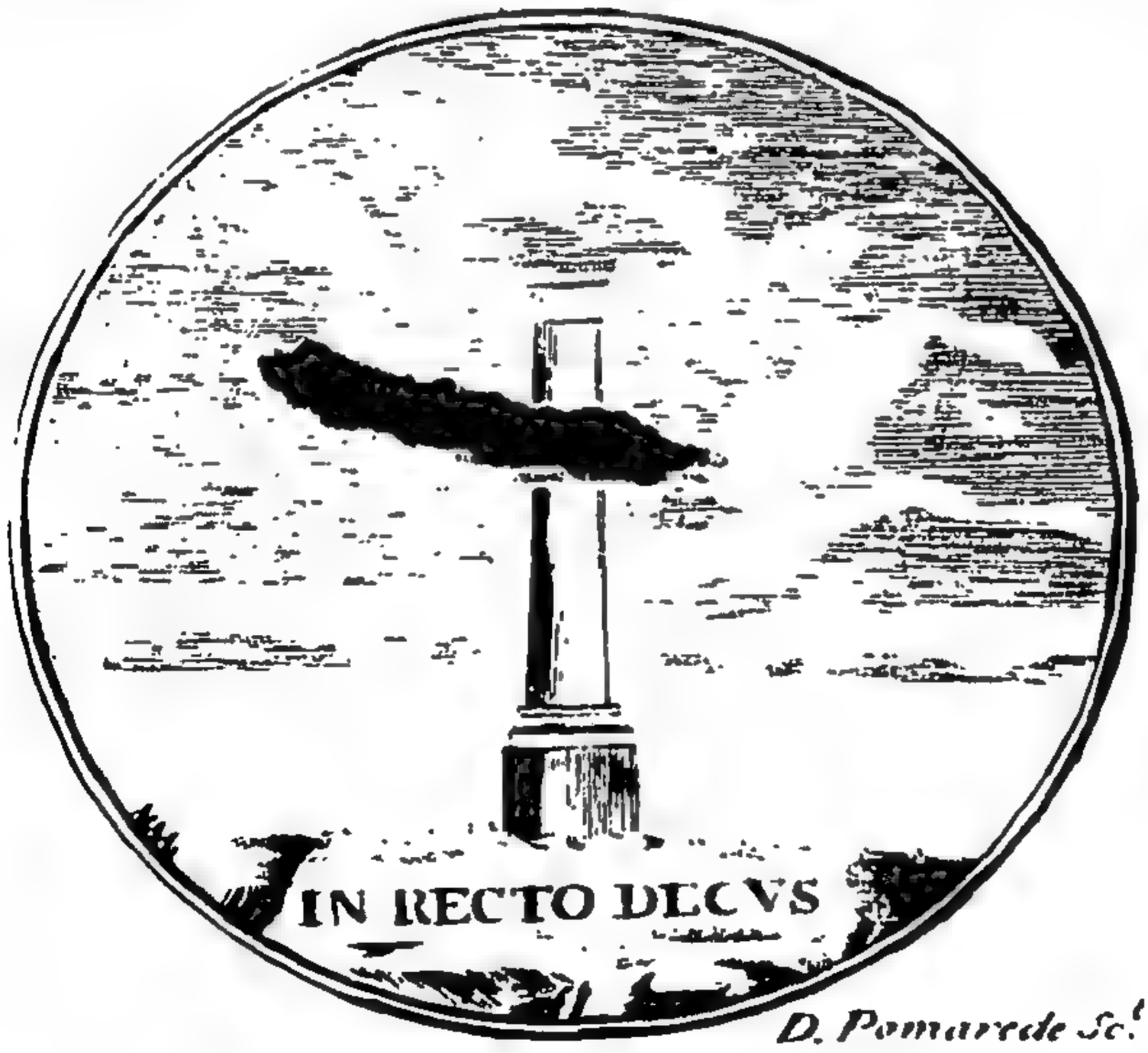
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VOL. XIV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by JAMES ESDALL, for the EDITORS.
M,DCC,XLVI.

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AS *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula* (H), was greatly beloved both by the ſenate and people, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*, and the injuries done to him and his family, news was no ſooner brought that he was advancing from *Miſenum* with the corpſe of the deceaſed emperor, than perſons of all ranks and ages

Caius Caligula Cæſar *declared emperor with full power.*

(H) *Caius*, ſays *Tacitus*, was born in the camp, nurſed in the arms of the legions, and by them named *Caligula*, a military name, from the boots, which, of the ſame faſhion with their own, in compliment to them and to win their affections, he frequently wore (1). The ſurname of *Caligula*, ſays *Suetonius* (2), was given him in the camp by the legions, becauſe he was brought up amongſt them in the habit of a common ſoldier; in virtue of which education he was to ſuch a degree beloved by them, that upon a mutiny after the death of *Auguſtus*, his preſence appeaſed them, when in the height of their fury. Thus *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* agree as to the origin of the ſurname of *Caligula*; but they differ as to the place of his birth. *Caius Cæſar*, ſays *Suetonius* (3), was born the laſt day of *Auguſt*, his father and C *Fonteius Capito* being conſuls, that is, the twelfth year of the common chriſtian æra. As to the place of his birth, continues the ſame writer, the diverſity of reports hath rendered it uncertain: *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* writes, that he was born at *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*; *Pliny* in the country of the *Treviri* in a town

(1) *Tacit. annal. l.* i. *c.* 41. (2) *Suet. c.* 9. (3) *Idem, c.* 8.

ages crouded out to meet him. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour and all poſſible demonſtrations of real affection. The ſenate immediately aſſembled,

called *Ambitarinum*, at the confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*; and, to confirm his opinion, he adds, that there are ſtill altars to be ſeen there with this inſcription; Ob Agrippinæ Puerperium, *for the delivery of* Agrippina: the following verſes likewiſe enforce the common opinion, that he was born in the place where the legions were at that time in their winter-quarters:

In caſtris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam deſignati principis omen erat.

But I find amongſt the public records, that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* refutes *Getulicus* as one who did not ſcruple to depart from truth, that he might flatter a young and ambitious prince by aſſigning him for his birth-place, a town which was conſecrated to *Hercules*. This he could do the more boldly, as *Agrippina* had been delivered of a ſon at *Tibur* but a year before, whoſe name was likewiſe *Caius Cæſar*. As for *Pliny*, he is ſufficiently confuted by the computation of times: for thoſe who have written the hiſtory of *Auguſtus* aſſure us, that *Caius* was born before his father *Germanicus* was ſent into *Gaul*, after his conſulſhip was expired. Neither is the inſcription upon the altars of any weight, ſeeing *Agrippina* was delivered of two daughters in that country; and the word *Puerperium* may be underſtood of either ſex. Beſides, in former times, girls were called *Pueræ*, and boys *Puelli*. There is alſo ſtill extant an epiſtle from *Auguſtus* to his grand-daughter *Agrippina*, written not many months before his death, concerning this *Caius*, for there was no other child then of this name, in theſe words: *Yeſterday I ordered* Talarius *and* Aſellus *to bring little* Caius *hither, if it pleaſe the gods, on the ſeventeenth of* May. *I ſend with him one of my phyſicians, whom, as I have written to* Germanicus, *he may keep with him, if he thinks good. Farewel, my dear* Agrippina; *take care of your health, that you may be well when you meet your huſband.* From this letter it is evident, that *Caius* was at this time in *Italy*; and he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was near two years old. This evidence confutes alſo the verſes, the more becauſe the author was never known. It therefore remains, that we acquieſce in the teſtimony of the public records; the rather becauſe *Caius* preferred *Antium* to all other places, nay, being weary of *Rome*, he is ſaid to have reſolved to remove his imperial ſeat thither. Thus far *Suetonius* (4), whoſe arguments, in the opinion of *Lipſius*, carry no great weight with them. Were *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ignorant of what was contained in the public acts? Can we ſuppoſe, that ſuch an accurate writer as *Tacitus* would have poſitively affirmed, without conſulting the public records, that *Caius* was born in the camp? *Germanicus*, as it is

(4) *Idem*, *c.* 8.

agreed

bled, and, the people thronging into the hall with the ſenators, he was by univerſal conſent declared emperor with full power, contrary to the expreſs will of *Tiberius*, who had left him co-heir with his grandſon *Tiberius*, then under age and in his prætexta. The joy for his acceſſion to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but reached the moſt diſtant provinces; inſomuch, that in the ſpace of three months a hundred and ſixty thouſand victims were ſlain on that occaſion within the limits of the empire[a]. He had no ſooner paid his laſt duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he haſtened into the iſlands of *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, where he gathered with great reverence the bones and aſhes of his mother and brother *Nero*, brought them to *Rome*, and cauſed them to be depoſited with extraordinary pomp in the mauſoleum of *Auguſtus*[b]. The inſcriptions which he placed over

Honours the memory of his mother and brothers.

[a] DIO. l. lix. p. 640—644. SUET. in Calig. c. 14. [b] DIO. p. 642. SUET. c. 14.

agreed on all hands, was ſent into *Germany* immediately after the ſlaughter of *Varus* and his legions, and continued there till his conſulſhip, when he left *Germany* and returned to *Rome*; but we are no-where told, that his wife *Agrippina* accompanied him in that journey. She was perhaps then big with *Caius*, remained on that account in *Germany*, and was there delivered of him during her huſband's conſulſhip. There appears at leaſt in this no incongruity, no improbability. As to the public regiſters, perhaps another ſon, bearing the ſame name, was born to them at *Antium*; for they had in all nine children, of whom three died infants. The ſurname of *Caligula*, which was given to this *Caius* by the legions ſome time after his birth, was not, we imagine, added to his name in the regiſters: *Suetonius* therefore might have miſtaken another *Caius* for this. But he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was two years old. Why not? Might not *Agrippina* have been delivered of *Caius* in *Germany*, then come to *Rome*, and afterwards return to *Germany*? We are ſurpriſed that *Suetonius* ſhould lay any ſtreſs on ſo weak an argument. *Caius*, 'tis true, preferred *Antium* to all other places, as *Tiberius* did *Capreæ*, and *Auguſtus Tibur* and *Lanuvium*; but no one ever pretended to infer from thence, that they were born in either of theſe places. Whoever was the author of the above-mentioned verſes, they were publiſhed upon *Caius*'s acceſſion to the empire; and we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that the place of his nativity was not then known at leaſt to every *Roman*. Upon the whole, we cannot help preferring to the authority of *Suetonius* that of *Tacitus*, ſupported by the teſtimonies of *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, and *Sextus Victor* (5).

(5) *Vide Lip. in excur. in lib.* i. *annal.*

them are ſtill to be ſeen[c]; and from the medals of *Agrippina*, which have reached us[d], it appears, that he diſtinguiſhed her with the title of *Auguſta*. All the decrees of the ſenate enacted againſt them, and againſt *Druſus*, who died at *Rome*, were annulled[e]; nay, a ſtately villa, on the ſea-ſide, where *Agrippina* had for ſome time been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes[f]. Public ſacrifices were at his motion appointed by the ſenate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory; ſolemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were inſtituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongſt thoſe of the gods; and the month of *September* was by a decree of the ſenate to be thenceforth called by the name of his father *Germanicus*. Having thus ſignaliſed his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother *Antonia* with the name of *Auguſta*, appointed her prieſteſs of *Auguſtus*, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the veſtals, and all the marks of diſtinction which had ever been conferred upon *Livia*, either by *Auguſtus* or *Tiberius*[g]. The privileges of the veſtals he likewiſe granted to his ſiſters, *Agrippina*, *Druſilla*, and *Livilla* or *Julia* (I), and ordained that their names ſhould be added to his in all ſolemn oaths, with this clauſe; *Neither am I dearer to myſelf, nor are my children dearer to me, than* Caius Cæſar *and his ſiſters*; and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed; *May it prove fortunate and happy to* Caius Cæſar *and his ſiſters*[h]. All the papers, regiſters, and records, which *Tiberius* had left relating to the proceedings againſt his mother and brothers, he cauſed to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames in his preſence, after having ſolemnly called the gods to witneſs, that he had never read, nor even opened, them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehenſions in thoſe who had been the occaſion of the misfortunes which befel them[i]. However, as they were all afterwards to a man cut off under

His love to his grandmother and ſiſters.

[c] Grutter. p. 237. [d] Spanh. l. vii. p. 612. [e] Dio. ibid. [f] Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 21. [g] Dio. p. 641; 646. Suet. c. 15. [h] Suet. c. 15. Dio. ibid. [i] Idem, ibid.

(I) *Caius* had, according to *Suetonius*, but three ſiſters, *Agrippina*, *Druſilla*, and *Livilla*; ſo that *Livilla* and *Julia* muſt be one and the ſame perſon. *Julia* was the youngeſt of *Germanicus*'s daughters, born in the ſeventeenth year of the chriſtian æra, and in the thirty-third married to *Marcus Vinicius* (6).

(6) *Tacit. annal. l.* ii. *c.* 54. *& l.* vi. *c.* 15.

the

the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preſerved the originals [k]. The very day he made his entry into *Rome*, he was for ſetting at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandſon of king *Herod*, whom *Tiberius* had confined ſix months before. But his grandmother *Antonia*, though a great friend to *Agrippa*, adviſed him to ſuſpend for ſome time the effects of his good-nature, leſt he ſhould ſeem to inſult the memory of his grandfather [l]. However, he was releaſed a few days after, as were likewiſe all the other ſtate priſoners, and among the reſt *L. Pomponius Secundus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, after ſeven years cloſe confinement. Such as had been baniſhed by *Tiberius* were all recalled home, which occaſioned an univerſal joy in the city. But nothing gave greater ſatisfaction both to the nobility and people, than his ſolemnly declaring, that he would not ſuffer any one to be accuſed of treaſon, ſince under the appearance of that crime ſo many illuſtrious citizens, ſo many ancient and noble families, had been involved in endleſs calamities. Of this his reſolution he gave ſoon after a remarkable inſtance; for a note being offered him tending to the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt his life, he rejected it, ſaying, *I am not conſcious to myſelf of any action that can deſerve the hatred of any man, and therefore have no ears for informers* [m]. Though the will of *Tiberius* had been declared null by the ſenate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceaſed emperor's grandſon; the ſame regard he paid to the teſtament of *Livia*, which had been ſuppreſſed by *Tiberius*, cauſing their legacies to be diſcharged forthwith, and adding to them large ſums of his own to be divided among the *Roman* people and the ſoldiery [a]. In his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate he promiſed to govern with juſtice and moderation, and to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions, as their child and pupil. Purſuant to his proteſtations, he cauſed the famous inſtitutions of *Auguſtus* to be revived and publiſhed, though they had been long neglected and diſuſed by *Tiberius*; he gave free juriſdiction to the magiſtrates, without reſerving any appeal to himſelf, and even attempted to reſtore the ancient method of elections by the ſuffrages of the people. The ſenate were for declaring him conſul, as ſoon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather, were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity, till *Proculus* and *Nigrinus* had ended their year, which expired in the

Sets at liberty Agrippa and all ſtate-priſoners.

Diſcourages informers.

His ſeeming moderation.

[k] Dio. ibid. p. 641, 642. [l] Joseph. antiquit. l. xviii. c. 8. [m] Dio. p. 642—644. Suet. c. 15. [a] Idem, c. 16. Dio. p. 640.

month

month of *July* [b]. In the mean time, he applied himſelf with the conſuls and ſenate to the reformation of many abuſes, which had crept into the ſtate. He reviewed the *Roman* knights, and publicly took away the rings and horſes of ſuch as he found guilty of any notorious crime; ſmaller offences he thought ſufficiently puniſhed by paſſing over the names of the offenders, as he read the roll. He was for caſting the *ſpintriæ*, or inventors of abominable lewdneſs, into the ſea; but being diſſuaded from that ſeverity, he baniſhed them from *Rome*. He allowed every one to keep and peruſe the books of *Titus Labienus*, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Caſſius Severus*, which, in the reign of *Tiberius*, had been by order of the ſenate prohibited and ſuppreſſed, ſaying, it nearly concerned him, that all the actions of *Tiberius* ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity. He likewiſe remitted ſeveral impoſitions, which had been exacted with great ſeverity during the whole reign of his predeceſſor [c]. Thus did *Caligula* happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly ſaid, that no prince came ever to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the ſatisfaction of his people.

Caius *takes upon him the conſulſhip.*

In the month of *July*, *Caius* entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and choſe for his collegue his uncle *Claudius*, then in the forty-ſixth year of his age; who till that time had continued in the equeſtrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakneſs both of his body and mind [d]. We are told, that when he firſt entered the forum with the faſces, an eagle perched upon his ſhoulder, which was looked upon as a prognoſtic of his future grandeur [e]. The ſame day, *Caius*, in a ſpeech which he made to the ſenate, ſpoke with great vehemence againſt the diſorders of the late adminiſtration, promiſed to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and ſolemnly proteſted, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to render the people happy, whom the gods had committed to his care. The ſenate decreed, that his ſpeech ſhould be publicly read every year, without all doubt to remind him of the promiſes he had made them, and lay him under ſome obligation of performing them [f]. On the laſt day of *Auguſt*, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the moſt magnificent ſhows that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*; and on this occaſion cuſhions were firſt laid on the ſeats of the ſenators, who till that time had ſat both in the ſenate and theatre on bare benches [g]. Thenceforth no day paſſed without ſome ſhow or other, the emperor taking great pleaſure in ſuch

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

[b] Dio. ibid. p. 644. [c] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [d] Dio. ibid. p. 644. & Suet. in Claud. c 7. [e] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [f] Dio. ibid. [g] Idem, p. 645.

diverſions,

diverſions, and expending on ſuch occaſions immenſe ſums. During his conſulſhip, he reſtored the kingdom of *Comagene*, which had been reduced to a *Roman* province eighteen years before, to *Antiochus*, the ſon of that *Antiochus* who had been driven out by *Tiberius*, ordering at the ſame time a hundred millions of ſeſterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid to him by way of reſtitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which *Rome* had ſo long enjoyed without any juſt title[h]. *Antiochus*, out of gratitude to ſo generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of *Comagene*, calling it *Cæſarea Germanica*, which were afterwards changed into that of *Germanicia*[i]. Of his generoſity to *Agrippa* we ſpoke in the hiſtory of the *Jews*; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that he beſtowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle *Philip*, with the title of king; but reſerved for himſelf the reſt of *Judæa*, whither he diſpatched this year *Marcellus* in quality of governor in the room of *Pontius Pilate*, whom *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had ſent to *Rome*, to anſwer the many grievous complaints of the *Jewiſh* people, whom he had oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner[k]. His generoſity to ſeveral private perſons was no leſs remarkable; for a fire happening in the firſt months of his reign, he made good the loſſes which every particular had ſuſtained. To a freedwoman, who had endured moſt exquiſite torments, without diſcovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thouſand ſeſterces. For theſe and other bounties a ſhield of gold with his image was decreed to him, which by order of the ſenate was to be carried annually on a certain day, by the colleges of prieſts, to the capitol, the ſenators following it, and the noblemen's children of both ſexes ſinging hymns in praiſe of his virtues. Beſides, it was ordained, that the day of his acceſſion to the empire ſhould be called *Palilia*, as if *Rome* had been founded anew on that day[l]. *Caius* having held the conſulate two months and twelve days, that is, to the twelfth of *September*, reſigned the faſces to thoſe who had been appointed by *Tiberius* for the reſt of the year[m]; but their names we find no-where recorded.

His generoſity to Antiochus *king of* Comagene.

And to others.

IT was probably about this time, that *Caius* wrote to *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, to conclude a peace with *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*. *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that *Vitellius* uſed all manner of artifice to draw *Artabanus* to a conference[n]; and in another, that the *Parthian* king, who had always ſhewn the utmoſt contempt and irreconcileable ha-

[h] DIO. ibid SUET. ibid. c. 16. [i] NORRIS de epochis Macedonum, p. 476. [k] JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xviii. c. 5. [l] SUET. ibid. c. 16. [m] DIO. l. lix. p. 645. [n] SUET. in Vitell. c. 2.

tred

tred to *Tiberius*, fought of his own accord the friendſhip of *Caius* [o]. According to *Dion Caſſius*, that prince had already paſſed the *Euphrates*, and was upon the point of invading *Syria*, when *Vitellius*, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a treaty [p]. Be that as it will, *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* came to an interview on a Bridge which they cauſed to be laid over the *Euphrates*, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantageous to the *Romans* [q]. The *Parthian* even condeſcended to give by way of hoſtage one of his own ſons [r], or at leaſt a noble youth of great diſtinction, named *Darius* [s], probably of the race of the *Arſacidæ*, whom he ſent ſome time after to *Rome*, with a *Jew*, by name *Eleazar*, ſeven cubits high [t]. When the treaty was concluded, *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, gave a magnificent entertainment to *Artabanus* and *Vitellius*, under a rich pavillion raiſed upon boats in the middle of the river [u]. *Suetonius* [w] and *Dion Caſſius* [x] tell us, that *Artabanus* paſſed the *Euphrates*, adored the eagles and enſigns of the legions, and kiſſed the images of *Auguſtus* and *Caius Cæſar*. *Herod* immediately diſpatched meſſengers to *Rome* with a minute account of what had paſſed, who arriving before the meſſengers of *Vitellius*, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that *Herod* had already tranſmitted to him a detail of all that had been tranſacted on the *Euphrates*; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Vitellius* [y].

He is taken ill.

After *Caius* had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, occaſioned by his intemperance and debaucheries; for while *Tiberius* lived, he was mighty temperate in his diet; but upon his death he forſook his antient way of living, and gave himſelf intirely up to all manner of diſorders; which ſo affected his conſtitution, that towards the end of *October* he fell dangerouſly ill. As that was the time of the year, in which thoſe who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indiſpoſition was immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and every-where received with the greateſt tokens of ſorrow imaginable [z]. At *Rome* his palace was conſtantly crouded with multitudes of people of all ranks inquiring about his health; many paſſed whole nights at his gate, and ſome, devoting their

The grief of the people on this occaſion, and joy for his recovery.

[o] Suet. in Calig. c. 14. [p] Dio. l. lix. p. 661. [q] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. [r] Dio. ibid. [s] Joseph. ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Suet. in Calig. c. 14. & in Vitell. c. 2. [x] Dio. ibid. p. 661. [y] Joseph. l. xviii. c. 6. [z] Philo legat. ad Caium, p. 994—995.

lives

lives for his, promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators for his ſafety, and ſet up bills of this their reſolution in the ſtreets. At length he recovered, and with his recovery reſtored happineſs to the whole empire: innumerable victims were ſlain, and ſacrifices offered in the moſt diſtant provinces ſubject to *Rome*, by way of thankſgiving to the gods for ſo ſignal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is moſt to his advantage! This prince ſo much beloved, and univerſally looked upon as the author of all public and private happineſs, either changed all on a ſudden his nature, or diſcovered that which he had ſome time artfully diſguiſed. Some writers think, that this diſtemper affected his brain; for ever after he was much troubled for want of ſleep, never reſting above three hours in a night, and that never quietly, but conſtantly frightened with ſtrange dreams and dreadful imaginations; ſo that he paſſed great part of the night, either ſitting up in his bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for day. He was himſelf, ſays *Suetonius* [a], ſo ſenſible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once reſolved to retire in order to purge his brain. He was ſubject, when a child, to the falling ſickneſs; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hardſhips, ſubject to fainting fits. Others aſcribe this odd and unaccountable conduct to a philtre, or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife *Cæſonia*, and impaired his underſtanding. But, whatever was the cauſe of this change, it is certain, that from the time of his malady to the hour of his death he acted more like a madman than a prince; ſo that for the reſt of his reign the reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monſtrous extravagancies, and ſuch ridiculous inconſiſtencies, as cannot well be related with that gravity and decency which becomes an hiſtorian. On his acceſſion to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour; but ſoon after his recovery he aſſumed them all in one day, though *Auguſtus* had taken them ſeparately, and *Tiberius* had to the laſt declined ſeveral of them [b]. Theſe were probably the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *emperor*, of *high pontiff*, of *perpetual tribune*. From ſeveral medals which have reached our times [c], it appears, that he bore all theſe titles before his ſecond conſulate; but that of *father of his country* he did not aſſume, till the third year of his tribunitial power [d]. To the above-mentioned titles he added the following ſurnames, ſtyling himſelf, *the moſt pious*, *the ſon of the camp*, *the father of the armies*, *the moſt gracious*, *the moſt mighty*, Cæſar [e]. This year

He is ſtrangely altered.

Aſſumes ſeveral titles of honour.

[a] SUET. ibid. c. 50. [b] DIO. p. 641. [c] GOLTZ. p. 38.
[d] Idem, p. 39. [e] SUET. c. 22.

Tiberius, the ſon of *Druſus*, being eighteen complete, took the manly robe; on which occaſion *Caius*, after many proteſtations of kindneſs and ſincere affection for the young prince, firſt adopted him, and then declared him prince of the *Roman* youth. But theſe honours the unfortunate *Tiberius* enjoyed a very ſhort time, *Caius* not being aſhamed to put him to death a few days after he had ſolemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cheriſh him as his own child. *Philo* tells us, that he adopted him with no other view, but to acquire that abſolute power over him, which the *Roman* laws gave to every parent over his children [f]. Be that as it will, he had no ſooner adopted him, than he charged ſome tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he muſt with his own hand put an end to his life, thinking it unlawful for any inferior perſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth expected nothing leſs, and therefore was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with ſurprize and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided aſſiſting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he preſented his throat firſt to the officer who ſtood next to him, and then to all the reſt, begging them with many tears to execute the cruel order they had brought him. But as they all declined that office, purſuant to the emperor's orders, ſtrictly forbidding them to be any ways aiding and aſſiſting to his death, the young prince drew at length his ſword; but not knowing where to ſtrike, he begged they would at leaſt ſhew him where the wound might prove mortal, and ſoon put an end to his life and miſery. So far they complied with his requeſt, and then the unfortunate youth ſtabbed himſelf in their preſence [g]. *Caius*, to excuſe this firſt act of cruelty, which was ſoon followed by many others, pretended, that *Tiberius* had, during his illneſs, wiſhed him dead [h]; and that, through fear of being poiſoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he diſcovered, he cried out, *What! an antidote againſt* Cæſar? But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubled [i]. Thus he rid himſelf of the only prince, to whom thoſe could apply, who might in proceſs of time be diſſatisfied with his government. As for his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a perſon utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore ſaved him, as he openly declared, for a laughing-ſtock. Being thus by the

He orders young Tiberius *to put himſelf to death.*

[f] Philo legat p. 995. [g] Idem ibid. p. 996. Suet. c. 23. Dio. l. lix. p. 645. [h] Dio. ibid. p. 646. [i] Suet. c. 23.

death

death of *Tiberius* delivered from all reſtraint and controul, he gave a full looſe to his furious paſſions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, or rather, as *Suetonius* ſtyles him [k], an outrageous monſter. Soon after his recovery, he obliged all thoſe, who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators, to fulfil their promiſe; and becauſe one was ſomewhat backward in the accompliſhment of his vow, he cauſed him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and mercileſs boys, who, after abuſing him in a moſt cruel and inhuman manner, dragged him through the ſtreets, requiring the accompliſhment of his vow, and at laſt threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life [l]. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age and no leſs illuſtrious for quality, for ſhe was the daughter of *Marc Antony*, the niece of *Auguſtus*, ſiſter-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Druſus*, having taken upon her to admoniſh him, he reſented that freedom to ſuch a degree, that he reduced her to the neceſſity of laying violent hands on herſelf [m]; whether by an expreſs order, or only by the unbecoming manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illuſtrious princeſs having one day begged to ſpeak with him in private, he refuſed her that favour, and ordered *Macro* to be preſent the whole time ſhe continued with him. On another occaſion, as ſhe offered to adviſe him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that *he could do what he pleaſed, with whom he pleaſed.* With theſe indignities and affronts, 'tis moſt probable, he haſtened her death. Some indeed have written, that he cauſed her to be poiſoned [n], which, if true, *Philo* would never have paſſed over in ſilence. He beſtowed no honours upon her after her death, and from one of the windows of his palace beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned [o]. *Dion Caſſius* fixes the death of *Silanus*, the emperor's father-in-law, to this year; but, according to *Philo*, it happened after that of *Macro*, of which we ſhall ſpeak, the following year. In this or the foregoing year, was born on the fifteenth of *December* the emperor *Nero*, and much about the ſame time *Joſephus* the hiſtorian.

He abandons himſelf to all wickedneſs.

The death of his grandmother Antonia.

THE next conſuls were *M. Aquilius Julianus* and *P. Nonius Aſprenas* [p], appointed by *Tiberius*, whoſe appointment *Caius* did not think fit to alter [q]. In the beginning of the year the ſenate and conſuls bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws and conſtitutions of *Auguſtus* and *Caius*,

[k] Idem, c. 43. [l] Idem, c. 27. DIO. p. 645. [m] DIO. ibid. [n] SUET. c. 23 [o] Idem ibid. [p] DIO. p. 646. NORRIS ep. con. [q] NORRIS ibid.

without mentioning thoſe of *Tiberius*; and this omiſſion paſſed into a cuſtom, which ever after obtained. At the ſame time, vows were made for the ſafety of *Caius* and his ſiſters. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that on the ſame day, a ſlave, named *Macaen*, placing himſelf upon the bed of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, foretold many dreadful calamities; and when he had done, killed firſt a ſmall dog, which he had brought with him, and then himſelf. This year, *Caius* appointed *Sohemus* prince of the *Iturean Arabs*; gave *Armenia Minor*, and ſoon after part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys* king of *Thrace*; and to his couſin *Rhemetalces* that part of *Thrace* which *Cotys* had held; to *Polemon* he gave the territories of *Pontus*, which his father *Polemon* had poſſeſſed [r]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Caius*, having advanced this year *Flavius Veſpaſianus* to the ædileſhip, and being one day angry with him for his remiſſneſs in ſeeing the ſtreets kept clean, which was part of his province, he commanded his guards to take ſome of the dirt, and beſmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This ſome interpreted as a preſage of *Veſpaſian*'s future grandeur [s]; no doubt when they ſaw him already poſſeſſed of the empire. *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius* give us diſmal accounts of the many cruelties practiſed by this bloody idiot, in the ſecond year of his reign. Among the reſt he tells us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beaſts, according to the barbarous cuſtom which obtained at *Rome*, he commanded ſuch of the people as were already come to ſee the ſhows, to be thrown to them, having firſt ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not diſturb with their cries and complaints his inhuman diverſion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beaſts, which were kept for ſuch entertainments, he often viſited the priſons in perſon; and, ordering all the priſoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, ſentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beaſts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they ſtood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beaſts, *a calvo ad calvum*, that is, from ſuch a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm perſons, and of ſuch as were reduced to poverty, met with the ſame cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that by ſuch unheard-of barbarities he conſulted the public welfare, ſince he delivered the ſtate from perſons who were but ſo many burdens to it. A *Roman* knight whom he had cauſed to be caſt to the wild beaſts, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in again.

Impending calamities foretold by a ſlave.

Various inſtances of Caius's *cruelty.*

[r] Dio. ibid. p. 649. [s] Suet. in Veſp. c. 5.

again. It was his conſtant cuſtom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to aſſiſt at the execution of their children, and often ordered them to be aſſaſſinated the following night in their houſes. To one of them, who pretended ſickneſs and begged to be excuſed, he ſent his own litter [t]. Having cauſed the ſon of an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, named *Paſtor*, to be dragged to priſon, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was remarkable for his comelineſs and the tallneſs of his ſtature, the unhappy father went immediately to intercede for his child. But the cruel monſter, inſtead of hearkening to his tears and intreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and when the news of his death was brought, to inſult nature itſelf, he invited the diſtreſſed parent to dine with him that very day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in the like manner his other ſon, if he betrayed any ſymptoms of grief, to drink to exceſs, and in the height of his affliction to ſhew ſuch outward ſigns of joy, as would have been at any time altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and age [u]. One *Caninius Iulus* having in a private converſation adviſed *Caius* with great liberty to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, *That you may not flatter yourſelf*, Caninius, *with vain hopes*, ſaid the emperor, *I have already ſigned the warrant for your death*. At theſe words *Caninius*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, turning about, *I return you thanks*, ſaid he, *moſt gracious prince, for this favour*. As the decree of the ſenate, granting to condemned perſons ten days reſpite, was in this inſtance obſerved by *Caius*, the undaunted *Caninius* during that interval never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs; inſomuch, that the centurion, who came, when the ten days were expired, to ſee the ſentence put in execution, found him playing, with his uſual calmneſs, at cheſs. When the executioner appeared, he ſtarted up with a chearful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he ſhould ſoon know whether or no the ſoul was immortal; that in the very article of his death he would particularly mind in what manner it abandoned the body, and after his death return to acquaint his friends with the ſtate of ſouls after their ſeparation. He then offered his neck to the executioner, with the intrepidity of a true hero [w]. The emperor, if ſuch an inhuman madman deſerves that name, aſſiſted in perſon at moſt executions; ſo great was the delight he took in cruelty and bloodſhed; but always cauſed the mouths of thoſe, who ſuffered in public, to be ſtopt, either with their cloaths or a ſponge, leſt they ſhould upbraid

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Caninius Iulus.

[t] SUET. c. 26, 27. DIO. p. 647. [u] SENEC. de ira, l. iii. c. 33. [w] Idem ibid. c. 14

him

him with his wickedneſs [x]. He ſeldom ſuffered them to be diſpatched at once, deſiring they might *feel themſelves dying*, which was his uſual expreſſion. While he was at table, he often cauſed criminals, and ſometimes innocent perſons, to be racked in his preſence, nay, and their heads to be cut off by a ſoldier, who did it with great ſkill and dexterity. Being once miſtaken in the name of a perſon, and cauſing him to be executed inſtead of another, when he underſtood his error, *'Tis no matter*, ſaid he, *he deſerved it as well as the other.* Five of the gladiators, called *retiarii*, becauſe they uſed in fighting certain nets, having yielded to the like number of *ſecutores*, who were their antagoniſts, he commanded them to be ſlain; but one of the five, ſnatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action *Caligula* looked upon as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all thoſe with curſes who were ſo hard-hearted as to behold it. As he pretended to great ſkill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jeſt, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators who were overcome uſed to do. But his flattery coſt him dear; for *Caius*, taking advantage of his fall, ſtabbed him with a dagger; then with a branch of palm-tree, the ſymbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up and down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome him. As one night at ſupper he burſt ſuddenly into a loud laughter, and the conſuls, who ſat near him, deſired with great reſpect to know the cauſe of his mirth: *What makes me ſo merry*, ſaid he, *is, that I can have both your throats cut with the leaſt nod of my head.* A victim being brought to the altar and ready to be offered, he appeared unexpectedly among the reſt in the habit of a prieſt, and, lifting up the ax, as if he deſigned to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the prieſt who ſtood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been baniſhed by *Tiberius*, and recalled by him, how he employed himſelf in his exile, upon his anſwering, that he had conſtantly prayed for the death of *Tiberius*, that he might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that thoſe, whom he had baniſhed, prayed likewiſe for his death; and upon that preſumption diſpatched officers to the iſlands, with orders to put them all to the ſword without mercy [t]. To theſe and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius*, the latter adds the death of *Macro* and his wife, whom *Caius* with the utmoſt ingratitude cauſed to be put to death this year. To *Macro* he was indebted both for his life and empire, and had promiſed him the government of *Egypt*, the higheſt poſt to which a knight could aſpire. But, inſtead of

The death of Macro *and his wife.*

[x] Idem ibid. c. 19. [t] Suet. c. 30—34.

the

the promiſed reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as ſome hiſtorians have written [k], to diſpatch themſelves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, nay, and their ſlaves, ſo that not one of the whole family was left alive. *Macro* indeed, according to the character *Tacitus* gives us of him, deſerved ſo tragical an end, but not at *Caius*'s hands. The true cauſe of his death was, if *Philo* is to be credited, his uſing with more liberty, than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent ſervices gave him; but *Caius* charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal ſhare in the ſovereign power [l]. The next perſon he ſacrificed to his cruelty was *M. Silanus*, whoſe daughter he had married in *Tiberius*'s reign, a man of a moſt illuſtrious deſcent, and highly eſteemed by all on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to diſapprove *Caius*'s wild meaſures, and ſuggeſt others to him, by which, if followed, he would have anſwered the expectation the public had entertained of him. But the jealous idiot, having a mighty opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon thoſe as his enemies who found fault with his meaſures, reſolved to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a counſellor; which he did accordingly on the following occaſion. One day all on a ſudden he took it into his head to divert himſelf on the ſea. *Silanus*, who could not endure the agitation of the ſhip, begged to be excuſed from attending him: this *Caius* imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained aſhore with a deſign to ſeize on the empire, in caſe any misfortune had happened to him; and upon this groundleſs pretext he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor [m] (K). The

M. Silanus *put to death.*

[k] PHILO legat. p. 1000. [l] Idem, 1001. DIO. p. 647. [m] DIO. p. 646. SUET. c. 23.

(K) *Julius Græcinus*, father to the famous *Agricola*, had ſome time before been ordered by *Caius* to accuſe *Silanus*, and put to death for declining that infamous office. *Græcinus* was a ſenator, no leſs famous for his eloquence, than his probity (26). *Seneca* often mentions him, and tells us, that not having wherewithal to defray the charges of the public ſhows, which he was obliged to exhibit in virtue of his office, one *Fabius Perſicus*, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, ſent him a very conſiderable ſum; which he refuſed, anſwering his friends, who found fault with his unſeaſonable generoſity; *Would you have me to accept a favour of one with whom I ſhould not care to eat a meal's meat?* *Rubellius*, who

(26) *Tacit. vit. Agricol. c. 2.*

had

The death of *Silanus* was followed by that of many other perſons of great diſtinction, whom he condemned, under pretence that they had been acceſſory to the death of his mother or brothers; though his real motive was to ſeize on their eſtates; for he had already ſquandered away great part of the immenſe treaſure left him by *Tiberius.* This year about the month of *July* died his ſiſter *Druſilla.* She had been given by *Tiberius* five years before to *L. Caſſius Longinus*, and taken from him ſoon after by *Caius*, who lived publicly with her, as if ſhe had been his own wife, and had, during his ſickneſs, appointed her to ſucceed him in the empire [n]. He had maintained with her, as well as with his other ſiſters, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal converſation, even before ſhe was married. When ſhe died, ſhe was, according to *Dion Caſſius* [o], the wife of *M. Lepidus.* That writer gives us a very particular account of the extraordinary honours conferred upon her by *Caius* after her death. She was immediately ranked amongſt the gods, and thenceforth ſtyled the goddeſs *Druſilla*, which impious title the proſtitute bears on ſome *Greek* medals, which have reached our times [p]. A ſenator, by name *Livius Geminus*, declared in full ſenate upon his oath, that he ſaw her carried up to heaven [q]. *Seneca* rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this viſion, but nevertheleſs choſe rather to adore the divinity of *Druſilla*, than incur the diſpleaſure of the prince. The emperor's paſſion for his ſiſter appeared no leſs fooliſh after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left *Rome*, and, after having wandered ſome time up and down *Campania*, he paſſed over into *Sicily*, where he exhibited moſt magnificent ſhows, and repaired at a vaſt charge the walls of *Syracuſe*, and ſome temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the *Sicilians* as miracles; but was ſo terrified with the ſmoke and noiſe of mount *Ætna*, that he fled from

Druſilla *dies, and is honoured as a goddeſs.*

Caius's *grief.*

[n] Suet. c. 24. [o] Dio. p. 648. [p] Vide Goltz. c. 59.
[q] Dio. ibid.

had been conſul, but was a man of the ſame ſtamp with *Perſicus*, ſent him a larger ſum than the other, which he likewiſe rejected: but *Rubelius* preſſing him, he begged to be excuſed, ſaying, *Neither have I accepted any thing of* Perſicus (27). The ſame writer tells us elſewhere (28), that he was murdered by *Caius*'s orders, becauſe he was a better man, than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by *Columella* (29). *Pliny* likewiſe ranks him among writers (30).

(27) *Senec. de ben. l.* ii. *c.* 21. (28) *Idem epiſt.* 29. (29) *Columell. l.* i. *c.* 1. (30) *Plin. in hiſt. l.* xiv, & xv.

Meſſena

Meſſena in the night, not having courage enough to wait till day appeared [r]. Upon his return to *Rome*, he purſued the courſe of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of *Druſilla*; if ſorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes againſt the ſtate, and puniſhed with death: inſomuch, that they were all at a loſs how to comport themſelves, it being alike capital to mourn and to rejoice [s].

Caius had continued a widower ever ſince the death of *Junia*, the daughter of *Silanus*. But *C. Calpurnius Piſo* marrying one *Livia Oreſtilla*, and inviting him to his wedding, when the ſolemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months, as ſome will have it, baniſhed both her and *Piſo*, under pretence that they had lived together [u]. Not long after he married *Lollia Paulina*, the grand-daughter of *M. Lollius*, whom *Auguſtus*, as we have related elſewhere, had appointed governor of *Caius Cæſar*, when he ſent him into the eaſt. *Lollia* was already married to *C. Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon* and *Achaia*; but *Caius* having heard in a private converſation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he immediately ſent for her, forced her from her huſband, and married her [w] (L); but in a ſhort time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if ſhe either returned to her former huſband, or married any other man [x]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her in the following reign. *His marriages and divorces.*

AND now the bloody monſter, finding no one dared to oppoſe his ſovereign will and pleaſure, notwithſtanding the many murders he daily committed, began to look upon himſelf as raiſed above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm himſelf in this ridiculous fancy, he is ſaid to have uſed the following no leſs ridiculous argument: As thoſe to whoſe care ſheep, oxen, and other cattle are committed, are themſelves neither ſheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely ſuperior to the con- *His pride and folly.*

[r] SENEC. ibid. SUET. c. 51. [s] SENEC. ad Polyb. c. 36. SUET. c. 24. [u] SUET. c. 25. DIO. p. 646. [w] SUET. ibid. DIO. p. 648. EUSEB. chron. [x] SUET. & DIO. ibid.

(L) *Lollia Paulina* was herſelf very remarkable for her beauty. *Pliny* tells us, that he ſaw her adorned with a prodigious quantity of pearls and emeralds, which had formerly belonged to her grandfather *M. Lollius* (31).

(31) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 35.

dition of thoſe animals; ſo thoſe who are ſet over all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but reverenced like gods [y]. He firſt betrayed this extravagant fancy at an entertainment with ſome foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. As ſome diſpute aroſe amongſt thoſe princes about the nobility of their extraction, *Caius* ſtarting up repeated a verſe of *Homer* in the perſon of *Ulyſſes*; *Let there be but one king, one lord below*; and was for aſſuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy. But being told, that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he began from that time to challenge the honours paid to the demi-gods, ſuch as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Typhon*, &c. aſſuming the dreſs in which they were repreſented, and appearing ſometimes with a lion's ſkin about his ſhoulders, and a club in his hand, to perſonate *Hercules*; ſometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*, &c. But he ſoon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demi-god, and claimed the ſame worſhip that was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himſelf; nay he cauſed the heads to be taken off their ſtatues, and his own to be put in their room. He often placed himſelf in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, between the ſtatues of thoſe brothers, to be adored by all who came to offer their vows to them. He inlarged his palace, and brought one wing of it cloſe to the temple of thoſe two fabulous deities, which he altered to the form of a portico, that the gods themſelves, as he uſed to ſay, might ſerve him in quality of porters. He frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity, and another a female; ſometimes *Jupiter*, at other times *Mars*; ſometimes *Neptune* or *Apollo*, and ſometimes *Venus*, &c. But above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*, the head and chief of the *Pagan* deities; and that he might be eſteemed a true *Jupiter*, he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning; and when the thunder was ſuppoſed to fall, he uſed to throw a ſtone againſt heaven, with the impious defiance in *Homer*; *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you.* He often went to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and, placing himſelf by his ſtatue, ſometimes whiſpered to it, then laid his ear cloſe to it, as it were to receive an anſwer. Sometimes he ſeemed to be very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening ſtyle, that *he would ſend him back into* Greece (M). At length being overcome by the importunity

Claims divine honours.

His impiety.

[y] Philo, ibid. p. 1002.

(M) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that a *Gaul*, ſeeing him one day ſitting on a throne in the figure of *Jupiter*, could not help burſting into a loud

portunity of the gods, as he fooliſhly gave out, who deſired his company, he joined his palace to the capitol by an arch built over the temple of *Auguſtus*; and ſome time after, that he might yet be nearer, he laid the foundations of a new houſe in the court of the capitol [z]. At length his pride, folly, and impiety carried him ſo far, that he would have a temple for himſelf, which he built at a vaſt charge, and dedicated to his own divinity, placing in it his ſtatue in gold, done to the life, and every day cloathed in the ſame robes which he himſelf wore. He likewiſe inſtituted prieſts and prieſteſſes to officiate in his new temple, the greateſt and richeſt men in *Rome*, ſo great was their debaſement at this time, purchaſing the infamous prieſthood with vaſt ſums; for *Caius* ſold it at ſuch an extravagant price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not having wherewithal to diſcharge the debt, eight millions of ſeſterces, ſays *Suetonius*, which he contracted on that occaſion, was obliged to ſurrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly ſold them by auction [a]. The ſacrifices, which his prieſts daily offered him, were peacocks, pheaſants, *Numidian* hens, *&c.*

Inſtitutes prieſts in honour of his own deity.

Temples built, and ſacrifices offered to him.

[z] SUET. c. 22, & 52. DIO. p. 660, 661. PHILO. p. 1003.
[a] SUET. in Claud. c. 9.

loud laugh; which *Caius* hearing, called him to him, and aſked him, *What do you take me for? For a great fool*, anſwered frankly the *Gaul*. This affront, which would have coſt a ſenator or knight his life, *Caius* diſſembled in the *Gaul*, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on ſo contemptible a perſon; for he was by profeſſion a ſhoe-maker (32). He cauſed all the temples of *Greece* to be ſtript of their ſtatues, pictures, and other ornaments, which he conveyed to *Rome*, crouding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (33). He ordered the famous ſtatue of *Jupiter Olympius*, done by *Phidias*, and had in great veneration by the *Grecks*, to be tranſported to *Rome*. We are told, that the ſhip, which was building for that purpoſe, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the workmen attempted to remove the ſtatue, a great noiſe was heard, like that of perſons deriding their attempt. *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece*, who was charged to ſee the celebrated ſtatue conveyed to *Rome*, wrote to *Caius*, acquainting him, that he could not obey his commands, on account of ſome extraordinary prodigies, and becauſe the workmen aſſured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the tranſport of his rage, he abuſed and threatened *Jupiter* for daring to oppoſe his ſovereign will, and would have put to death *Memmius*, had he not been firſt put to death himſelf (34).

(32) *Dio. p.* 660, 661. (33) *Philo legat.* 1004. *Joſeph. antiq. l* xix. *c.* 1. (34) *Dio. p.* 662. *Joſeph. ibid.*

And as though his other follies were not ſufficiently extravagant, he became at laſt prieſt to himſelf, and admitted to the ſame dignity his wife *Cæſonia*, whom he married the year following; and alſo his horſe, the moſt proper prieſt of all for ſuch a deity[b]. Beſides the temple which he built to himſelf in his palace, the ſenate decreed him another, which was begun in this, and ended in the following, year[c]. He ordered a temple to be erected to his godhead at *Miletus*, which might ſerve for all *Aſia*; and becauſe it was not finiſhed at the time he expected, he commanded a magnificent temple, which that community was building in honour of *Apollo*, to be conſecrated to himſelf[d]. All nations, people, and cities, erected temples and altars to this new divinity, ſacrificed victims, and ſwore by his name[e]. But none were more forward in paying him this impious worſhip, than the inhabitants of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* alone, who were very numerous in that city, refuſed to bend their knees to the new idol, which brought upon them that cruel perſecution from the *Alexandrians*, which we have deſcribed in our hiſtory of that nation. The diſtreſſed *Jews* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to lay their ſufferings before *Caius*, and beg his protection. At the head of this embaſſy was *Philo*, who gives us a very particular account of it, as we ſhall do from him.

The perſecution of the Jews *at* Alexandria.

This dreadful perſecution happened in the ſecond year of the reign of the emperor *Caligula* and thirty-ninth of the chriſtian æra, while *Egypt* was governed by a *Roman* knight, named *Avillius Flaccus*, to whoſe baſe connivance it was chiefly owing. *Flaccus* had governed that province with great reputation, during the five laſt years of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had a particular value and kindneſs for him. But, upon the death of that prince and the acceſſion of *Caligula* to the empire, he changed his conduct, grew remiſs in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and made it his whole ſtudy to gain the affections of the people of *Alexandria*, hoping by that means to recommend himſelf to the favour of the new emperor, whoſe reſentment he dreaded; and indeed not without reaſon, for he was no friend to the family of *Germanicus*, and was generally thought to have contributed to the diſgrace and death of *Agrippina*, the mother of *Caligula*. Three crafty *Egyptians*, *Dionyſius*, *Lampo*, and *Iſidorus*, who had been declared enemies to *Flaccus*, while he ruled with due ſeverity, being appriſed of his fears, remonſtrated to him, under colour of

Avillius Flaccus *courts the favour of the* Alexandrians.

[b] Idem in Calig. c. 22. Dio. p. 660. Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 22.
[c] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 673. [d] Idem, ibid. p. 670, 671.
[e] Joseph. bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 17.

friendſhip,

friendſhip, that the ſureſt means of winning the hearts of the *Alexandrians* was, to withdraw his protection from the *Jews*, of whom many thouſands lived in *Alexandria*, and to abandon them to the mercy of the *Egyptians*, who had ever borne an irreconcileable hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation. This counſel *Flaccus* readily embraced, well knowing, that it would not diſpleaſe the emperor, whoſe hatred the *Jews* had provoked, by refuſing to acknowledge his pretended divinity. Beſides, *Flaccus* was of himſelf, it ſeems, no friend to the *Jewiſh* nation: for that people having the year before, in the firſt month of *Caligula*'s reign, decreed him all the honours which were conſiſtent with their religion, and conſigned the decree to *Flaccus*, that, by his means, it might be conveyed to the emperor, he, inſtead of tranſmitting it to *Rome*, as he promiſed to do, ſuppreſſed it, which was doing them the greateſt unkindneſs imaginable, and drawing upon them the reſentment of a cruel and ambitious prince [a]. In the mean time, *Agrippa*, who had been ſet at liberty by *Caligula*, and declared king of the tetrarchy, which his uncle *Philip* had held, with the addition of that of *Lyſanias*, as we have related in our hiſtory of the *Jews* [b], arriving from *Rome* at *Alexandria*, on his journey to his new kingdom, was inſulted by the populace of that metropolis in an outrageous manner, though, to avoid the concourſe of people, he had entered the city by night [c]. As *Flaccus* winked at theſe inſults, inſtead of reſtraining them, the rabble grew more outrageous; and, aſſembling in crouds, began, with great tumult and uproar, to demand, that the ſtatues of *Caius* might be placed in the *Jewiſh* oratories, or places of prayer, of which there were many in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. *Flaccus* not offering to oppoſe, but ſeeming rather to approve, the deſign, the rabble thronged immediately to the oratories, cut down the groves and trees about them, levelled ſome of them with the ground, and ſet fire to others; which, together with the oratories, conſumed ſeveral noble monuments erected by the emperors in honour of the *Jews*, and a great many adjoining houſes. Such oratories as the rioters could not demoliſh, becauſe the *Jews*, who lived near them, were very numerous, they profaned, by placing in them the emperor's ſtatues. In the largeſt of them all they erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting *Caius*, in a chariot drawn by four horſes, which had been formerly conſecrated to *Cleopatra*, the great-grandmother of the laſt queen of that name. They did not, as *Philo* obſerves, ſhew great reſpect for *Caius*, in dedicating to him what had been

Is no friend to the Jews.

King Agrippa *inſulted by the people of* Alexandria.

They deſtroy the oratories of the Jews, *or profane them with the emperor's ſtatues.*

[a] PHIL. in Flacc. p. 968—1009. edit. Pariſ. 1640. [b] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol x. p. 424. [c] Ibid. note P.

been formerly dedicated to a woman. But the merit, on which they laid the chief ſtreſs, was their increaſing the number of temples conſecrated to his pretended deity, though even in that they did not ſo much regard his honour, as the ſatisfying of their own hatred to the *Jews*. The *Alexandrians* took care to acquaint the emperor with the tranſactions of each day, who is ſaid to have read their accounts with incredible ſatisfaction, partly becauſe he hated the *Jews*, and partly becauſe he believed the *Alexandrians* chiefly actuated, in afflicting the *Jews*, by a ſincere zeal for his honour [d]. The example of *Alexandria* was followed by all the other cities of *Egypt*; in which province there were at this time a million of *Jews*, and a vaſt number of oratories, of which the largeſt and moſt beautiful were ſtyled *ſynagogues* [e]. They were all demoliſhed, conſumed by fire, or prophaned with the emperor's ſtatues.

Flaccus declares the Jews aliens of Alexandria.

A few days after the *Jews* had been thus ſtript of their oratories, *Flaccus* publiſhed an edict, declaring all the *Jews* aliens at *Alexandria*, without allowing them time to make good their claim to the rights of citizens, which they had long enjoyed undiſturbed [f]. The *Jews*, who were never famous for bearing injuries with patience, when they could prevent or revenge them, made, in all likelihood, ſome efforts towards the maintaining of their rights; which, though *Philo* has not thought fit to mention them, gave probably occaſion to greater diſorders. For the *Alexandrians*, conſidering them as men abandoned by the emperor to their mercy, laid hold of this opportunity to vent their rage upon a people whom they had ever abhorred, and looked upon as enemies to the reſt of mankind. The city of *Alexandria* was at that time divided into five quarters, which took their names from the five firſt letters of the alphabet. In each of theſe ſome *Jews* dwelt, but two were almoſt intirely peopled by them, and thence called the quarters of the *Jews*. They were therefore by the outrageous multitude violently driven out of all the other parts of the city, and confined to one quarter; the houſes, from which they had been driven, were plundered, and all their effects ſeized, as if they had been conquered in war. The rioters did not, ſays *Philo*, commit theſe robberies like thieves in the night, who are afraid of being brought to juſtice, but in the face of the ſun, ſhewing what they had taken to all they met, with as much confidence, as if it had been an inheritance or purchaſe: nay, they publicly divided the ſpoil in the market-place, in the preſence of thoſe very perſons whom they had plundered, adding mockery

All the Jews ſhut up in one quarter of the city.

[d] Philo. legat. c. 9. [e] Euseb. chron. p. 27, 28. [f] Philo in Flacc. p. 972, 973.

to

to their violence. As *Flaccus* never offered to check or reſtrain them, they broke open the ſhops and ware-houſes of the *Jewiſh* merchants, which were then ſhut on account of the public mourning for the death of *Druſilla*, the emperor's ſiſter; and thence conveyed away and ſold to the beſt bidder all their effects. Thus were the *Jews* at once driven from their habitations, reduced to beggary, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the city, where the *Alexandrians* doubted not, but they would ſoon periſh, either by the inconveniencies of the place, for moſt of them were obliged to lie in the open air; or by famine, for they were allowed to carry no proviſions along with them; or by the infection of the air and want of free reſpiration, many thouſands of men, women, and children, being ſhut up in ſo cloſe and ſmothering a place. The *Alexandrians* watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their eſcape. But, in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, ſeveral found means to withdraw either to the ſea-ſide, or to ſome remote burying-places; but ſuch of them as were diſcovered, were tortured in a moſt cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets of the city. Thoſe *Jews* who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country-houſes, were treated with the ſame cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the *Jewiſh* merchants; and as ſoon as any veſſel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, ſeized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the owners. In ſhort, when *Jews* appeared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were ſure of being tortured, in a moſt barbarous manner, and maſſacred. The leaſt inhuman among the rioters diſpatched them with the ſword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without reſpecting the old men, or pitying the infants; and employing for fuel ſuch of their effects as no one thought worth purchaſing. Others more cruel, to prolong the torments of thoſe unhappy wretches, having tied them to ſtakes, kindled round them fires of moiſt and green wood, ſo that, after they had long borne the torment of a ſlow fire, they periſhed at length, ſuffocated with the ſmoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes faſtened to their feet, were dragged through the ſtreets and public places of the city, the populace inſulting their bodies even after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with ſuch brutal cruelty, that not one member remained intire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail

Horrible cruelties practiſed upon the Jews.

thoſe

thoſe whom they had thus inhumanly butchered: but if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earneſt, they were immediately ſeized, whipped without mercy, and, after ſuffering all the torments which cruelty itſelf could invent, condemned to the ignominious puniſhment of the croſs [g].

Flaccus might, with one word, have put a ſtop to the fury of the populace; but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he ſaw and heard. However, he ſent at laſt for the leading men amongſt the *Jews*, as if he deſigned to make up all differences between them and the people of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* had at *Alexandria* an *ethnarch*, or chief of their nation, whom *Joſephus* calls, as is commonly believed, *alabarch* [h]. They had likewiſe a council, which was eſtabliſhed by *Auguſtus*; and out of this *Flaccus* cauſed thirty-eight perſons to be ſeized, to be bound like criminals, ſome with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of *Caius*, and there, in the preſence of their enemies, to be whipt ſo unmercifully, that ſome of them died ſoon after. In inflicting this puniſhment, he choſe the moſt ignominious method, (for different methods were then in uſe) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Thoſe who outlived this cruel puniſhment were impriſoned and kept under cloſe confinement, till *Flaccus* himſelf was arreſted, that is from the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*, which was *Caius*'s birth-day, to the latter end of *September*. During this ſolemnity, which ſeems to have laſted ſeveral days, many *Jews* were crucified, after the people aſſembled in the theatre had diverted themſelves with ſcourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleaſure. With theſe ſcenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the *Jews*, either expiring on the rack, or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diverſions in uſe amongſt the *Romans*; diverſions truly leſs horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were ſuſpected to be *Jews* were by the inſulting populace ſeized, carried into the market-place, and there expoſed naked to public view. Thoſe who proved not to be *Jews* were immediately diſmiſſed; but to the *Jewiſh* women they cauſed hogsfleſh to be immediately brought, which if they eat, they too were diſmiſſed untouched: but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were expoſed to the greateſt indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the *Jews* at *Alexan-*

They are cruelly treated by Flaccus.

Many of them tortured and crucified.

[g] Phil. in Flacc. p. 974—1010. & legat. c. 9. [h] Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 4. Euseb. p. 27.

dria

dria for the ſpace of about two months; for the perſecution continued to the feaſt of tabernacles. *Philo*, to whom we are indebted for this account, ſuffered, no doubt, with the reſt of his nation; for he too was an *Alexandrian Jew*. We cannot help thinking his account ſomewhat exaggerated; and beſides, are convinced, that the *Jews* gave ſome occaſion to the unheard-of cruelty of the *Alexandrians*, which he has not thought fit to relate. King *Agrippa*, upon whoſe arrival the tumult began, did not in all likelihood continue long in a city where he had been ſo ill received. However, during his ſtay there, he was informed of the decree formerly made by the *Alexandrian Jews* in honour of *Caius*, and procured a copy of it, which he immediately tranſmitted to *Rome*, acquainting the emperor at the ſame time with the conduct of *Flaccus*, who had ſuppreſſed it. This provoked *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately diſpatched a centurion, by name *Baſſus*, with a band of ſoldiers, to ſeize *Flaccus*. *Baſſus* arrived in a few days at *Alexandria*, and, landing by night, inquired for the officer who commanded the troops quartered in the city, with a deſign to impart to him the emperor's orders, that he might hold his men ready in caſe of any reſiſtance. A ſoldier, whom he met in the ſtreet, informed him, that the officer ſupped that night with *Flaccus*, at the houſe of one *Stephanio*. Hereupon the centurion ſent one of his ſoldiers in the diſguiſe of a ſlave to *Stephanio*'s houſe, who, upon his return, informed him, that *Flaccus* was attended only by a ſmall number of his domeſtics, and that no ſoldiers were to be ſeen in or about the houſe. Upon this intelligence, *Baſſus* immediately entered with all his men; and having left a party to guard the gates, went with the reſt directly to the banquetting-hall, where, to the great terror of the gueſts, he ſeized *Flaccus*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and carried him in bonds on board his veſſel. *Flaccus* ſtarting up, when the centurion firſt appeared, attempted to make his eſcape; but finding himſelf in a minute ſurrounded by armed men, he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and yielded. When news of what had happened was brought to the *Jews*, who continued ſtill ſhut up in the ſame place, they did not at firſt give any credit to it, but looked upon it as a ſnare laid for them. However, conjecturing from the noiſe and uproar which they heard in the night, that ſomething extraordinary had happened, ſome of them ſtole out, and, upon their return, confirmed the joyful tydings, that *Flaccus* was certainly arreſted. Hereupon, with one voice, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, paſſed the reſt of the night in ſinging hymns, and, upon the return of the day, went all in a body to the ſea-ſide, to renew there, as they had no ora-

Flaccus *is diſgraced,*

Arreſted, and ſent to Rome;

tories where they could aſſemble, their thankſgiving with more ſolemnity. Soon after, *Baſſus* ſet ſail with his priſoner, who, after having much ſuffered during the voyage, arrived at length at *Rome*, where he had the mortification to ſee himſelf accuſed by *Iſidorus* and *Lampo*, who, with their flattering ſpeeches, had put him upon perſecuting the *Jews*. But his greateſt enemy was the emperor himſelf, who, on this occaſion aſſuming the quality of judge, condemned him to baniſhment, declared his eſtate and all his effects forfeited, and ſeized them for himſelf. The only favour which *Lepidus*, who was his friend and then very powerful at court, could obtain for him, was, that he ſhould be confined to *Andros*, and not to *Gyaræ*, purſuant to his ſentence, which was the moſt deſert and abandoned iſland in the *Archipelago*. He was therefore ſent under a guard to *Andros*, and there ſhewn to the inhabitants, who were ordered to watch him, that he might not make his eſcape. Some months after, he purchaſed a ſmall farm, and there led a ſolitary and retired life, till he was, together with the other exiles, maſſacred by *Caius*'s orders. He defended himſelf with great bravery againſt thoſe who were ſent to diſpatch him, but was in the end overpowered and cut in pieces [i].

Where he is condemned to baniſhment.

And ſoon after murdered.

The grievances of the *Alexandrian Jews* did not end with the authority of *Flaccus*. The tumult ſtill continued, that unhappy people were ſtill cruelly inſulted by the enraged populace, and the magiſtrates of *Alexandria* refuſed to acknowledge the *Jews* for citizens, ſince *Flaccus* had declared them aliens. Hereupon both parties reſolved to ſend deputies to *Rome*, and refer the deciſion of their controverſy to the emperor. At the head of the *Jewiſh* embaſſy was *Philo*, and the celebrated *Apion* the chief of the embaſſadors from the city of *Alexandria*. *Philo* was a *Jew* of the ſacerdotal race, and ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Alexandria*, where his brother was *alabarch*, or the chief of his nation in that city [k]. *Joſephus* calls him a perſon every-way extraordinary [l]; and truly his works were highly eſteemed both by the *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*, and he ranked amongſt the beſt writers of his time. He was not only well verſed in the ſacred books, to which the whole knowledge of the *Jews* was, generally ſpeaking, confined, but thoroughly acquainted with the philoſophy of the gentiles, and thought to ſurpaſs all the philoſophers of his age, in the knowledge of the maxims and tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the *Platonic* philoſophy, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was commonly ſaid at *Alexandria*, *Either* Plato *imitates* Philo, *or* Philo Plato. The philoſophers,

Philo *is ſent with the character of embaſſador to* Caius.

Some account of him, and of Apion.

[i] Philo in Flacc. p. 976—982. [k] Euseb. l. ii. c. 4. Joseph. antiquit. l. xviii. c. 10. [l] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

who

who flouriſhed in thoſe times, ſtyled him *the ſecond Plato*, or, *the Jewiſh Plato* [m]. *Apion* was likewiſe a man of great learning. He was, according to ſome, a native of *Oaſis* in *Egypt*: according to others, of the iſland of *Creta*, now *Candia*. Be that as it will, he was preſented with the citizenſhip of *Alexandria*, and thence paſſed for an *Alexandrian* [n]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled *Pleiſtonicus*, which ſignifies, *illuſtrious for many victories* [o]; but how he came by that name, we are no-where told. *Suidas* calls him *Mochthus*, perhaps inſtead of *Mochtherus*, which ſignifies *laborious* [p]. He was by profeſſion a grammarian; for ſo were thoſe formerly called, who were well verſed in polite literature. *Julius Africanus* ſtyles him the moſt inquiſitive of all the grammarians; and adds, that no one was better verſed in antiquities, or had made more diſcoveries [q]. He was brought up by *Didymus*, a celebrated grammarian of *Alexandria*, and afterwards inſtructed by *Apollonius* and *Euphanor* [r]. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* under the emperors *Tiberius* and *Claudius*, and was eſteemed a man of great erudition, and well verſed in the *Greek* hiſtorians: his ſtyle was elegant and eaſy, but he is thought to have exaggerated the things which he relates to have been ſeen or heard by himſelf [s]. He viſited all the cities of *Greece*, as *Pliny* informs us [t], in the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, and was every-where received as a ſecond *Homer*. However, *Seneca* ſeems to have made no great account of his erudition, which chiefly conſiſted, as he writes, in the knowledge of grammatical trifles. Of his works, and thoſe of *Philo*, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

THE embaſſadors were, according to *Joſephus*, three of each ſide, but five according to *Philo*, who was one of them, and conſequently is more to be depended upon, if we will not ſuppoſe with a modern writer [u], who ſtrives to reconcile *Philo* and *Joſephus*, that two more were afterwards ſent by the *Jews*, and the like number by the *Alexandrians*. They ſet out from *Alexandria* in the midſt of winter; and arriving at *Rome*, were forced to wait there till the return of *Caius* from *Gaul*, which happened on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*. The *Jewiſh* embaſſadors, in the mean time, conveyed to the emperor, by means of king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, a memorial, wherein they laid before him their deplorable condition, acquainted him with the hardſhips they had undergone, aſſured him of their attachment to his perſon and government, and in a moſt ſub-

They arrive at Rome, *and tranſmit a memorial to the emperor, then in* Gaul.

[m] HIER. de vir. illuſt. & epiſt. 84. c. 11. PHOT. c. 105.
[n] HIER. ibid. SUIDAS, p. 327. [o] GELL. l. v. c. 14. & l. vi. c. 8. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 5. [p] SUID. p. 355. [q] EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 10. [r] SUIDAS, ibid. [s] Idem ibid.
[t] PLIN. præfat. & SENEC. epiſt. 88. [u] TILLEMONT, p. 806.

miſſive manner implored his protection. When the emperor returned to *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* embaſſadors gained privately, with great ſums and larger promiſes, the famous *Helico*, who was by birth an *Egyptian*, had formerly been a ſlave, but was then in great favour with *Caius*, and his chamberlain. The *Jewiſh* deputies were no ſooner informed, that *Helico* had been gained over by their enemies, and did them all the ill offices with the emperor that lay in his power, than they ſtrove in their turn to bring him over to their intereſt; but he would not hearken to any of their propoſals, nay, would not ſo much as allow them acceſs to him. They therefore reſolved to apply directly to the emperor, and accordingly drew up a memorial, which was but an abſtract of the longer addreſs, which they had a little before tranſmitted to him by means of *Agrippa*. This they preſented to him in the field of *Mars*, as he was coming from the gardens of his mother *Agrippina*. *Caius* received the embaſſadors with a chearful and ſmiling countenance, and ſignified to them with a ſign of his right hand, that he would befriend them; nay, he ordered *Homulus*, the introducer of embaſſadors, to acquaint them, that he would hear them himſelf, as ſoon as he was at leiſure. From this favourable reception, it was generally concluded, that the *Jews* would gain their cauſe, and triumph over their enemies. But *Philo*, whom age and experience had taught not to lay great ſtreſs upon fair words and outward appearances, dreaded the effects of the emperor's pretended friendſhip, and reaſoned with himſelf thus: Here are embaſſadors from all parts of the world, and why ſhould the emperor diſtinguiſh us from the reſt? He knows we are *Jews*; and conſequently, that we ſhould think ourſelves happy to be only treated like other nations. Can we reaſonably expect any extraordinary favour from a prince of another nation, or ſuppoſe that he has not a greater kindneſs for the *Alexandrians* than for us? He is partial to them without diſpute; and for their ſake it is, that he is eager to determine the affair. I ſhould be glad he would prove an impartial judge; but am afraid we ſhall find him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us. In the mean time *Caius*, leaving *Rome*, went to ſee one of his magnificent palaces, which ſtood on the ſea-ſide; and thither the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors followed him, expecting every moment to be called and heard by him, purſuant to the promiſe he made to them by *Homulus*. At *Puteoli* they were firſt informed of the danger they were in, not only of loſing their cauſe againſt the *Alexandrians*, but of ſeeing their religion and nation utterly extirpated, in virtue of the order which the emperor had tranſmitted to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, commanding him to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Upon this intelligence,

Upon his return they preſent another memorial to him.

Philo *ſuſpects his kindneſs.*

Is alarmed at an order ſent by the emperor.

telligence, *Philo*, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs as to the buſineſs with which he was charged, would have returned home with his collegues, could he have done it with honour. But though he now deſpaired of ſucceſs, yet he thought, that his dropping the ſuit might be looked upon as the effect of fear, and that his countrymen, who had ſent him, might with ſome reaſon complain, as if, through want of courage, he had betrayed their cauſe. However, the ſtorm which threatened the *Jews* on account of the ſtatue of *Caius* ſoon blew over, and *Philo* was in the end admitted, with his collegues, to the emperor's preſence. But they no ſooner appeared before him, than, from the fierceneſs of his looks, they concluded, that the emperor intended to act not like a judge, but as an accuſer rather, and a party. For, inſtead of adviſing with men of knowledge and experience, and hearing both ſides indifferently in their turns, eſpecially in a caſe of this conſequence, where the lives and liberties of ſo many men were at ſtake, and privileges diſputed, which for the ſpace of four hundred years had never ſo much as been called in queſtion, the tyrant gave them plainly to underſtand, that he did not deſign to proceed according to the ordinary methods of law and juſtice. The emperor was then at a ſmall diſtance from the city, paſſing a few days at two country-ſeats, which, it ſeems, ſtood very near each other, and had formerly belonged to *Mecænas* and *Lamias*. Having therefore commanded the gardens belonging to both houſes, and the ſeveral apartments, to be opened, in order to view them, and entertain himſelf with the curioſities there, he ſent at the ſame time for the *Jewiſh* and *Alexandrian* embaſſadors, who were introduced to him while he was thus employed. *Philo* and his collegues no ſooner came into the emperor's preſence, than they threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet, addreſſing him with the titles of *emperor* and *Auguſtus*. The emperor received them, notwithſtanding the profound reſpect they ſhewed him, in ſuch manner, that they began to deſpair, not only of ſucceſs in their embaſſy, but even of their lives. For, with angry looks and a ſcornful ſmile, *Are you not execrable wretches*, ſaid he, *declared enemies of the gods, ſince you have the impudence to diſpute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to ſet up againſt* Caius *a god whom you cannot ſo much as name?* At the ſame time, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he uttered ſuch blaſphemies, as *Philo*, who was ſtruck with horror in hearing them, dares not repeat. The *Alexandrian* embaſſadors, concluding from this reception, that they had already gained their cauſe, could not diſſemble their joy; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God, which they did not indifferently aſcribe to *Caius*, who was highly delighted with their flattery. In order

He is admitted to an audience.

der to provoke him ſtill more againſt the *Jews*, *Iſidorus*, a crafty inſinuating ſlanderer, addreſſing the emperor, *If you knew*, ſaid he, *the mortal hatred which theſe men, and their whole nation, bear to you, you would abhor and deteſt them much more than you do. When all the world were offering up their vows and prayers for the ſafety of your perſon, and the proſperity of your government, theſe alone, I mean all the* Jews *without exception, ſtood out with their uſual ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy.* At theſe words, the *Jews* cried out with one voice, that they were ſlandered, that they had offered hetacombs and ſacrifices for the happineſs of *Caius* and the empire; and that after they had ſprinkled the altar with the blood of the victims, they did not feaſt among themſelves, as moſt other nations do, upon the fleſh, but committed the whole ſacrifice to the ſacred fire: and this, added they, we have done upon three remarkable occaſions, upon your acceſſion to the empire, upon your recovery from that fit of ſickneſs which proved ſo ſenſible an affliction to moſt nations, and finally, for the ſucceſs of your arms in *Germany*. You did perhaps offer ſacrifices, replied *Caius*, I allow it: but it was to another, not to me: and what honour do I receive from your ſacrificing to another? Theſe blaſphemous words ſtruck us, ſays *Philo*, with horror, and chilled the very blood in our veins. In the mean time, *Caius* hurried from one apartment to another, taking a view of all the rooms and offices, finding fault where any thing was amiſs, and directing how it ſhould be mended. Thus he viſited every corner of both houſes, the *Jews* being obliged all along to attend him, tho' joſtled and derided by the whole company, eſpecially by their adverſaries, who were the whole time mimicking them, like buffoons on the ſtage: and truly the whole, ſays *Philo*, looked rather like a comedy, than a ſerious negotiation; but as they were now at the mercy of the tyrant, who was both their judge and their enemy, they had no defence left them but ſilence and patience. After *Caius* had given ſome neceſſary orders about his buildings, he turned to the *Jews*, and gravely aſked them, Why they ſo much ſcrupled eating hogs-fleſh? Hereupon the whole company, ſome out of flattery, others becauſe they were diverted with the queſtion and mockery, burſt into ſo loud a laughter, that ſome of *Caius*'s officers were highly offended at the liberty they took, thinking it inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the majeſty of the prince. To the emperor's queſtion the *Jews* anſwered with great reſpect, that ſeveral people and places had their ſeveral faſhions and cuſtoms, and that their adverſaries were prohibited ſome things as well as they: ſome people, for inſtance, ſaid one of them, abſtain from lamb. Very well, replied *Caius*, merrily; I cannot blame

blame them; for lambs-fleſh is not very ſavoury. After the emperor had thus rallied and ridiculed them for ſome time, at the end he aſked them all on a ſudden in a paſſion, What exception they had to the privileges of *Alexandrian* citizens, and to the freedom of that city? Hereupon they began to lay before him their reaſons; but he, finding they were of great ſtrength, and not knowing how thoſe which they had already alledged could be well confuted, ſtarted up in the midſt of their diſcourſe, and ran into a great hall; where, after he had walked a while, he cauſed the windows to be ſhut; and then returning to the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors, he aſked them with an air more compoſed, What they had to ſay? But they had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when *Caius*, inſtead of hearkening to them, left them again, and ran in great haſte into another room, to ſee ſeveral originals done by the moſt famous painters of antiquity. The *Jews*, finding themſelves ſo often interrupted, and expecting nothing from ſo mercileſs a tyrant but immediate death, had recourſe to the true, for protection againſt the pretended, god. Their prayers were heard, and *Caius*, without further outrages, diſmiſſed them, ſaying, Theſe men are not ſo wicked, as ignorant and unhappy, in not believing me to be a god. The *Jewiſh* deputies departed, reckoning themſelves fortunate in having thus eſcaped with their lives ſafe; not that they dreaded any kind of death, ſays *Philo*, which, had it been any-ways conducive to the preſervation of their law, they would with great pleaſure have embraced; but becauſe their deſtruction would have been inevitably attended with the utter ruin of thoſe who had ſent them. As for the ſubject of their embaſſy, they could not promiſe themſelves a favourable ſentence from a judge, who would not ſo much as hear them, being highly incenſed againſt their whole nation, as the only people ſubject to *Rome*, who refuſed to acknowledge his divinity. They continued in the city, waiting with the greateſt anxiety imaginable for the deciſion of their cauſe; for upon the ſentence, which the emperor might think fit to pronounce, depended the fate of the whole *Jewiſh* nation, who would be every-where perſecuted and ſtripped of their effects, privileges, oratories, *&c.* if the emperor ſhould countenance the *Alexandrians* in their cruel and unwarrantable proceedings againſt them[f]. *Joſephus* ſeems to ſpeak of another audience granted by *Caius* to the *Jewiſh* and *Alexandrian* embaſſadors; wherein *Apion* inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the *Jews*, alledging many things againſt them; but his main charge was, that whereas temples and altars were erected to *Caius* by all other nations,

[f] PHILO, ibid. p. 1019—1043.

and

and the ſame adoration paid to him as to the reſt of the gods, the *Jews* alone obſtinately refuſed either to conſecrate images to him, or to ſwear by his name. When *Philo* was about to reply in behalf of the *Jews*, *Caius* in a great rage commanded him to be ſilent, and with dreadful menaces bid him be gone. Hereupon *Philo*, turning to his collegues, *Let us take courage*, ſaid he; *now* Caius *is againſt us*, *God will be for us* [g]. What ſentence *Caius* pronounced in the end, we find no-where recorded: all we know is, that, during his whole reign, the *Jews* were grievouſly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the *Alexandrians* [h]; and that *Alexander Lyſimachus*, brother to *Philo*, and *alabarch* of the *Alexandrian Jews*, was, by *Caius*'s orders, committed to priſon, and there detained till he was diſcharged by *Claudius*; upon whoſe acceſſion to the empire, the *Jews*, notwithſtanding their boaſted patience, betook themſelves to arms, which occaſioned a great tumult at *Alexandria*. *Claudius*, upon the firſt tidings of the commotion, wrote to the governor of *Egypt*, injoining him to appeaſe it; and, at the requeſt of the two kings, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, enacted an edict, which he ſent to *Alexandria*, confirming to the *Jews* all the privileges they had ever enjoyed in that city, and declaring all the proceedings of *Caius* againſt them null and void [i] (E).

The

[g] Joseph antiq l. xviii. c. 10. [h] Idem, l. xix. c. 4. [i] Idem, ibid.

(E) To this relation we ſhall ſubjoin a ſuccinct account of the works of *Philo* and of *Apion*. *Philo* deſcribed in five books the evils ſuffered by the *Jews* under *Caius*; and theſe books, as he made frequent digreſſions in them upon the vices of that prince, he ſtyled ironically, *Of the virtues of* Caius (1). Of theſe five books *Euſebius* takes that which has reached our times, under the title of Philo's *embaſſy to* Caius, to be the firſt (2). *Photius* ſtyles it, *Caius blamed* (3). The ſecond of theſe five books is, according to both theſe writers, that which is commonly known by the title of *Philo againſt Flaccus*, and which *Photius* calls *Flaccus blamed* (4). However, the book againſt *Flaccus* ſeems to have been written before that of his embaſſy; ſince, in the end of the latter (5), he tells us, that he has already deſcribed the inexpreſſible calamities ſuffered by the *Alexandrian Jews*; and theſe calamities are the chief ſubject of his book againſt *Flaccus*. The three other books, or parts of that work, have been long ſince loſt; for *Photius* ſeems to have been acquainted with no other, but the two above-mentioned, books written by *Philo* on that ſubject (6). *Philo* is ſaid to have read

(1) *Euſeb.* l. i. c. 5. & 18. (2) *Euſeb.* c. 5 & 6. (3) *Phot.* c 105. (4) *Euſeb.* & *Phot. ibid.* (5) *Philo in legat. p.* 1043. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii, c. 7.

them

them during the reign of *Claudius* in full ſenate, when they were heard with uncommon applauſe, and ordered to be depoſited in the public library (7). The author ſeems to addreſs himſelf to the emperor *Claudius* in his book againſt *Flaccus*. St. *Jerom* mentions in his catalogue ſeveral books written by *Philo*; but of theſe (which is very ſurpriſing) takes not the leaſt notice. The reader will find in *Euſebius* (8) and St. *Jerom* (9) a catalogue of his other works upon the ſcripture, and various different ſubjects. *Euſebius* commends the ſublimity of his thoughts in explaining the ſcripture (10); and *Origen* writes, that moſt of his books upon the law of *Moſes* were generally eſteemed by men of learning (11). *Photius*, on the contrary, thinks he frequently neglects the obvious and literal, to hunt after an allegorical, ſenſe (12). The ſame writer obſerves, that *Philo* often follows opinions contrary to the principles of the *Jewiſh* religion, and that he does not ſeem to diſapprove the ſuperſtitious honours paid to the emperor *Auguſtus*. St. *Jerom* aſcribes to him the *Greek* interpretation of the proper names in the pentateuch and the prophets (13). Some writers will have him to have been likewiſe the author of a *Latin* hiſtory, containing the moſt remarkable incidents from the creation to the reign of *Saul*; but others think that work, which often contradicts the ſcripture, altogether unworthy of *Philo* (14). St. *Jerom* ſays, that ſome ancient writers aſcribed to *Philo the book of wiſdom* (15); but that he was not the author of that book, is plainly ſhewn by a modern writer of no mean character (16). Some writers tell us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, he became acquainted with St. *Peter* at *Rome*, and contracted a friendſhip with that apoſtle (17); nay, *Photius* adds (18), that he embraced the chriſtian religion, and afterwards renounced it upon ſome diſcontent. But the ſilence of all other writers, with reſpect to this particular, makes us queſtion the truth of what *Photius* aſſerts.

Apion wrote ſeveral books (19), of which we find one only quoted by the ancients, namely, his hiſtory of *Egypt*, containing a particular and diſtinct account of all the curioſities and antiquities of that country. *Euſebius* (20) and *Tatian* (21) cite ſome paſſages out of the fifth book of this work, which was in all likelihood the laſt. As all the *Alexandrians* bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Jews*, no wonder that *Apion* filled his writings with falſe and ſlanderous accounts of them; which *Joſephus* with great erudition confutes in a book, which he publiſhed againſt him and other pagan writers, in defence of the *Jews*, and intituled, *An anſwer to* Apion. Se-

(7) *Euſeb. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (8) *Idem, ibid.* (9) *Hier. de vir. illuſt. c.* 11. (10) *Idem, ibid.* (11) *Orig. in Matth. p.* 369. (12) *Phot. c.* 105. (13) *Hier. nom. Hebr. c.* 3. (14) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (15) *Hier. epiſt.* CXV. (16) *Du Pin reponſe au remarque de pere de S. Vanne.* (17) *Euſeb. l.* ii. *c.* 17. *Hier. de vir. illuſt. c.* 11. (18) *Phot. c.* 105. (19) *Suid. p.* 356. *Aul. Gel. p.* 146. *Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 9. (20) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 11. (21) *Tatian. orat. ad Græc. p.* 172.

His ſecond conſulſhip.

THE following year, *Caius* reſumed the faſces, having for his collegue *Lucius Apronius Ceſianus* (N), but held them only thirty days [f]. When he entered upon his conſulſhip, and alſo when he reſigned it, he took the uſual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and ſlaughter, cauſing thoſe very perſons, who had

[f] Dio. p. 649. Suet. c. 17. Tacit. annal. 6. c. 4. Norris ep. con. p. 28.

veral perſons ſeeming to queſtion the truth of what he had advanced in his *Jewiſh antiquities*, alledging, that if the race of the *Jews* was as ancient and illuſtrious as *Joſephus* makes it, the *Greek* hiſtorians would have taken notice of them, he undertook another work, wherein he not only ſhews, that ſeveral hiſtorians have mentioned the *Jews*, but confutes the calumnies publiſhed againſt them by divers authors, eſpecially by *Apion*. This work is by *Euſebius* (22) and St. *Jerom* (23) intituled, *Of the* Jewiſh *antiquities*. *Apion* not only ſtrove to diſcredit the *Jews* in his hiſtory of *Egypt*, but wrote a book, of which they were the only ſubject (24), filled with calumnies againſt that nation, falſhoods, and accounts altogether fabulous; which *Joſephus* confuted, after he had ended his antiquities. *Apion*, after having in his writings derided circumciſion in a moſt ſcurrilous manner, was himſelf by a diſtemper obliged to ſubmit to it, but to no effect; for the wound putrifying, he died ſoon after, by a juſt judgment, ſays *Joſephus*, in great miſery and torments (25). The famous adventure of a ſlave named *Androcles*, who was nouriſhed, during the ſpace of three years, by a lion, whom he had cured of a wound, and by the ſame known in the ſight of all *Rome*, when he was expoſed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by the wild beaſts, muſt have happened about this time; for *Apion*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (26), aſſures us, that he was an eye-witneſs of that ſurpriſing and affecting ſcene; and adds, that the grateful lion was ſaved, and the ſlave preſented with his liberty.

(N) *Ceſianus* held the conſulſhip till *July*, with *Sanvinus*, or rather *Sanquinius Maximus*, governor of *Rome*, who had been ſubſtituted to *Caius*. *Sanquinius* had been likewiſe conſul under *Tiberius*, but in what year we find no-where recorded (27). *Cn. Domitius Corbulo* was alſo conſul at this time, from the firſt of *July*, as is commonly believed (28), to the fourth or ſecond of *September*, when *Caius* ignominiouſly depoſed both conſuls (29). *Corbulo*'s collegue was ſo affected with the affront, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, and *Caius* named in his room *Domitius Afer*, a celebrated orator (30).

(22) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l* iii. *c.* 9. (23) *Hier. vir. illuſt. c.* 13. (24) *Euſeb. p.* 490. *Juſt. orat. ad Græc. p.* 9, 10. (25) *Joſeph. in Ap. l.* ii. (26) *Aul. Gell. l.* v. *c.* 14. (27) *Dio. l* lix. *p.* 651. (28) *Goltz. faſt. p.* 238. (29) *Dio. ibid. p.* 665. *Suet. c.* 25. (30) *Goltz. ibid.*

been

been impriſoned by *Tiberius*, and by himſelf ſet at liberty, to be dragged to priſon again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign [g]. The people not aſſiſting at the ſhows, which he exhibited almoſt every day, with the aſſiduity he expected, he commanded the public granaries to be ſhut up, with a deſign to ſtarve them, and laid hold of all opportunities that offered to do them what miſchief he could. Once in particular he cauſed them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus, on which occaſion great numbers of the common people were cruſhed to death in the throng, and above twenty knights, and as many women of diſtinction. At another time, becauſe they did not declare for the gladiators whom he favoured, he cauſed the ſails, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus expoſed them to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, he threatened with preſent death ſuch as ſhould offer to ſtir [h]. Nay, the acclamations of the people in the theatre differing one day from his, he uttered the inhuman wiſh, that *the whole* Roman *people had but one neck*, that he might diſpatch them all at a blow. He often wiſhed for ſome great calamity, as if the monſter himſelf had not been curſe and calamity enough. He envied *Auguſtus* the happineſs of an army maſſacred, and *Tiberius* the ſad diſaſter at *Fidenæ*, where fifty thouſand perſons were maimed, or periſhed by the fall of an amphitheatre. In ſhort, declaring himſelf an open enemy to his people, he often made uſe of the expreſſion of the old tragedian: *Oderint dum metuant, Let them hate me as much as they pleaſe, ſo they do but fear me.* On the other hand, the people conſidering him no longer as their lawful ſovereign, but as their implacable enemy, one day, to be revenged on him, riſing up, abandoned the ſhows, which he was exhibiting at an immenſe charge; which piqued him to ſuch a degree, that he immediately left *Rome* and retired to *Campania*, whence he did not return to the city till the feaſt of his ſiſter *Druſilla*, which he ſolemnized with extraordinary magnificence [i]. Hiſtorians this year take notice of the fooliſh regard he paid to one of his horſes, named *Incitatus*, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and preſented with the moſt delicious wines in cups of gold. His ſtable was all of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his coverings of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and ſupplied him with furniture no leſs magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain, in a manner ſuitable to his rank, ſuch as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of *Caius*'s prieſts, and collegue to *Claudius*, to *Cæ-*

His hatred to the Roman *people.*

His inhuman wiſh.

The fooliſh regard he paid to his horſe Incitatus.

[g] Dio. ibid [h] SUET. c. 26. [i] Dio p. 650. SUET c. 30.

ſonia, and to the chief nobility of *Rome*; nay the emperor deſigned to raiſe him to the conſulſhip, and would have honoured him, as was commonly believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer [k].

Caius had hitherto diſapproved of *Tiberius*'s conduct, and ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed with the invectives that were uttered againſt him. But this year, coming one day to the ſenate, he told the conſcript fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well cenſure the meaſures of his predeceſſor; but that it ſeemed very ſtrange to him, that they ſhould preſume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord and ſovereign. *You inveigh againſt him*, ſaid he, *as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that you yourſelves are involved in the ſame guilt, ſince he cauſed none to be executed, who had not been firſt convicted by your evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him ſo much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to inſult his memory after his death. Your conduct ſhews me what I may expect from you when I am gone.* Having ſaid many things to this purpoſe, in the end he upbraided the whole ſenate as the creatures and dependents of *Sejanus*, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-ſpirited ſlaves and flatterers, and concluded with introducing *Tiberius*, addreſſing him in the following terms: You have ſaid nothing, O *Caius*, but what I have by long experience found to be true; deſpiſe them therefore as unworthy of your eſteem and affection, and uſe them with all the ſeverity they deſerve. They all hate you in their hearts, wiſh for your death, and will aſſaſſinate you, if they can with impunity. Lay aſide therefore all hopes of winning their affections, deſpiſe their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts about your own ſafety: whatever moſt conduces to that, is moſt juſt and equitable. By this means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleaſures in ſafety, and at the ſame time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppoſe you. If you ſtudy to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but muſt reſign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting upon your life, and deſtroying you; for the yoke of ſovereignty is ever grating; a prince is honoured ſo long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is deſpiſed; and woe to that prince, whoſe ſubjects are more powerful than he [l]. *Caius* having thus ſpoke, revived the law of treaſon, and withdrawing from the ſenate, retired forthwith into the country. The

His odd ſpeech to the ſenate.

Revives the law of majeſty.

[k] Dio. p. 650. Suet. c. 55. [l] Dio. ibid. p. 652. Suet. c. 30.

ſenators,

ſenators, thunder-ſtruck with ſuch an unexpected ſpeech, and in the utmoſt conſternation on account of the dangers that threatened them; for who had not exclaimed againſt *Tiberius?* were not capable of coming to any reſolution that day; but the following long ſpeeches were made in commendation of ſo merciful, ſo gracious a prince, who after ſuch juſt and well deſerved reproaches, had been ſo generous as not to exert his vengeance: they enacted a decree, ordering the day, on which he made this memorable ſpeech, to be yearly ſolemnized with victims and ſacrifices as a feſtival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince, who had given ſuch glaring inſtances of his clemency and good-nature. One would think that ſuch praiſes muſt have paſſed for ſatire and mockery. But ambition is a credulous paſſion: *Caius* was highly pleaſed with ſuch honours and praiſes; but nevertheleſs put afterwards many of thoſe to death, who had ſpoken ill of *Tiberius*, though he hated all who ſpoke well of him [m].

The ſlaviſh ſpirit of the ſenate.

THIS year is alſo remarkable for the famous work which *Caius* undertook at *Puteoli*: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt. To ſhew his power and greatneſs, and that he was able to walk upon the ſea as well as the land, he cauſed an infinite number of ſhips to be gathered together in all parts, and a great many new ones to be built, which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. There from the point of *Baiæ* to the oppoſite ſhore of *Puteoli* they were placed in two rows in the form of a creſcent, being faſtened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ſhips were employed in this fooliſh undertaking, that none being left to convey corn to *Rome*, the city was greatly diſtreſſed by famine, which continued to the reign of *Claudius* [n], and, to the great ſatisfaction of *Caius*, ſwept off daily great numbers of the people. *Seneca* tells us, that when *Caius* was killed, there was not ſufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer [o]. When the ſhips were well faſtened and ſecured, vaſt quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this ſtupendous work the more magnificent and ſurpriſing, he ſent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immenſe charge, and with incredible expedition, *Caius* puniſhing the leaſt remiſſneſs with preſent death, built houſes and convenient inns on the bridge for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into theſe public houſes was conveyed

Caius *builds a bridge upon the ſea.*

The expence and extravagance of this undertaking.

[m] DIO ibid. [n] Idem, p. 652. SUET. c. 37. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [o] SENEC. de brev. vit c. 18.

freſh

freſh water in pipes from the land, *Caius* taking delight in ſuch things only, as to others ſeemed impoſſible. When this wonderful work was completed, *Caius* repaired to it with all the great lords of *Rome*, being attended by immenſe crouds of people who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at *Baiæ* he offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, eſpecially to *Envy*, leſt the other deities ſhould be touched with jealouſy in ſeeing their glory eclipſed by his. Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breaſt-plate of *Alexander the Great*, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, he mounted on horſeback, and entering upon the bridge of *Baiæ*, rid with an awful majeſty to *Puteoli*. There he reſided the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when with an infinite number of torches, lanthorns, and other lights placed in different parts of the work, the ſea, the neighbouring mountains, and the ſhore, were illuminated to a vaſt diſtance, *Caligula* boaſting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the ſea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two ſtately horſes, being attended by young *Darius*, the *Parthian* hoſtage, a ſquadron of his guards, in bright armour, and a great train of his friends, magnificently attired, and likewiſe in their chariots, he ſet out on his return to *Baiæ*, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there, aſcending a magnificent throne, made a ſolemn oration in praiſe of his own exploit in riding ſo many miles upon the ſea, and of the pains and care taken by his ſoldiers and workmen, among whom he diſtributed large rewards. He ſpent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banquetting with his friends; and when be began to be heated with wine, that he might perform ſome memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a ſudden cauſed great numbers of people to be thrown into the ſea without diſtinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the veſſels, he ordered them to be thruſt off; ſo that many periſhed, though the far greater part ſaved themſelves, however drunk, by ſwimming, the ſea proving extremely calm and ſmooth the whole time, which *Caius* fooliſhly aſcribed to the reſpect *Neptune* had for him as a more powerful deity [p]. After this *Caius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boaſted, nature itſelf. Upon his departure, the bridge,

Cauſes many perſons to be thrown into the ſea.

[p] Dio. p. 653. Suet. c. 37, 19. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. & l. xix. c. 1. Senec. brev. vit. c. 18.

as

as *Dion Caſſius* ſeems to inſinuate [q], was immediately broke down, and the ſhips employed in it reſtored to the owners. In ſuch wild and uſeleſs attempts did *Caius* ſquander away in the ſpace of two years, beſides his ordinary revenues, the immenſe treaſure left by *Tiberius*, amounting to eighteen millions of our money. As to the motive, which prompted him to ſuch an extravagant undertaking, authors are not agreed (O).

His avarice and enormous actions.

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhauſted and drained his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine, inventing ſuch kinds of penalties, confiſcations, and impoſts, as had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of *Rome*, whoſe grant ran in the following terms; *To him and his poſterity*, unleſs he was his ſon, pretending that the word *poſterity* did not extend beyond that degree; ſo that moſt of the *Roman* citizens were obliged to purchaſe their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all, from the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, who had not named either that prince or himſelf amongſt their heirs. Hereupon ſeveral perſons named him in their wills amongſt their friends and children, which he knowing, cauſed them under ſeveral pretences to be put to death, that he might receive his ſhare the ſooner; nay, he was heard once to ſay, that it was a great preſumption in them to live, and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, not even the neceſſaries of life, were exempt from ſome tax or other. For all actions at law, in what place ſoever commenced, he exacted the fortieth part of the thing in controverſy, and laid heavy fines on ſuch as were convicted either of compounding or dropping the ſuit. He enacted a law, injoining all artificers, labourers, porters, carriers,

[q] Dio. ibid.

(O) Some write, that he built this bridge in imitation of *Xerxes*, who laid a wonderful one over the *Helleſpont*, as we have related in our hiſtory of *Perſia*. Others ſay, that being then upon the point of invading *Germany* and *Britain*, he deſigned to terrify them with the report of ſome extraordinary work. But *Suetonius* tells us, that when he was but a boy, he was informed by his grandfather, that *Caius* had been put upon this undertaking by certain aſtrological predictions of the celebrated *Thraſyllus*, who, finding *Tiberius* unreſolved as to his ſucceſſor, yet more inclined to his own grandſon than to *Caius*, told him, *It was as hard a matter for* Caius *to be emperor, as it was for him to ride over the gulph of* Baiæ. *Suetonius*'s grandfather lived under *Caius*, and had this intelligence from perſons who were in high favour with him (62).

(62) *Suet. c.* 19.

&c.

Turns his palace into a brothel and a gaming-house.

&c. to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every proſtitute was obliged to pay a certain portion of what ſhe earned; nay, he was not aſhamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-houſe, maintaining there great numbers of proſtitutes, and ſending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diverſions. He received the money himſelf of ſuch as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books, as of perſons well affected to *Cæſar*. He likewiſe encouraged gaming-houſes, frequenting them himſelf; nay, at laſt he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gameſters, and there ſpent great part of his time. We are told, that one day, in the midſt of his game, obſerving two *Roman* knights of great eſtates accidentally paſſing by, he immediately went down, cauſed both to be apprehended, and their eſtates to be confiſcated; and then returning with joy to his game, boaſted, that he had never had a better throw. Another time wanting money for his ſtake, he went down, and cauſed ſeveral noblemen to be put to death; then returning told the company, that while they ſat playing for ſmall ſums, he had won ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces. He uſed frequently to expoſe to ſale the effects of the condemned perſons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleaſed to ſet upon them; which was ſo high, that many noble families were by that means reduced to poverty. He forced, not to mention others, a wealthy citizen, by name *Apollonius Saturninus*, to pay nine millions of ſeſterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he expoſed to ſale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; but applied to his own uſe all the preſents and contributions made by the people for the education and portion of the child[r]. The law of majeſty, which he revived, proved an inexhauſtible fund for the increaſing of his revenues. *Dion Caſſius* enumerates a great many worthy citizens, who were put to death for no other crime but their great wealth; and tells us, that one *Junius Priſcus*, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under colour of ſome other crime, being found after his death poſſeſſed but of a ſmall eſtate, the emperor cried out, *I have been impoſed upon*; Junius *was not guilty* (P). *Lucius Vitellius*, governor

[r] Suet. c. 38—43.

(P) *Dion Caſſius* tells us in this place how *Domitius Afer* eſcaped condemnation. He was, ſays *Tacitus* (63), more famous for his eloquence than his integrity. He had been under *Tiberius* a zealous

(63) *Tacit. annal.* vi. c. 52.

accuſer,

governor of *Syria*, had acquired great wealth in that province, and beſides, his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongſt the ſoldiery, gave *Caius* no ſmall uneaſineſs, who thereupon recalled him with a deſign to put him to death, under

Deſigns to deſtroy Lucius Vitellius *governor of* Syria.

accuſer, and acted that part againſt *Claudia Pulchra*, an intimate friend and couſin to *Agrippina*, as we have related above. It was not, however, this that provoked *Caius* againſt him, but his being eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator of his age, which glory *Caius* thought due to himſelf; and therefore reſolved to rid himſelf of the only perſon who diſputed it with him. *Domitius* erected this year a ſtatue to the emperor with an inſcription, importing, that he was conſul the ſecond time in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age. This he meant as a compliment; but *Caius*, who wanted a pretence to deſtroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws, forbidding any one to be raiſed to the conſular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon him to accuſe him himſelf, and delivered in the ſenate a long ſpeech, which he had compoſed againſt him. *Domitius*, inſtead of anſwering it, which, without all doubt, would have coſt him his life, extolled the eloquence of the ſpeaker, admired the propriety of his expreſſions, repeated the moſt remarkable paſſages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties, *&c.* When he was ordered to make his defence, inſtead of anſwering the emperor's oration, he threw himſelf at his feet, acknowledged him for his maſter in eloquence, and declared, that he deſpiſed life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued himſelf, of being eſteemed the beſt orator of his age. *Caius* was ſo well pleaſed with this pretended ſubmiſſion, that he not only forgave him, but raiſed him that very year to the conſulate. *Calixtus*, one of *Caius*'s freedmen, whom *Domitius* had gained, and who had proved very ſerviceable to him on this occaſion, having one day made uſe of the liberty which *Caius* allowed him to complain of the bitter invectives, which he had uttered againſt one, whom he knew to be free from all guilt, the emperor returned him this anſwer; *Would you have had me to loſe ſo fine a diſcourſe* (64)? *Philo* places in this year the maſſacre of the exiles, and tells us, that *Caius*, not being able one night to take any reſt, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, he began to think, that the baniſhed perſons were too happy, that they lived in eaſe and tranquillity, and wanted neither the neceſſaries nor conveniencies of life. Hereupon concluding with himſelf, that it was not reaſonable criminals ſhould enjoy any happineſs, as ſoon as day appeared, he made a liſt of the moſt eminent perſons amongſt them, and diſpatched officers with orders to put them all to death, which occaſioned an univerſal mourning among the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*. At the head of this black liſt was *Flaccus*, who had been governor of

(64) *Dio. p.* 644, 544.

der pretence, that through his negligence the *Parthians* had driven *Tiridates* from the kingdom of *Armenia*, which had been given him by *Tiberius*. *Vitellius* was a man of good talents and qualifications, had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army, and in the government of provinces, ſays *Tacitus* [s], exerciſed the integrity of a primitive *Roman*. But his dread of *Caligula* changed him into a contemptible ſlave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous flattery.

Who forfeits his reputation to ſave his life.

For the firſt time *Caius* deigned to admit him to his preſence, he appeared before him in a modeſt dreſs, and accoſted him with the ſame ceremonies that were practiſed by the *Romans*, when they approached their gods, that is, having his head covered with a vail, turning himſelf round, and then falling down proſtrate before him [t]. *Caius* was ſo taken with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only forgave him, but thenceforth numbered him amongſt his moſt intimate friends. For he was the firſt who introduced amongſt the *Romans* the cuſtom of approaching the emperors, as the *Parthians* and other eaſtern nations did their monarchs [u]. We ſhall have occaſion to relate in the courſe of this hiſtory other inſtances of his ſlaviſh ſpirit and ſervile ſubmiſſion. He was ſucceeded in the government of *Syria* by *P. Petronius*, of whom hereafter. We are told, that *Seneca* was about this time in imminent danger of loſing his life, for no other crime, but having pleaded a cauſe in the ſenate with great eloquence, and univerſal applauſe. This *Caius*, who was preſent, and pretended to be the beſt orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have diſpatched him, had he not been aſſured by one of his courteſans, that *Seneca* was infected with a diſtemper, which would ſoon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life [w] (Q).

The

[s] Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 32. [t] Suet. in vit. c. 2. [u] Dio. p. 661. Philo legat. p. 1008. [w] Suet. ibid. [w] Dio. p. 655.

Egypt, and confined a few months before to the iſland of *Andros* (65). *Euſebius* fixes this cruel execution to the laſt year of *Caius*'s reign (66); but *Philo* places it before the diſgrace of *Lepidus*, which happened this year (67).

(Q) *Caius* deſpiſed the eloquence of *Seneca*, though then in great vogue, calling his writings *Sand without lime*. *Caius* himſelf was no mean orator, had a great fluency and command of words, eſpecially when he declaimed againſt any one; and ſuch a clear voice and diſtinct pronunciation, that he was heard at a great diſtance. He took great delight in writing anſwers to ſuch orators as had

(65) *Philo in Flacc. p.* 990, 991. (66) *Euſeb. in chron.* (67) *Idem ibid.*

performed

THE laſt of *Auguſt*, being his birth-day, the conſuls forgot to warn the people to obſerve it as a feſtival; which incenſed *Caius* to ſuch a degree, that on the ſecond of *September* he depoſed them, and cauſed their rods to be broken. This proved ſo ſenſible a mortification to them, that one of them, not able to brook it, laid violent hands on himſelf. The pretence, which *Caius* took for thus ſtripping them ignominiouſly of their dignity, was, their obſerving the ſecond of *September*, the anniverſary of the battle of *Actium*, as a feſtival. This indeed was cuſtomary; but the emperor, who was deſcended from *Auguſtus* by his mother *Agrippina*, and from *Antony* by his grandmother *Antonia*, told his friends beforehand, that the conſuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable pretence to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of *Auguſtus*, or by ſolemnizing the defeat of *Antony* [x]. Accordingly, the conſuls having, according to cuſtom, celebrated with the uſual ceremonies the anniverſary of the *Actiac* victory, they were the ſame day depoſed by *Caius*'s orders, under pretence that they had ſolemnized not ſo much the victory of *Auguſtus*, as the defeat of his great-grandfather *Antony*. The city was then three days without conſuls, that is, the third, fourth, and fifth of *September* [y]; but on the ſixth, *Domitius Afer* and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. After this *Caius* forbad the boaſted victories gained by *Auguſtus* in *Sicily* and at *Actium* to be ſolemnized for the future, ſaying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the *Roman* people, though at the ſame time he gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but of *Auguſtus* by his own daughter *Julia*. Thus he choſe rather to aſperſe the memory of his great-grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable inceſt, than derive his pedi-

Caius depoſes both the conſuls.

Forbids the victories of Auguſtus to be ſolemnized.

[x] DIO. ibid. [y] SUET. c. 26.

performed with applauſe. He often pleaded in the ſenate for or againſt ſuch perſons of diſtinction as were accuſed, not being governed therein by friendſhip or enmity, but by the ſubject; for he was ready to accuſe a friend, or defend an enemy, according as he thought the ſubject moſt proper to diſplay his eloquence. When he declaimed, he conſtantly invited, by a public proclamation, the knights to hear him, who never failed to applaud him; and indeed he well deſerved their applauſe, for though he undervalued the other liberal arts, he ſtudied eloquence with great application, and ſpoke very pertinently, eſpecially in accuſing (68).

(68) *Suet. c.* 53.

gree from *Agrippa*, who was not of an illuſtrious deſcent [z] (R). *Dion Caſſius* obſerves in this place, that *Caius* being jealous of the power and courage of *L. Piſo*, proconſul of *Africa*, and probably the ſon of that *Piſo*, who was ſuppoſed to have poiſoned *Germanicus*, took from him and his ſucceſſors the command of the legion quartered there, and the *Numidian* auxiliaries, and gave it to a lieutenant. Theſe lieutenants, by degrees, became more powerful than the proconſuls, and were in after-ages ſtyled *Counts of* Africa [a]. This regulation was introduced, according to *Tacitus* [b], one or two years before, while *M. Silanus* was proconſul of *Africa*. It is not eaſy, nor indeed of any importance, to decide, which of theſe two writers may be in the right.

The origin of the counts of Africa.

Prepares for war againſt the Germans.

Towards the end of the year, *Caius* undertook an expedition into *Gaul*, under colour of oppoſing the *Germans*, who were ſaid to have committed ſome hoſtilities; but his real motive was to plunder that wealthy province, and likewiſe *Spain*, after he had with extravagant tributes and taxes quite drained *Italy*. He never mentioned this deſign, till going one day to *Mevania*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, to ſee the celebrated river and foreſt of *Clitumnus*, he was adviſed to complete the number of the *Batavians*, who were then his guards. Upon this he took a fancy to make war upon the *Germans*, and, without further deliberation, ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of proviſions to be got ready.

His march. His orders being executed with ſurpriſing expedition, he immediately began his march, moving ſometimes with ſuch haſte, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged, which had never before been practiſed, to have their ſtandards brought after them on their ſumpter-horſes; at other times ſo ſlowly, that he ſeemed to walk only for his diverſion. He was carried the beſt part of the way in a litter on eight men's ſhoulders, having ſent before meſſengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their high-ways well ſwept and watered, that he might not be trou-

[z] Suet. c. 23. [a] Dio. p. 656. [b] Tacit. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 48.

(R) He uſed to ſpeak very contemptuouſly, not only of *Agrippa*, but of his great-grandmother *Livia Auguſta*, calling her *Ulyſſem ſtolatum*, that is, in our language, an *Ulyſſes in petticoats*. In a letter to the ſenate, he reflected on her pedigree, pretending that *Auſidius Lingo*, her grandfather by the mother, was but a common decurio at *Fundi*, though it appeared from the public records, that he had diſcharged very conſiderable offices at *Rome* (69).

(69) *Idem*, c. 23.

bled

bled with duſt. He was attended in this mock expedition by *Herod* king of *Batanea* and *Trachonitis*, and by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and followed by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, looſe women, &c. with whom he ſpent his whole time [c]. When he arrived at the place, where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thouſand men. To acquire the reputation of a ſevere and ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, he diſmiſſed with ignominy and diſgrace ſeveral old officers, who had ſerved their time, pretending that they were unfit for the ſervice, but in reality to exempt himſelf from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans [d]. He paſſed the *Rhine*, but after advancing a few miles into the country, he returned without having killed or even ſeen a ſingle enemy, though one would have judged from his mighty preparations, that he would have over-run the whole country. *Tacitus* tells us, that one *Brinio* or *Brenno*, prince of the *Caninefates*, ridiculed with impunity this fooliſh expedition of *Caius* [e]. And indeed, well he might; for while he, who had threatened the barbarians with utter deſtruction, was paſſing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowneſs of the place, one happening to ſay, that great would be their confuſion, if the enemy ſhould appear, he immediately threw himſelf out of his chariot, mounted on horſeback, and flew back to the bridges with a deſign to repaſs the river; but finding them crouded with the ſervants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too ſoon get out of the enemy's country [f]. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and well aſſured that there was nothing to fear, he cauſed ſome of his *German* guards to croſs the *Rhine*, and after having concealed themſelves for ſome time in a neighbouring foreſt, to riſe out of their ambuſcade in a great tumult and hurry; that upon the alarm, which this would occaſion, word might be brought him, that the enemy was at hand; which being done accordingly, the mock hero, ſtarting up from his dinner, and putting himſelf at the head of a party of the prætorian horſe, haſtened to oppoſe the enemy, and advancing to the foreſt, there ſpent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for ſo ſignal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice thoſe who had not followed him, but rewarded ſuch as had borne with him the brunt of the

His fright and conſternation.

His exploits.

[c] DIO. p 656. SUET. c 43. [d] SUET. c. 44. DIO. p. 657, 658. [e] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 15. [f] SUET. c. 44. & 51.

day

day with a new ſort of crowns, which, to diſtinguiſh them from all others, he called *exploratoriæ*. But this expedition, however glorious and ſucceſsful, not ſatisfying his martial ardor, he reſolved to ſignalize himſelf by ſome other ſtill more noble atchievement. With this view he ordered ſome children whom he kept as hoſtages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought to him that they had made their eſcape; upon which he immediately mounted on horſeback, purſued the ſuppoſed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After theſe noble atchievements, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themſelves in banquets, pleaſures, and diverſions, while *Cæſar* was fighting, and expoſed for their ſafety to ſo many perils and hazards. But the moſt glorious of all his exploits was his receiving under his protection *Adminius*, who being baniſhed by his father *Cynobelinus*, one of the kings of *Britain*, fled to him with a ſmall retinue. This ſeemed to him ſo memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the whole iſland, ſtrictly injoining the meſſengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the conſuls, but in the preſence of the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of *Mars*. In the mean time he cauſed himſelf to be ſeven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the *Rhine* [g].

His boaſting letters to the ſenate.

His extortions and cruelties in Gaul.

The *Gauls* would have reckoned themſelves happy, had he done them no more harm, than he did the enemy. But his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to harraſs and oppreſs that unhappy nation with ſuch extortions, as reduced even the moſt wealthy to beggary. Not ſatisfied with the great preſents, which he obliged both the cities and particular perſons to make him, he cauſed the moſt wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accuſed of treaſon, that he might ſeize their eſtates, which he ſold in perſon, obliging others to purchaſe them at the price he thought fit to put upon them. Having one day loſt at dice an immenſe ſum, he cauſed the regiſters, which ſerved for the cenſus, to be brought to him; and writing a liſt of thoſe who poſſeſſed the greateſt eſtates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and ſeized all their effects [h].

[g] Idem, c. 44—46. Dio p. 657. [h] Dio ibid.

About

ABOUT this time, was diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt *Caius*; but whether it was real, or only ſuppoſed, is ſtill uncertain (S). *Lentulus* and *Lepidus* were ſaid to be at the head of it. *Cneius Lentulus Getulicus* had commanded the legions in *Higher Germany*, for the ſpace of ten years, *Tiberius* not daring to remove him, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. But he was doomed to death by *Caius* [i], for no other crime, but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the ſacrifices which were offered on the twenty-ſeventh of *October*, by way of thankſgiving for the happy diſcovery, ſays the inſcription, of the wicked deſigns of *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* [k]. His employment was given to *Sulpitius Galba*, afterwards emperor, who, the next day after his arrival in the camp, gave ſignal inſtances of his zeal for military diſcipline, of which more in his reign. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s grand-daughter, and ſiſter to *Agrippina* the mother of *Caius* [l], who nevertheleſs condemned him as guilty of treaſon, and charged a tribune, by name *Decimus*, to cut off his head [m] (T). At the ſame time, he condemned his two ſiſters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla* or *Julia*, as guilty of adultery with *Lepidus*, and privy to the conſpiracy; and confined them to the iſland of *Pontia*, adding with threats, *That he had ſwords as well as iſlands* [n]. After this he wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them that he had eſcaped a dangerous conſpiracy, and inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt his ſiſters, whom he was not aſhamed to charge with moſt infamous crimes. He ſent three daggers to

The conſpiracy of Lentulus *and* Lepidus.

Caius *banijhes his ſiſters* Agrippina *and* Livilla.

[i] Idem ibid. [k] GRUT. p 117. [l] TACIT. annal. vi. c. 30. [m] Dio. p. 648. SENEC. ep. 4. [n] SUET. c. 29. Dio. p. 657.

(S) *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of it as an imaginary conſpiracy (24); but *Suetonius* ſuppoſes it to have been a real one (25). *Lipſius* takes it to be that plot which *Tacitus* mentions to have been diſcovered to *Caius* by *Anicius Cerealis* (26).

(T) *M. Lepidus* was greatly, nay too much, beloved by *Caius*, if *Dion* does not confound him with *M. Lepidus Mneſter*, the mimic, with whom *Caius* maintained a ſcandalous commerce (27). *Æmilius* was admitted by the emperor to the great employments five years before the age preſcribed by the laws; nay, we are told, that *Caius* promiſed to name him for his ſucceſſor. But *Lepidus*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the emperor, debauched his two ſiſters *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, hoping, as was ſuppoſed, by his familiarity with them, to raiſe himſelf to the empire.

(24) *Dio. p.* 657. (25) *Suet. in Claud. c.* 9. (26) *Tacit. annal.* xxvi. *c.* 17. (27) *Suet. c.* 36.

Rome

Rome to be conſecrated there to *Mars the avenger*, with an inſcription, importing, that they had been deſigned for his deſtruction; and obliged *Agrippina* to carry from *Gaul* to *Rome* the urn with the bones of *Lepidus*. He ſold all the furniture, jewels, ſlaves, and even the freedmen of his ſiſters, after their condemnation. As he degraded himſelf to ſell them in perſon, he put his own price upon them, and obliged the *Gauls* to purchaſe them. This kind of traffic proving very advantageous, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of *Marc Antony*, of *Auguſtus*, of his mother *Agrippina*, and others of the imperial family, to be ſent him from *Rome*, and ſold them in the ſame manner. So many carriages and beaſts of burden were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from *Italy* to *Gaul*, that no horſes being found to turn the mills, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the city was reduced to great ſtraits for want of bread [o]. But, notwithſtanding the immenſe and almoſt incredible ſums he raiſed by theſe ſales, he ſtill wanted money, being no leſs boundleſs in his prodigality (U), than iniquitous in his extortions.

By what vile means he raiſed money in Gaul.

When

[o] Suet. ibid.

(U) In luxury, ſays *Suetonius* (28), and extravagance, he far outdid all the prodigals of his age. He uſed baths of ſweet oils with the moſt coſtly perfumes that could be purchaſed. At his entertainments he often cauſed the largeſt pearls to be diſſolved in vinegar, to diſplay his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes to divert himſelf with his gueſts, he cauſed empty diſhes of pure gold to be ſerved up, which he diſtributed among them, ſaying, that at *Cæſar*'s table their bread and meat muſt be nothing but gold. For ſeveral days together he took delight in throwing down from the top of a tower conſiderable ſums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the ſterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious ſtones, the ſails of various ſilks, the cabins and galleries ſpacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the ſhade of which he often dined, coaſting along the ſhore of *Campania*, with great pomp and ſplendor, being entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all ſorts of inſtruments. In all his buildings he conſidered nothing but his own particular fancy, and thought nothing anſwerable to his grandeur, but what to others ſeemed impoſſible. He raiſed pillars and towers in the ſea, cut his way through rocks of the moſt impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, raiſed plains and vallies, *&c.* (29). *Joſephus* obſerves, that he never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, that is, uſeful to the public, except an harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* for the convenience and ſafety of the ſhips, which con-

(28) *Suct. c.* 37. (29) *Idem, c.* 29.

veyed

WHEN the death of *Lepidus* and *Getulicus* was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who ſtudied to inſinuate himſelf by any means into the emperor's favour, was for throwing the bodies of the conſpirators into the *Tiber*, and depriving them of the honour of ſepulture. Neither did the ſenate omit ſo favourable an opportunity of heaping new honours upon the prince; amongſt others they decreed him an ovation, and deputed his uncle *Claudius*, with ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank drawn by lot, to go into *Gaul*, and congratulate him in their name upon the diſcovery of ſo dangerous a conſpiracy, and the deſerved vengeance he had taken on the conſpirators. But *Caius*, not ſatisfied with the honours decreed him, eſpecially with an ovation, and complaining of the ſmall number of the deputies, ordered ſome of them to return even before they entered *Gaul*, as if they had been ſpies, and received the others with great coldneſs. He chiefly reſented their ſending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor. He did not, however, ſend him back, but treated him in a moſt ignominious manner [p]; nay, we are told, that he cauſed him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived [q]. After this the ſenate decreed him greater honours,

New honours decreed him by the ſenate.

[p] DIO. p. 658. [q] SUET. in Claud. c. 9.

veyed corn from *Alexandria* to *Italy*; but this he left unfiniſhed (30). *Suetonius* (31) enumerates ſeveral works, which he undertook, but none of any uſe to the public, except a fine aqueduct, which *Claudius* finiſhed fourteen years after. *Frontinus* mentions another aqueduct amongſt the works of *Caius*, but upon what authority we know not. He cauſed an obeliſk to be brought out of *Egypt*, which *Suetonius* (32) calls the *great obeliſk*, and placed it in the circus on mount *Vatican*. The ſhip, in which it was conveyed to *Rome*, was the fineſt and largeſt that had ever appeared on the ſea till *Pliny*'s time, who tells us, that four men could ſcarce fathom the maſt of this extraordinary veſſel (33). He deſigned to rebuild the palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*, to finiſh the temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*, and to found a new city on the top of the *Alps*; but his favourite project was to cut the iſthmus of *Corinth*, and open a communication between thoſe two ſeas; in which undertaking he was attended with no better ſucceſs than thoſe who attempted it after him (34). *Seneca* mentions an immenſe ſum expended by him in one banquet (35); and *Pliny* ſpeaks of a ſplendid and coſtly entertainment, which he gave to fifteen gueſts in the hollow of a plane-tree, framed in the form of a room (36).

(30) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xix. *c.* 2. (31) *Suet. c.* 21. (32) *Suet. in Claud. c* 20. (33) *Plin. l.* xxvi. *c.* 40. (34) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 4. *Suet. c.* 21. (35) *Senec. ad Hely. c.* 9. (36) *Plin. l.* xii. *c.* 1.

and ſent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of ſatisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies [r]. In the mean time, proſecutions were carried on at *Rome* againſt the friends of *Caius*'s ſiſters, and of thoſe who had been executed for the late conſpiracy. Several ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before the ſenate in the habit of criminals. Among the reſt *Sophronius Tigellinus*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Nero*, was baniſhed for a criminal correſpondence with *Agrippina*. Theſe proceedings terrified the ſenate, who apprehended ſtill greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and gave ear, as was ſuppoſed, to the pernicious counſels of the kings *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*.

He marries Cæſonia.

Caius, after the condemnation of his ſiſters, divorced his wife *Lollia Paulina* to marry *Milonia Cæſonia*, who was neither beautiful nor young, being already the mother of three children by another huſband, who was ſtill alive. She had, however, a particular talent and addreſs in gaining the affections of all with whom ſhe converſed; inſomuch, that *Caius* loved her intirely, and lived longer with her than any other [s] (W). He married her, according to *Suetonius*, the ſame day that ſhe was delivered of a daughter, declaring himſelf her huſband, and the father of the child [t]. But *Dion* ſays, that he married her about a month before her delivery [u]. To the child he gave the name of *Julia Druſilla*, carried her to the temples of all the goddeſſes in *Rome*, and put her into the arms of *Minerva*, as

[r] Dio. ibid. [s] Dio. p. 658. Suet. c. 25. [t] Suet. ibid. [u] Dio. ibid.

(W) *Cæſonia* was daughter to *Viſtilia*, who, if *Pliny* is to be credited (37), was delivered of two children in ſeven months time, of one in eleven, and of *Cæſonia* in eight. All theſe children lived, as the ſame writer obſerves, to a competent age, and enjoyed good health. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæſonia* gained and maintained the affections of *Caius* by her monſtrous lewdneſs (38). After her huſband's death, ſhe was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which, affecting his brain, had diſordered his underſtanding, and occaſioned that fury and madneſs which had brought ſo many calamities upon the ſtate. Whether ſhe adminiſtered to him any ſuch potion, is uncertain; but this ſerved as a pretence for the conſpirators to diſpatch both her and her daughter after the murder of *Caius* (39). *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor often ſhewed her to his ſoldiers habited like them, and to his friends without any garments (40).

(37) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 5. (38) *Suet. c.* 25. (39) *Joſeph. ibid. c.* 2. *Juvenal. ſatyr.* 6. *v.* 615. (40) *Suet. c.* 25.

if

if to that powerful goddeſs he committed the care of her education [w]. He laid her likewiſe at the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, ſaying, that ſhe was common to him and *Jupiter*, and leaving all men to judge which of her parents was the greateſt, from which ſhe derived the more noble origin [x]. But nothing more aſſured *Caius*, that ſhe was his daughter, for her mother was not renowned for her chaſtity, than her natural fierceneſs, of which ſhe ſoon gave ſufficient indications, by ſcratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played with her [y]. Upon her birth *Caius* complained of his poverty, as we have hinted above, and obliged the people to contribute large ſums for the educating and marrying her ſuitable to her rank, which he applyed to his own uſe. He likewiſe declared by an edict, that on the firſt of *January* he intended to receive new-year's gifts, which he did accordingly, ſtanding in the porch of his palace, while the people and nobility with full hands and laps poured out their preſents before him [z]. *Auguſtus* had formerly received new-year's gifts, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, but not out of covetouſneſs, as *Caius*, who is ſaid to have had ſuch a paſſion for money, that his chief delight was to walk barefoot, and even roll himſelf upon heaps of gold, which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine [a]. *His meanneſs.*

Galba *defeats the* Germans.

THIS year, the *Germans*, having no doubt drawn together their forces to oppoſe *Caius*, made upon his departure an inroad into *Gaul*; but were repulſed by *Galba* with ſuch vigour and expedition, that *Caligula* could not forbear commending and rewarding both him and his troops, though he generally uſed, out of jealouſy and envy, to diſcountenance ſuch of his officers as had gained any conſiderable advantage over the enemy. *Caius* who was then in *Gaul*, aſſumed the whole glory of this action to himſelf, and acquainted the ſenate with it by a letter, which he ſent wrapt up in the branch of a laurel, the ſymbol of victory, boaſting, that he had utterly defeated the enemy's numerous forces, and put them out of a condition of diſturbing for the future the tranquillity of *Gaul* [b]. *Veſpaſian*, then prætor, begged he might be allowed to exhibit extraordinary ſports on occaſion of ſo ſignal a victory [c] (X). This year, *Herod Antipas*

[w] DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 673. SUET. ibid. [x] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [y] SUET. ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, c. 42. [b] PERSIUS, ſatyr. 6. [c] SUET. in Veſp. c. 2.

(X) On this occaſion probably happened what we read in *Suetonius*, viz that *Caius*, upon the news of the motions of the *Germans*, ſeized on all the ſhips he could get, in order to convey himſelf into the *Levant*, comforting himſelf with this thought, that he ſhould keep

Herod Antipas *baniſhed.*

pas was by *Caius* deprived of his tetrarchy of *Galilee*, which was given to king *Agrippa*, and baniſhed to *Lions*, as *Joſephus* writes in one place [d], or ſent into *Spain*, as he tells us in another [e]. Perhaps *Caius*, who came this year with *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, ordered him to remove from *Lions* to *Spain*, where he died. He had enjoyed his tetrarchy forty-eight years, during which time he built a new city in the moſt delightful ſpot of *Galilee*, which from *Tiberius* he named *Tiberias*. But of his actions and cauſe of his diſgrace, we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of the *Jews*.

Sports exhibited by Caius *at* Lions.

The following year, *Caius* was conſul without a collegue for the firſt twelve days, not deſignedly, but becauſe he was not acquainted ſooner with the death of the perſon who had been named for his collegue, and died at *Rome* a few days before he was to enter upon his office [f]. *Caius* began his third conſulſhip at *Lions*, and it was probably on that occaſion, that he exhibited the magnificent ſports deſcribed by *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius*. At the ſame time, he ordained a ſolemn contention of eloquence, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, obliging thoſe who were overcome to give rewards to their competitors, and to make ſome compoſition or other in their commendation. Thoſe who gave no ſatisfaction at all were condemned to blot out with a ſponge, and even with their tongues, what they had wrote, unleſs they choſe rather to be whipt like ſchool-boys, or to be thrown into the *Rhone* [g]. Hence an antient poet, ſpeaking of one who was in fear, ſays, that he trembled like an orator, ready to declaim at *Lions* before the altar of *Auguſtus* [h]. Of this altar at *Lions*, and the ſports yearly exhibited there in honour of the deified *Auguſtus*, we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of his reign.

Caius held the conſulſhip only twelve days; and when news of his reſignation was brought to *Rome*, two new conſuls, probably *Publicola* and *Nerva* (Y), were nominated. The firſt decree

[d] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. [e] Idem, bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. [f] Dio. p. 653. Suet. c. 17. [g] Suet. c. 20. [h] Juven. ſatyr. 1.

keep his tranſmarine provinces, though the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of *Italy* and *Rome* itſelf, as the *Senones* had formerly done 41).

(Y) *Onuphrius* takes theſe two to be the conſuls of this year, becauſe *S. Proſper* marks them as the conſuls of the foregoing year, when, according to the general opinion of the chronologers, that office was diſcharged by *Caius Cæſar* and *L. Apronius Cæſianus*. The ſame writer pretends, that *Sex. Nonius Celer* and *Junius Quintilianus*, ſet down by *Frontinus* (42) as conſuls between the years thirty-eight

(41) *Suet. c.* 51. (42) *Front. de aquæd. p.* 119.

and

decree they made was, that the anniverſary of the death of *Tiberius* and *Druſilla* ſhould be ſolemnized in the ſame manner as that of *Auguſtus*. This diſtinction *Caius* had required in a letter to the new conſuls [i]. As for *Caius*, he began the year with the murder of *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, and couſin-german to his father *Germanicus* (Z). He had invited him to his court, and received him at his arrival with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; but obſerving one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the ſports, that the luſtre of his purple drew upon him the eyes of the whole company, he cauſed him, no doubt out of jealouſy, to be immediately arreſted, condemned him to baniſhment, and privately ordered him to be maſſacred on his journey [k]. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes his death to the great riches he poſſeſſed [l]. Be that as it will, the *Mauritanians*, upon the news of his death, revolted, being ſtirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceaſed prince's freedmen, deſirous to revenge the death of his maſter. The inhuman and imperious tyrant cauſed likewiſe *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* to be arreſted, but only condemned him to baniſhment. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this prince in the following reign.

The murder of Ptolemy *king of* Mauritania.

Caius, before he left *Gaul*, gave out, that he deſigned to invade *Britain*, and accordingly ordered his troops from all quarters to march to the *Gauliſh* ſhore oppoſite to that iſland. He ſoon came to the place of the rendezvous himſelf, and upon his arrival drew up his men along the coaſt, imbarqued on a magnificent galley, and having advanced a ſmall way from the ſhore, returned ſuddenly, and, aſcending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be diſpoſed in order and to the beſt advantage, the trumpets to ſound, and the ſignal of battle to be given. Neither ſoldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a ſudden he ordered them to gather the cockle-ſhells on the ſhore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, ſaying, *Theſe are the ſpoils of the conquered*

Caius's *memorable expedition againſt* Britain.

[i] Dio. p. 659. [k] Suet. c. 35. [l] Dio. p. 659.

and forty-nine of the chriſtian æra, bore that dignity from the firſt of *July* to the end of this year (43).

(Z) He was the ſon of *Cleopatra Selene*, daughter of *Antony* and the celebrated *Cleopatra*, as *Germanicus* was the ſon of *Antonia*, daughter to the ſame *Antony*. *Juba*, the father of *Ptolemy*, was firſt king of *Mauritania*, which *Auguſtus* made him exchange for part of *Getulia*, and the countries formerly poſſeſſed by *Bocchus*, that is, the two *Mauritanias*, the *Tingitana* and *Cæſariana* (44).

(43) *Onuph. in faſt. p.* 298. (44) *Dio. l.* lv. *p.* 567. *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 5. & 23.

quered

quered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capitol. Then, to reward his fellow-ſoldiers for ſo glorious a victory, he diſtributed among them a very conſiderable ſum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in ſafety the rewards of their valour; and that ſo glorious a conqueſt might never be forgot, he cauſed a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, for ſetting up lights to direct ſhips at ſea in the night [m]. A modern writer [n] will have the tower built on this occaſion to be that which ſtands at the entry of the port of *Boulogne*, and is called by the natives *la tour d'ordre*.

His folly and ambition.

His cruel deſign.

And now *Caius* thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble atchievements. Accordingly he wrote to his officers at *Rome*, injoining them to get every thing ready for the moſt magnificent triumph that had ever been ſeen; but at the ſame time warning them, not to put him to any extraordinary expence, ſince every man's eſtate was at their diſpoſal. Before he left *Gaul*, he choſe the talleſt men of that province, without diſtinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them *German* names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow and colour it red, that they might paſs for *Germans*. He likewiſe commanded the galleys, in which he and his chief officers had put to ſea, to be conveyed to *Rome* for moſt part of the way by land [o]. Before he left *Gaul*, he took it in his head to put thoſe legions to the ſword that had mutinied after the death of *Auguſtus*, and in a manner beſieged his father *Germanicus* and himſelf, then an infant. His officers, with the utmoſt difficulty, diſſuaded him from cutting them all off; but could not by any means divert him from decimating them for a crime, which had been ſo many years before committed and forgiven. Notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of his friends and chief officers, he ordered them to aſſemble without arms to receive his commands. The legionaries, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt his deſign, readily obeyed, and, in the mean time, the cavalry began to ſurround them. This gave them ſome umbrage, and many of them ſlipt away to take their arms, with a deſign to ſell their lives dear, in caſe any violence was offered them; which the coward no ſooner perceived, than he diſmiſſed the aſſembly and fled, making what haſte he could to reach *Rome*, that he might vent his rage upon the ſenate, for the wrong he pretended they had done him by not decreeing him a triumph, though he had declared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours, and that he would puniſh them with the utmoſt

Sets out for Rome.

[m] Suet. c. 46. Dio. p. 659. [n] Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 13.
[o] Suet. c. 47.

ſeverity,

ſeverity, if they pretended to aſſume it [p]. They chiefly were at a loſs how to behave with reſpect to his pretended conqueſt of *Britain*. To compliment him on his victory looked like mockery; on the other hand, they were told, that he ſpoke ſeriouſly of it as a noble exploit. What reſolution they took in the end, we find no-where recorded. *Suetonius* only tells us, that they diſpatched an embaſſy to him, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable men of their order, intreating him to haſten his return to the city. The deputies met him on his journey towards *Rome*, not yet recovered from his late fright, and with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion preſented their requeſt to him in the name of their whole body. *I will come*, anſwered *Caius*, *I will come, and bring this along with me*, laying his hand on the hilt of his ſword. He even declared by an edict, which he cauſed to be ſet up in the city, that he would return; but it ſhould be only for the knights and people; as for the ſenate, he would for the future be to them neither a prince nor a citizen. As he drew near *Rome*, he forbad any of the ſenators to meet him. He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himſelf with an ovation, making his entry on the laſt of *Auguſt*, which was his birth-day, four months and ſome days before his death [q]. From this time he reſolved utterly to extirpate the ſenate, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been prevented by death. In the four months he lived, he cauſed ſeveral ſenators of diſtinction to be inhumanly murdered, one in particular for no other crime, but becauſe he begged leave to ſhut his eyes, being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to aſſiſt at the execution of his ſon [r]. For the bloody and inhuman monſter took great delight, as we have hinted above, in thus tormenting the moſt innocent parents. It was commonly reported, that he deſigned to cut off the moſt conſiderable men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, and then remove the ſeat of the empire to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*. This report gained great credit after his death, when two books were found in his cabinet, one with the title of *gladius, the ſword*, the other of *pugio, the dagger*, both containing the names of many eminent perſons, whom he deſigned to deſtroy [s]. Theſe books were committed to the cuſtody of *Protogenes*, one one of the miniſters of his cruelty [t]. Beſides theſe books was found a great cheſt filled with various ſorts of poiſons, which being by *Claudius*'s orders thrown into the ſea, infected the waters, and deſtroyed a vaſt quantity of fiſh [u]. However, he

He threatens the ſenate.

Various inſtances of his cruelty.

[p] SUET. c. 48. [q] SUET. c. 49. [r] SUET. c. 27. DIO. p 660. [s] Idem, c. 49. [t] DIO. ibid. [u] SUET. ibid.

was

was ſomewhat reconciled to the ſenate before his death on the following occaſion: *Protogenes*, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into the ſenate under colour of delivering ſome meſſage from the prince, and all the ſenators crouding round him to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on *Scribonius Proculus*, and with an angry tone, *How dare you*, ſaid he, *preſume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to* Cæſar? There wanted no more, the other ſenators inſtantly fell upon him with their daggers, ſtabbed him in ſeveral places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled members about the ſtreets, *Caius* beholding with great pleaſure ſo diſmal a ſpectacle [w]. *Suetonius* tells us, that this worthy ſenator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to ſatisfy *Caius*, who, taking a fancy to ſee a ſenator thus mangled, had without the leaſt provocation pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty ſatiated, till the limbs and bowels of the innocent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleaſed with ſo diſmal a ſight, and the readineſs the ſenate had ſhewn to take vengeance on his ſuppoſed enemy, he declared himſelf by a public edict reconciled with that body [x]; and the ſenate on their ſide, to acknowledge ſo great a favour, honoured him ſometimes with the title of *hero*, and ſometimes of *god*; which ſcandalous flattery puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth he ſhewed himſelf more ambitious than ever of divine honours, puniſhing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, perſons of great merit and diſtinction, for neglecting to invoke his celeſtial genius: nay, ſome, for pretended offences againſt his godhead, were firſt torn and mangled with ſtripes, and then ſawed aſunder [y] (A).

Dion

[w] Idem, c. 28. Dio. ibid. [x] Suet. ibid. [y] Dio. p. 661.

(A) What *Pliny* relates (45), if true, might have ſufficiently convinced him both of his folly and weakneſs. For that writer tells us, that the laſt time he left *Rome*, as he went by ſea from *Aſturia* to *Antium*, his galley, which was attended by many others, ſtopt all on a ſudden; and while the other veſſels purſued their courſe, continued immoveable in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of four hundred rowers. The whole company were greatly ſurpriſed, as we may well imagine, at ſuch an extraordinary accident, and many of the mariners threw themſelves into the ſea to find out the cauſe of it; when they diſcovered a fiſh about half a foot in length, which ſeemed to be of the ſnail kind, faſtened to the keel of the royal galley. This is the fiſh to which the *Greeks* have given the name of

(45) *Plin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 1.

echeneis,

The inconſtancy and ficklneſs of Caius's temper.

Dion Caſſius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the diſmal effects of his pride, avarice, lewdneſs, prodigality, &c. obſerves in this place, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconſtancy and ficklcneſs of his humour, which often hurried him in a moment from one extreme to another; and concludes his obſervations with the following words: Sometimes he liked to ſee his palace crouded, and ſometimes would ſee no company, not his moſt intimate friends: he was out of humour when any petition was preſented to him; and more ſo, when nobody appeared to aſk him any favour: ſometimes he diſpatched buſineſs with great expedition; at other times he was ſlow and tedious, putting off from day to day matters which required the greateſt diſpatch: he ſquandered away immenſe treaſures with a prodigality which knew no bounds, and amaſſed new ſums with the moſt ſordid avarice: ſometimes he was pleaſed with liberty of ſpeech and abhorred flattery; but all on a ſudden puniſhed the leaſt liberty, and took delight in being flattered: he often pardoned thoſe who were guilty of moſt enormous crimes, and condemned ſuch as were not charged with any: upon ſome of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, nobody knew why, with the utmoſt contempt: in ſhort, ſo changeable was his humour, ſo various and inconſiſtent was his conduct, that his moſt intimate friends were at a loſs what they ſhould do, what they ſhould ſay to pleaſe him, ſeeing he was often affronted with what he had taken delight in a few hours before [z] (B).

THE

[z] Idem, p. 641—644.

echeneis, and the *Latins* that of *remora*. It was brought to *Caius*, who, inſtead of acknowledging his folly, in pretending to be equal in power to the gods, foamed with rage upon his reflecting, that ſo ſmall a creature had thus bid defiance to ſo mighty a prince, to the lord of the univerſe.

(B) This is intirely agreeable to what we have read in *Philo*, who was well acquainted with *Caius*'s ſtrange and variable humour. There was no depending, ſays that writer, upon the kindneſs and good-will he ſhewed you, however great and in appearance ſincere. When he had granted a favour, he ſoon repented and recalled it; nay his benefits were often the fore-runners of greater evils. Thus he frequently ſet at liberty ſuch as were confined for crimes real or ſuppoſed, and ſoon after ordered them to be dragged back to the place of their confinement without any new guilt, telling them, to increaſe their former miſeries, that now they were to expect no mercy. Many he condemned only to baniſhment, when they expected nothing but a cruel death; then, repenting of his clemency, he cauſed them to be executed in the place of their exile. His bounties he often

A conspiracy formed against him.

The following year, *Caius* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Cn. Sextius Saturninus* for his collegue, but held it only to the ſeventh of *January*, when he reſigned the faſces to *Quintus Pomponius Secundus*. *Rome* had now for the ſpace of near four years groaned under the oppreſſions of the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant, that had ever been inveſted with power; when at length a bloody doom overtook the author of ſo much blood-ſhed and ſlaughter. The conſpiracy, which for the preſent put an end to the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by *Caſſius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner, as we have already obſerved, in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, when the legions in *Germany* revolted. As he was a man of no leſs probity than bravery, the hatred he bore *Caius*, on account of his cruelties and extortions, firſt inſpired him with the deſign of ridding the world of ſo great a plague. He was already reſolved to reſign his employment, and ſpend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commiſſion from *Caius* to gather the taxes; for no commodity eſcaped without paying ſome tax or other, and the emperor levied them not by the publicans, as was uſual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages thence accruing. In this commiſſion *Chærea*, who was naturally compaſſionate, acquitted himſelf more to the ſatisfaction of the oppreſſed people, than of the emperor, who thereupon reproached him with want of ſpirit; and, conceiving an averſion to him, took pleaſure in expoſing him to the deriſions of the ſoldiery. For though he was a man of great courage and reſolution, yet, from his manner of ſpeaking and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him, ſays *Seneca* [a], for a perſon of that extraordinary bravery, which he ſhewed on all occaſions, without betraying the leaſt concern in the greateſt dangers. *Caius*, now incenſed againſt him, laid hold of his outward appearance to reproach him with effeminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converſe with women, than command men. When it was his turn to come

Chærea *at the head of the conſpiracy.*

[a] Sen. c. ad Ser. c. 18.

often revoked, obliging thoſe, who had received them, to refund them with uſury. Several of his chief favourites he reduced to beggary, that they might not be tempted to retire, and enjoy the wealth which they acquired. Thus the very favours he beſtowed were in the end attended with the ruin of thoſe who received them, and therefore no leſs dreaded than his reſentment (46).

(46) *Philo legat.* p. 1039.

for

for the parole, the emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always either ſome obſcene word, or the name of ſome famous proſtitute; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought them the parole, and often diverted themſelves with gueſſing what word *Chærea* would bring. But, as he was a man of too great ſpirit to put up ſuch groſs affronts, he reſolved to convince the emperor how undeſervedly he was taxed by him with effeminacy and want of courage. Having therefore determined to be revenged at all adventures on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unſeaſonable ſarcaſms, the reputation he had deſervedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his deſign to ſome of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time, a ſenator of great diſtinction, named *Propedius*, was accuſed by one *Timidius* of having uttered injurious ſpeeches againſt *Caius*. The only evidence produced againſt him was *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian; but ſhe, when ſummoned to appear before the judges, declared that ſhe had heard no ſuch ſpeeches. Hereupon *Timidius* requiring that ſhe might be examined by torture, *Caius* ordered *Chærea* to ſee her immediately put upon the rack. *Joſephus* tells us, that the tyrant commonly charged *Chærea* with commiſſions of this nature, being perſuaded, that to avoid the imputation of faint-heartedneſs, that is, of good-nature, he would take care to execute them with extraordinary ſeverity [b]. But he was never ſo much at a loſs how to behave as on this occaſion; for *Quintilia* was privy to the conſpiracy; whence he was afraid ſhe might diſcover it upon the rack, if tortured without compaſſion; on the other hand, to ſhew any mercy to her, might coſt him his life. But *Quintilia* herſelf delivered him from his uneaſineſs; for meeting, as ſhe was led to the torture, one of the conſpirators, ſhe trod upon his foot, giving thereby to underſtand, that no torments ſhould extort from her a diſcovery of the plot. And truly ſhe bore the rack with unparallelled conſtancy, without ſuffering a ſingle word to eſcape her, in prejudice either of *Propedius* or the conſpirators, tho' ſhe was reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, that *Caius* himſelf, when ſhe was brought back to him, being moved with pity and admiring her reſolution, ordered her a ſum of money, and diſmiſſed *Propedius* untouched. As for *Chærea*, he was ſo affected with the conſtancy of *Quintilia* and the torments ſhe had ſuffered, of which he had himſelf been the miniſter, that he immediately imparted his deſign to *Papinius* and *Clemens*, the former a tribune, as he was himſelf, of one of the prætorian co-

What provoked him againſt Caius.

The conſtancy of Quintilia

[b] Joſeph. l. xix. c. 1.

horts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their bravery, and deliver *Rome* and the world from ſo bloody a tyrant, who employed them, not as the officers of the guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the deſign; but *Clemens* deſiring to be excuſed from bearing any ſhare in the execution of it on account of his age, promiſed to aſſiſt them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no ſmall anxiety and apprehenſion of his betraying the ſecret (C). *Chærea* therefore, without loſs of time, had recourſe to *Cornelius Sabinus*, tribune likewiſe of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great courage, a lover of liberty, and conſequently highly diſſatisfied with the adminiſtration of *Caius*. *Sabinus* had formed the ſame deſign, but had not yet made any one privy to it for fear of being diſcovered. He therefore readily joined *Chærea*, and with him went immediately to ſound *Annius Minucianus*, or, as others call him, *Vinicianus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction and merit, and mortally hated by *Caius*, who ſuſpected him ever ſince the conſpiracy of *Lepidus*, with whom *Minucianus* had lived in cloſe confidence. After the uſual ceremonies were over, *Minucianus* aſked *Chærea*, *What was the parole for that day?* which he taking for a ſufficient declaration of his intention, *Do you*, ſaid he, without any further preamble, *but give me the word* liberty, *and under your conduct I'll revenge my private injuries and the public calamities; do you but give me the word of command, and* Rome *ſhall no longer groan under the oppreſſions of an inſulting tyrant.* At theſe words, which *Chærea* uttered with great vehemence and ardor, *Minucianus* embracing him,

He gains ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

(C) *Clemens* ſeems to have had no ſhare in the execution of the deſign; ſince *Mucianus*, in conferring after his death the command of the prætorian cohorts upon his ſon *Clemens Martinus*, told him, that his father had with honour and reputation diſcharged that office under *Caius* (47). And yet *Dion Caſſius* names amongſt the conſpirators, *Callistus*, one of *Caius*'s freedmen, and the commander of the prætorian guards (48); and *Suetonius* tells us, that the conſpiracy was not executed without the concurrence of the moſt conſiderable amongſt the emperor's freedmen and of the officers of his guards, who joined the other conſpirators the more readily, becauſe they found themſelves ſuſpected and hated by *Caius*, ever ſince the conſpiracy of *Lepidus* (49). As for the emperor's freedmen, *Joſephus* aſſures us, that *Callistus*, the moſt wealthy amongſt them, favoured the conſpiracy, being well appriſed, that he could not by any other means eſcape the cruelty of *Caius*, and enjoy the immenſe wealth he had unjuſtly acquired (50).

(47) *Tacit hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 68. (48) *Dio. l.* lix. *p.* 662. (49) *Suet. c.* 56. (50) *Joſeph. ibid.*

com-

commended his reſolution, exhorted him to purſue his deſign, and promiſed to aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of his power, both with his ſword and counſel (D).

THE number of the conſpirators increaſed daily, which retarded the execution of the deſign, ſome of them being over-cautious, leſt they ſhould miſcarry in an enterprize, on the ſucceſs of which depended their ſafety, and the welfare of their country. If the attempt, ſaid they, ſhould not ſucceed, we ſhould ſoon ſee every houſe in the city floating in blood. Not our lives only, but thoſe of our wives, children, friends, relations, and acquaintance are at ſtake. We muſt expect no mercy from ſo cruel and inhuman a tyrant, who will take care to guard himſelf well for the future againſt any attempts of the like nature. Let us not therefore be over-haſty, but patiently wait for ſuch an opportunity, as may promiſe certain ſucceſs to our undertaking. *Chærea* did not reliſh this ſpeech; to him every opportunity ſeemed favourable: as he was not in the leaſt ſuſpected by *Caius*, he offered to diſpatch him, when he went up to the capitol to offer ſacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he aſſiſted at certain religious ceremonies, which he himſelf had inſtituted. He was for throwing him down headlong from the top of the *Julian* baſilic, whence he uſed to ſcatter money among the populace; but the reſt of the conſpirators, thinking they could not uſe too much caution, did not judge any of theſe opportunities ſufficiently ſafe and proper for the execution of their deſign. However, they all agreed at laſt to make the attempt during the ſports, which were to be exhibited in honour of *Auguſtus* in the palace on the twenty-firſt of *January*, and the three following days; for after theſe ſports, *Caius* was to leave *Rome* and repair to *Alexandria*, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of *Egypt*, as he had done the other provinces of the empire (E). But notwithſtanding their agreement

His intrepidity and reſolution.

(D) *Joſephus* tells us, that as *Chærea* was about this time entering the ſenate, no doubt to attend *Caius*, for he was no ſenator, he heard a voice, which ſeemed to come from ſome one in the croud, encouraging him to diſpatch what he deſigned, and aſſuring him, that heaven favoured his deſign. He was at firſt afraid, leſt ſome of his aſſociates had betrayed the ſecret; but afterwards concluded, that either one of his friends, or ſome divinity, puſhed him forward to the ſpeedy execution of his purpoſe (51).

(E) It was perhaps at theſe ſports, that *Caius*, tranſported with rage againſt *Jupiter*, becauſe the noiſe of thunder prevented him from hearing the actors, threw out moſt dreadful blaſphemies againſt heaven, and impiouſly defied *Jupiter* himſelf, with theſe words;

(51) *Idem ibid.*

Diſpatch

agreement and the reſolution they had all ſhewed at their laſt meeting, they were ſtill for putting off the attempt; but *Chærea*, having called them together on the third day of the ſports, exhorted them not to let ſlip the preſent opportunity, repreſented the dangers to which their irreſolution expoſed them, and, by a ſpeech full of noble and generous ſentiments, inſpired them with ſuch courage, that they unanimouſly agreed at all adventures to make the attempt the next day, when *Chærea* was by good luck to be upon guard, and conſequently to receive of the emperor, according to cuſtom, the parole with the ſword by his ſide [b] (F). *Caius* came that day, the twenty-fourth of *January*, more early than uſual, to the theatre, and appeared, contrary to his cuſtom, gay, affable, and good-humoured; inſomuch, that the ſpectators were greatly ſurpriſed at his obliging behaviour, and the complaiſance he ſhewed to all who approached him. After he had ſacrificed to *Auguſtus*, in whoſe honour the ſports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and *Chærea* with the other officers that day upon guard at ſome diſtance behind him. When the ſports began, one *Bathybius*, who had been prætor, happening to ſit by a conſular of his acquaintance, named *Cluvitus*, for at theſe ſhows there was no diſtinction of places, he aſked him ſoftly, *Whether he had heard any news? None at all*, anſwered *Cluvitus: But I can tell you ſomething*, replied *Bathybius*, *to which you are perhaps a ſtranger; in the*

A day fixed upon for putting Caius *to death.*

[b] Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1.

Diſpatch me, or I'll diſpatch you (75); for he fooliſhly perſuaded himſelf to be upon a level with, and equal in power to, the greateſt of the gods. This monſtrous impiety, ſays *Seneca*, probably animated the conſpirators with new courage.

(F) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that on the twenty-fourth of *January*, the day on which *Caius* was killed, an *Egyptian*, by name *Apollonius*, was brought to him, having been ſent out of *Egypt* to *Rome* for pretending to foretel the emperor's death. *Caius* not being then at leiſure to examine him, ordered him to be kept under cloſe confinement till the ſports were over. But he being killed in the mean time, the *Egyptian* was after one day's confinement ſet at liberty (76). *Suetonius* mentions many prodigies, to warn the emperor of his approaching end; amongſt the others he tells us, that *Caius* being admoniſhed by the oracle at *Antium* to be upon his guard againſt *Caſſius*, he immediately ſent aſſaſſins to murder *Caſſius Longinus*, at that time proconſul of *Aſia*, not remembering that *Chærea* was likewiſe named *Caſſius* (77).

(75) *Senec. de ira, l.* i. *c.* 16. (76) *Dio. p.* 663. (77) *Suet. c.* 57.

Philip

piece, which is to be acted to day, will be repreſented the death of a tyrant. *Clavitus* anſwered with a verſe out of *Homer*, which he whiſpered in his friend's ear; *Silence, leſt ſome of the* Greeks *ſhould over-hear us* [c]. Hiſtorians obſerve, that this was the day on which *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was ſlain by *Pauſanias*, as he was entering the theatre to behold the ſame tragedy that was acted before *Caius* [d]. Another piece was to be exhibited in the night, repreſenting ſome fabulous accounts of the infernal regions [e]; for *Caius*, who took great delight in ſuch repreſentations, declared, that as this was the laſt day, the ſports ſhould continue all night, with a deſign, as was believed, to appear on the ſtage himſelf, and there diſplay his ſkill and addreſs in dancing, in which he took great pride [f] (G). About noon, when the emperor uſed to withdraw for a ſhort time to bathe and refreſh himſelf with ſome nouriſhment, *Chærea* ſtole out with a deſign to fall upon him as he paſſed from the theatre to his apartment. But *Caius*, contrary to his cuſtom, ſhewed no inclination to leave the ſports, telling thoſe who ſat by him, that ſince it was the laſt day of the ſhows he had a mind not to bathe till they were over. At the ſame time, he called for ſome refreſhment, which he ſhared with thoſe who were about him, amongſt the reſt with *Pomponius Secundus*, then

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. & SUET. c. 57. [e] SUET. ibid. [f] DIO. p. 663.

(G) He was, ſays *Suetonius*, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer; he ſometimes danced on the ſtage, and frequently before his friends in the palace. One night, while he was in that humour, he ſent for three grave conſulars, cauſed them to be awaked out of their ſleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace, where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling in apprehenſion of immediate death, they ſuddenly heard a great noiſe of muſical inſtruments, and at the ſame time ſaw the emperor coming leaping out in a long robe, to diſplay before them his ſkill and addreſs in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew, and ſent the three conſulars word, that they might, when they pleaſed, return home. He took ſuch pleaſure in ſeeing *Alaſtor*, the famous mimic, dance, that he puniſhed, with great ſeverity, ſuch as gave him the leaſt diſturbance: a *Roman* knight making ſome noiſe while he was dancing, the emperor immediately ſent him word by a centurion to depart that inſtant for *Oſtia*, and there wait for a letter, which he ſhould ſoon ſend after him for *Ptolemy* king of *Mauritania*. The knight obeyed, croſſed over to *Africa*, and preſented the letter to *Ptolemy*, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words; *To the bearer do neither good nor evil* (78).

(78) *Lips.* c. 51.

conſul,

conſul, who ſat at his feet and often kiſſed them. *Minucianus*, who was next to him, and had ſeen *Chærea* go out, roſe up with a deſign to go out and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's reſolution. But *Caius* taking hold of his robe, *Sit ſtill, my friend*, ſaid he, in a very obliging manner; *you ſhall go out with me.* *Minucianus*, as it were, out of reſpect, ſat down again, but ſoon after roſe up and went out; neither did *Caius* offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon ſome neceſſary occaſion, and would ſoon return. He found *Chærea* waiting in the entry, which led to the theatre, and acquainted him with the emperor's reſolution. Hereupon the reſolute tribune thought it adviſeable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than let ſlip the preſent opportunity, and offered to go in immediately and ſtab him in his ſeat. *Minucianus*, and ſuch of the conſpirators as were with him, for ſome of them were in the theatre, expecting the ſignal, approved of *Chærea*'s bold propoſal, who was thereupon entering the theatre, when word was brought him, that the emperor, at the perſuaſion of *Ampronas*, and ſome others who were privy to the conſpiracy, had changed his mind and was coming out. The conſpirators immediately drew together, and under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed ſuch as they imagined would lend him any aſſiſtance. *Caius* at length came out, his uncle *Claudius* and *M. Vinicius*, who had married his ſiſter *Julia*, walking before him, with ſome perſons of great diſtinction. When he entered the palace, inſtead of going ſtraight to his apartment, as he uſually did, and following his officers and attendants, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to ſee there certain youths, who had been ſent him out of *Aſia*, to act and dance upon the ſtage, and were juſt then arrived. He was ſo pleaſed with them, that he would have immediately returned with them to the theatre, being impatient to ſee them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himſelf firſt †. While he was entertaining himſelf with the *Aſiatic* youths, *Chærea* came for the parole, and *Caius* gave him one, as uſual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. *Chærea* returned him a ſmart anſwer, and, at the ſame time drawing his ſword, diſcharged a great blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to thoſe, who would make us believe, that *Chærea* did not, as he might, diſpatch him at one blow, leſt he ſhould be too ſoon out of his pain ‖. *Caius*, ſtruck with amazement at the boldneſs of the

Caius *aſſaſſinated.* *Year after the flood*, 2019. *Of Chriſt*, 40. *Of* Rome, 789.

† Joseph. ibid. Suet. c. 58. Dio. p. 663 ‖ Vide Joseph. ibid.

tribune,

tribune, had not preſence of mind enough to call for aſſiſtance; however, he attempted to fly; but *Cornelius Sabinus*, having puſhed him down upon his knees, *Chærea* with another blow broke his jaw-bone; then the reſt of the conſpirators, ruſhing in, diſpatched him with thirty wounds, he for ſome time crying out, *I am ſtill alive*; and the conſpirators, *Repeat, repeat the blow*; which was the ſignal agreed on. We are told, that *Aquila* was the perſon who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conſpirators took delight in mangling his body even after his death; nay, they are ſaid to have carried their rage to ſuch a height, as to cut off and eat pieces of his fleſh [h] (H).

SUCH was the end of *Caius Cæſar Caligula*, the fourth emperor of *Rome*, a prince ſo monſtrouſly wicked, that nature, ſays *Seneca*, ſeemed to have brought him forth, to ſhew what miſchief could be effected by the greateſt vices, ſupported by the greateſt authority [i]. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *January*; ſo that he reigned but three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, according to thoſe who fix the death of *Tiberius* on the twenty-ſixth of *March*; or three years, ten months, and eight days, if we ſuppoſe him, as ſome do, to have begun his reign on the ſixteenth day of the ſaid month. He had lived, according to *Suetonius* [k], twenty-nine years; according to others, twenty-eight years, four months, and twenty-four days [l]. Of the confuſion and diſorders attending his death we ſhall ſpeak in the following reign. His body remained in the place where he had been aſſaſſinated, till the night was far ſpent, when it was privately conveyed to the *Lamian* gardens, where, being half burnt upon a pile erected in haſte, it was, without any ſolemnity, or even ceremonies, committed to the earth. This laſt duty was paid him, according to the *Roman* writers, by his wife *Cæſonia*; but,

His body privately conveyed away, and buried.

[h] DIO. p. 663. [i] SENEC. de ira. [k] SUET. c. 59.
[l] CLEM. ſtrom. l. i. p. 539. EUTROP. in vit. Claud.

(H) Some writers, quoted by *Suetonius* (79), ſay, that while he was ſpeaking with the *Aſiatic* youths, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a mortal wound on the head, ſaying, *Mind this*; after which *Cornelius Sabinus* ran him through the body. Others, cited by the ſame writer, tell us, that *Sabinus* coming for the parole, and *Caligula* giving him the word *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cried out, *Be ſure to remember it*: hereupon *Caius* turning about, *Chærea* cut off his jaw at one blow, and ſtruck him to the ground. The other conſpirators then ruſhed in, and diſpatched him (80).

(79) *Idem*, c. 58. (80) *Idem ibid.*

according to *Josephus*, by king *Agrippa*, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, caused his body to be conveyed away, lest it should be insulted by the incensed populace. Some time after his sisters, being returned from banishment, took it up again, burnt it to ashes, and solemnly interred it. *Suetonius* affirms as a thing not to be doubted of, that those who had the care of the above-mentioned gardens were frightened with dreadful apparitions, so long as the body remained there; and that in the apartment where he was murdered, a frightful noise was heard every night, till it was burnt down to the ground [l]. *Chærea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, by name *Julius Lupus*; to dispatch his wife *Cæsonia*, and with her his only daughter, an infant; the tribune stabbed without mercy the mother, and taking the innocent child out of the cradle, dashed her brains out against a wall [m]. The senate, even after *Claudius* was raised to the empire, were for declaring *Caius* infamous. This *Claudius*, who was his uncle, would not allow; but nevertheless ordered all his statues to be pulled down and broken, disannulled most of his acts, and gave his assent to a decree of the senate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future ages [n].

The birth, education, &c. of Claudius.

As we have hitherto had no opportunity to speak of *Claudius*, who succeeded his nephew, but had led a retired life till he was raised to the empire, it may not be improper to premise to the history of his reign a succinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities, and also of his wives, children, and freedmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to bring upon the stage. *Claudius* was born at *Lions* on the first of *August*, *Iulus Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus* being consuls, so that this year he was in the fiftieth of his age [o]. He was named *Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus* [p]. Upon his accession to the empire, he assumed the names of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, as did likewise all his successors; by which means the name of *Cæsar*, which was peculiar to the *Julian* family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the presumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of *Augustus* was a mark of the sovereign power. As for the name of *Julius*, it was quite laid aside, and never after assumed by any of the emperors [q]. *Claudius* was, by his mother *Antonia*, the grandson of *Marc Antony* and *Octavia*, sister to *Augustus*, and by his father

[l] Suet. c. 59. [m] Idem ibid. Dio. p. 663. Joseph. ibid. c. 2. [n] Joseph. ibid. Dio. p. 667. [o] Suet. in Claud. c. 2. [p] Suet. ibid. Dio. p. 665. [q] Vide Goltz. p. 140.

Drusus,

Druſus, who died in *Germany*, the grandſon of *Livia Auguſta*, and conſequently nephew to *Tiberius*, brother to *Germanicus*, and uncle to *Caius*. However, no one imagined he would ever have attained to the ſovereign power, till the very day he was inveſted with it, all men being rather deſtined to the empire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, than he, for whom fortune, or rather providence, reſerved it in the dark[r]. For being very ſickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was thereby ſo weakened both in his body and mind, that he was looked upon as incapable of any public employment, and long after he was of age kept under a governor, of whom he complained in a book, which he publiſhed, as of a barbarous and unmannerly perſon, who had been formerly a groom, and was ſet over him on purpoſe to plague and chaſtiſe him upon every trivial occaſion. His mother *Antonia* uſed to call him *a human monſter, juſt begun by nature, but never finiſhed*; and when ſhe upbraided any one with dulneſs and ſtupidity, her common expreſſion was, *You are as ſtupid as my ſon* Claudius: his grandmother *Livia* could not bear the ſight of him: his nephew *Caligula*, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved him purely for a laughing-ſtock; he was held in the ſame contempt by his ſiſter *Livilla*, by *Auguſtus*, and all his family (I): the kindeſt word *Auguſtus* gave him was that of *Miſellus*,

Deſpiſed by all his relations.

[r] TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 18.

(I) *Suetonius*, to ſhew us what opinion *Auguſtus* entertained of *Claudius*, produces ſeveral of the letters to *Livia* concerning him: *I have*, ſays he, in one, *my dear* Livia, *adviſed with* Tiberius *according to your deſire, about what is to be done with your nephew* Tiberius, *that is*, Claudius, *at the ſolemnity of* Mars. *We are both of opinion, that we muſt reſolve, without further delay, what courſe to take with him; if his weakneſs is not very remarkable, we ought, without all doubt, to advance him by the ſame ſteps and degrees by which his brother was raiſed. But if we find any weakneſs or incapacity in his body or mind, we muſt not give occaſion to the world to mock and deride both him and us: it is now time to deliberate and conclude, whether he is capable of public employments or not. I think it would not be amiſs to charge him, at the approaching ſolemnity of* Mars, *with the care of entertaining the prieſts, upon condition, that he ſuffers himſelf to be directed by the ſon of* Silanus *his kinſman, who will inſtruct him, and prevent his doing any thing notoriouſly ridiculous. But I am utterly againſt his ſeeing the* Circenſian *games from ſo conſpicuous a place as the pulvinar, becauſe he will be there expoſed to the eyes of the whole theatre. Neither would I have him to attend his brother on the* feriæ Latinæ *to mount* Albanus; *and as to the government of the city, during his brother's abſence, I do not think him at all qualified for ſuch an employment. Thus my dear* Livia, *I have*

Miſellus, poor wretch[s]. Being thus deſpiſed and utterly neglected by his own relations, he became the jeſt of the court (K), and

[s] Suet. c. 2, & 3.

declared my opinion, which is, that we defer no longer, but come to a final reſolution, whether we are to raiſe him or no. This part of my letter you may ſhew, if you pleaſe, to Antonia. In another he writes thus: *During your abſence, I ſhall conſtantly invite young* Tiberius *to my table, that he may not ſup with his* Sulpitius *and* Athenodorus: *I wiſh the poor child would propoſe to himſelf the example of ſome well-bred perſon, and imitate him in his geſture, habit, and mien; for tho' he is not much eſteemed by men of penetration, yet he is not without ſome noble ſentiments.* And in a third; *May I die, my dear* Livia, ſays he, *if I am not amazed how your nephew* Tiberius *could give me ſo full ſatisfaction in his declamation; it is ſurpriſing, that a perſon who talks ſo ill, ſhould write and declaim ſo well. Auguſtus*, well appriſed of the weakneſs of his underſtanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur, and in his laſt will mentioned him only amongſt his third heirs, who were no-ways related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred ſeſterces. His uncle *Tiberius* honoured him with the conſular ornaments, but never allowed him to diſcharge the office of conſul; and when the young prince importuned him for ſome real preferment, he wrote him word, that he had ſent him forty pieces of gold againſt the *Saturnalia*, or feaſts of *Saturn*, for play-money, and to lay out, as he pleaſed, in the *Sigillaria*, which was a kind of fair after the *Saturnalia*, laſting ſeven days, and ſo called from the little images and puppets, in *Latin*, *Sigilla*, which were then ſold. Upon this anſwer, *Claudius*, laying aſide all hopes of riſing to any conſiderable employment in the ſtate, betook himſelf to a retired life, ſpending his time with perſons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the ſuburbs, or at his country-houſe in *Campania*, where he gave himſelf intirely up to gaming and drinking, diverſions ſuitable to the low company he kept. However, the ſenate, in conſideration of his high birth, paſſed a decree, enacting, that he ſhould be added, above the limited number, to the college of the prieſts of *Auguſtus*, into which none had ever before been admitted but by lot; that a houſe belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground by accidental fire, ſhould be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he ſhould have a vote in the ſenate, and deliver his opinion amongſt the conſulars. But this decree did not take place, *Tiberius* alledging againſt his voting in the ſenate the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and promiſing to make good at his private expence the loſſes he had ſuſtained by fire. Nevertheleſs, *Tiberius* in his laſt will named him amongſt his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of ſeſterces (81).

(K) *Suetonius* tells us, that if he happened to come to table, when the other gueſts had taken their places, no one ſhewed him the leaſt

(81) *Idem, c. 2—7. Dio. p.* 665.

civility,

and was treated even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew with the greateſt diſreſpect imaginable (L). He was not only deſtitute of parts, but moreover extremely timorous; inſomuch, that there was no accident ſo trivial, no man, woman, ſlave, or child, ſo contemptible, as not to frighten him, and when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reaſoning. This timorouſneſs was owing to his education; for he was brought up amongſt women and freedmen, and obliged from his infancy to depend intirely upon them, and ſubmit to their will and pleaſure, without having any paſſions, or even diſcernment, of his own [t]. He gave out after he came to the throne, that in the reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caius* he had counterfeited folly to eſcape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly ſhewed, that it was not aſſumed, but real [u]. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel [w], while others aſcribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of his reign. Though he had many great faults, yet, when compared with *Tiberius* or *Caius*, he did not paſs for a bad emperor [x]. From his childhood he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences, and gave frequently public teſtimonies of his proficiency in them [z]. He arrived at no ſmall perfection in oratory, and his diſcourſe was not without elegance, when it was the reſult of ſtudy. He was well ſkilled

His timorouſneſs.

His learning.

[t] Dio. ibid. [u] SUET. c. 38. [w] Idem, c. 34. [x] DIO. l. lx. p. 665. AUR. VICT. c. 4. [z] SUET. c. 3. [a] TACIT. annal l. xiii. c. 3.

civility, but diverted themſelves with ſeeing him running about the table to find out a place; if he refreſhed himſelf, as he uſually did after meals, with a ſhort repoſe, they took pleaſure in throwing the ſtones of olives and dates at him; ſometimes they awaked him with the blow of a rod, or whip; and ſometimes, while he was aſleep, they put his ſandals upon his hands, that, when he awaked he might rub his face with them (82).

(L) He was, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, ſo notoriouſly neglected, that, notwithſtanding the prerogative of his birth, he did not riſe above the rank of a knight, till the age of forty-ſix years, when his nephew *Caius* created him ſenator, in order to honour him with the conſulate (83). Nevertheleſs, to this contempt and neglect was owing the power he acquired; for *Caius* would never have ſpared him, had he imagined him capable of aſpiring at it (84). Beſides, the baſe treatment he met with moved both the people and ſoldiery to compaſſion, and procured him their affections (85).

(82) *Suet. c* 8. (83) *Dio. p.* 644. (84) *Idem, p.* 658. (85) *Aurel. Vict. c.* 3.

both

both in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, wrote ſeveral books (M), and added three letters to the antient alphabet (N), which, however, continued in uſe no longer than his reign [b]. *Seneca* commends his works, and ſpeaks of him as an encourager of learning [c]. As to his perſon, he was tall and well-ſhaped; but had ſomething very diſagreeable in his mien, ſomething very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his low voice and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief ſubject of *Seneca*'s railleries [d]. Theſe defects, as well as his ſtammering and the trembling of his head, *Dion Caſſius* takes to be the effect of the infirmities, to which he was ſubject in his childhood and youth [e].

His perſon.

His

[b] Senec. c. 41. [c] Senec. lud. in Claud. [d] Idem ibid.
[e] Dio. c. lx. p. 665.

(M) At the perſuaſion of *Livy* the celebrated hiſtorian, and with the aſſiſtance of *Sulpitius Flavius*, *Livy* dying before he began his work, he wrote in forty-three books the hiſtory of *Rome* from the death of *Cæſar* the dictator to his own time. He is ſaid to have wrote with great liberty, and to have been on that account often rebuked by his mother *Antonia* and his grandmother *Livia*. He publiſhed alſo ſeven volumes of *his own life*, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (86), and a *defence of* Cicero *againſt the writings of* Gallus, which, in the opinion of *Suetonius* (87), was a learned performance. His hiſtory he recited in public, ſubmitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He had a particular value for the *Greek* tongue, ſpoke it fluently, and wrote in that language the hiſtory of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty books, and that of the *Carthaginians* in eight. To make theſe hiſtories the more famous, he added a new ſchool to the old one at *Alexandria*, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two *Greek* hiſtories to be read in both ſchools (88).

(N) *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, and *Varro* agree, that *Claudius* added three letters to the *Latin* alphabet, two of which are well known, *viz.* the *Æolic digamma*, and the *antiſigma*; the former was an F inverſed, thus, Ⅎ, and founded like the V; as *terminaſſit ampliaſſitque*, and *Diſi Auguſti*, &c. The antiſigma ſerved inſtead of the *Greek* Ψ, or inſtead of PS. and was wrote thus, Ↄ. The ſigma of the antient *Greeks* reſembled our C; whence *Claudius*, to his new letter, conſiſting of two ſigmas, having their backs turned to each other, thus, ↃC, gave the name of antiſigma. As to the third letter, we are quite in the dark. Some take it to have been the diphthong *ai*, which is found in moſt inſcriptions of *Claudius*'s time, thus, *ſuffragantenaiai*, *Diſai*, &c. But it is manifeſt, that this diphthong was in uſe long before his reign. Others, from a corrupt

(86) *Suet.* c. 41. (87) *Idem ibid.* (88) *Idem*, c. 42.

paſſage

His wives and children.

HIS wife, when he came to the empire, was *Valeria Meſſalina*, his couſin, whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention. He had already by her a daughter, named *Octavia*, who was afterwards married to *Nero*. Not many days after his acceſſion to the empire, his wife *Meſſalina* was delivered of a ſon, named firſt *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus Cæſar* [f]. By his ſecond wife, *Ælia Petina*, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called *Antonia*, whom he married firſt to *Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, both deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors. His firſt wife, *Plautia Urgulanilla*, brought him *Druſus*, and a daughter, called *Claudia*. *Druſus* loſt his life at *Pompeii* before he was fourteen, being choaked by an apple, which ſtuck in his throat, while, in play, he was throwing it up into the air, and catching it in his mouth. As for *Claudia*, though ſhe was born five months before he divorced her mother, yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but ſuſpecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen, called *Boter*, he cauſed her to be ſtript naked, and to be laid, after the divorce, before her mother's door [g].

His freedmen.

Meſſalina and *Agrippina*, whom he married after her death, bore an abſolute ſway over *Claudius*, who acted under them more like a ſlave than a prince [h], diſpoſing of honours, governments, employments, armies, &c. as they and his freedmen, whoſe power he raiſed as high as his own, thought fit to direct him. Amongſt the latter his chief favourites were *Poſſides* the eunuch, *Felix*, *Harpocras*, *Polybius*, and above all *Narciſſus*

[f] SUET. c. 27. DIO. p. 548. [g] SUET. ibid. [h] SUET. c. 29.

paſſage in *Velius Longus*, conclude it to have been we know not what letter, invented to ſoften the harſh ſound of the letter R. There are not wanting ſome who pretend the letter X to have been firſt contrived by *Claudius*; but *Iſidorus* plainly ſhews, that it was invented and uſed in the reign of *Auguſtus* (89). The *Greek* φ had, as *Quintilian* obſerves, a different ſound from that of the *Latin* PH; whence ſome conjecture the third letter invented by *Claudius* to have anſwered the *Greek* φ, which is not altogether void of probability. But on this ſubject nothing has been, or can be, offered, except what is merely conjectural. *Claudius* publiſhed a book, when he was yet a private perſon, on the neceſſity of admitting theſe letters, and the uſe of them: when he was advanced to the empire, he obliged all to uſe them; but after his death they were diſuſed and quite laid aſide, though in the times of *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* they were ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral records and journals, and in the tables of braſs, on which were publiſhed the decrees of the people (90).

(89) *Vide Iſidor. de orig.* (90) *Suet. c.* 41. *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 14.

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and *Pallas* (O). To theſe we may add *Calliſtus*, or, as others call him, *Calixtus*, a man of great craft and addreſs (P). He was privy to the conſpiracy againſt *Caius*, as we have related above, and gained the favour of *Claudius*, by perſuading him, that he had been charged by *Caius* to poiſon him; but had

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hearing the army deſigned to raiſe *Claudius* to the ſovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, and, leaving him in that reſolution, returned home. On the other hand, the ſoldiery, being well appriſed, that the ſtate could not long ſubſiſt without an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantageous for them to give than to receive one, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of *January*, took an oath of allegiance to *Claudius*, who thereupon promiſed them fifteen great ſeſterces a man [p]. He was the firſt emperor, as *Suetonius* obſerves, who gave money to the ſoldiers upon his acceſſion to the empire; but his example was followed by moſt of his ſucceſſors [q]. The people, who had expreſſed great joy upon the hopes of recovering once more their antient privileges, no ſooner heard that *Claudius* was declared emperor by the army, than they changed their mind, approved with loud ſhouts what had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one prince, than many tyrants. The ſenate, however, perſiſted in their former reſolution of aſſerting the public liberty, and were even for making war upon *Claudius*; but afterwards growing cooler on account of the differences that aroſe amongſt them, and not being able to come to an agreement, they ſent for king *Agrippa* to adviſe with him. The king obeyed the ſummons with great readineſs, and appearing in the ſenate, dreſſed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his houſe that day, he aſked what was become of *Claudius*, as if he ſuſpected him to have been murdered together with his nephew. Hereupon the ſenate related to him what had paſſed, to which he pretended to be an utter ſtranger, and at the ſame time aſked his advice (R). The traytor proteſted, that he was ready to ſacrifice his life to the glory of the ſenate and to the public liberty; but at the ſame time ſtarting innumerable difficulties and exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he craftily

The people join the ſoldiery.

The ſenate adviſes with king Agrippa.

[p] Joseph. ibid. [q] Suet. ibid.

(R) *Joſephus* tells us in his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* war, that king *Agrippa* was at the ſame time ſent for both by the ſenate and by *Claudius*, and that he choſe to go firſt to *Claudius*, who ſent him in his name to the ſenate (2). This is not to be eaſily reconciled with what he writes in his *antiquities*, *viz.* that *Agrippa* being ſent for by the ſenate, immediately obeyed the ſummons, but pretended an intire ignorance of what had paſſed, either in the palace or camp, relating to *Claudius*. We have followed him in his *antiquities*, which he wrote the laſt.

(2) *Joſeph. bell. l.* ii. *c.* 28.

endeavoured

endeavoured to deter them, as ſolicitous about their ſafety, from having recourſe to arms. He told them, that in his opinion they were no-ways in a condition to make head againſt the prætorian guards; and that he therefore adviſed them, rather to ſend a deputation to *Claudius*, begging him not to accept of the empire. This embaſſy he offered to take upon himſelf; the ſenate returned him thanks for his zeal, accepted his offer, and diſpatched him the ſame day to the camp with two tribunes of the people, *Veranius* and *Bruchus*. The tribunes conjured him to ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate and people, put him in mind of the evils and calamities which the republic had ſuffered under the former tyrants, aſſured him, that the ſenate had reſolved at all events to attempt the recovery of their antient privileges, earneſtly intreated him ſeriouſly to reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of *Caius*, &c. The ſpeech of the tribunes made a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Claudius*, who was naturally timorous; but *Agrippa* in a private audience encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irreſolution of the ſenate, and exhorted him to aſſume forthwith the imperial power, and return an anſwer to the deputies becoming an emperor. *Claudius* followed the advice of *Agrippa*, which occaſioned no ſmall confuſion in the city, the ſenate declaring, that they were determined rather to riſque a civil war, than ſubmit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war, and accordingly *Claudius*, being acquainted with their reſolution, began to put himſelf in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time, the people, ſurrounding the place where the ſenate was aſſembled, demanded with threats an emperor, declaring aloud, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the ſenate. This frightened the fathers to ſuch a degree, that they immediately ſeparated; but the conſuls ſummoned them to meet again the next morning before break of day. Only a ſmall number of them obeyed the ſummons, ſcarce a hundred perſons, the reſt being either retired into the country, or keeping cloſe in their houſes, through fear of being inſulted by the populace. While thoſe who met were deliberating how to thwart the deſigns of *Claudius*, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the ſenate, joining the populace, began to cry aloud, that they would have an emperor; that the ſenate might chuſe whom they pleaſed; but that they were reſolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This put an end to the deliberations of the ſenate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aſide, and *Claudius*, with

A deputation ſent to Claudius.

The ſenate betrayed by Agrippa.

The people demand an emperor.

And are joined by the city guards.

with the usual ceremonies, declared emperor, (S). After this declaration the senators hastened to the camp, each of them striving to be the foremost in paying their court to the new prince. The soldiery received them with insults, wounded some of them, and would have killed the consul *Pomponius Secundus*, who had been the most sanguine of all in the cause of liberty, had they not been restrained by *Claudius*, who received him with the greatest tokens of respect, and placed him next to himself [r].

Claudius declared emperor.

And now *Claudius*, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, accompanied by the senate and prætorian guards, and, entering the city in a kind of triumph, offered a solemn sacrifice in the capitol by way of thanksgiving to the gods, who had thus raised him to the empire; and then withdrew to the palace, where he immediately summoned a council of his

[r] Joseph. ibid. Dio. p. 666. Suet. c. 10.

(S) The senate, being well apprised, that all their efforts towards the recovery of their liberty must, in the present disposition of the people and soldiery, necessarily prove ineffectual, resolved at first to name an emperor themselves, and not accept one from the soldiery. Accordingly, several persons were proposed, all better qualified than *Claudius* for that high station. *Josephus* names the three following senators, all men of extraordinary parts, and equal to the sovereignty; viz. *Annius Minucianus* or *Vinicianus*, *Valerius Asiaticus*, who had been both privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, and *Camillus Scribonianus*, who revolted the following year. *Minucianus* had most votes; but the consuls, dreading the consequences of a civil war, which they thought unavoidable, if they named any but *Claudius* to the sovereign power, put off, under various pretences, the final decision of such an important affair. In the mean time, the gladiators, on whom the senate chiefly relied, and the city guards went over in crouds to *Claudius*; so that *Minucianus* and the others gave over soliciting for a dignity, which they were well apprised they could not long enjoy. *Chæreas* did all that lay in his power to put a stop to the desertion of the soldiery, but to no purpose; for while he was encouraging the few who remained, to exert themselves in the defence of their liberties, instead of listening to him, they took up their standards, and, marching sword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades in the camp of the prætorian guards. The senate, seeing themselves thus abandoned by all their forces, were at length forced to join the people and soldiery, and declare *Claudius* emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him at the same time all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, *Chæreas* and *Sabinus* continued protesting, that they would rather fall by their own hands, than submit to *Claudius* [s].

(s) Joseph. antiq. l. 3. Dio. p. 665.

friends

CLAUDIUS.



NERO.



GALBA.



OTHO

NERO.



GALBA.



OTHO.



friends to deliberate with them about his conduct, with reſpect to thoſe who had murdered *Caius*: in his heart he approved of the action; but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one ſhould not paſs unrevenged, with the advice of his friends, he cauſed the brave *Chærea* (T), *Lupus*, who had put to death *Cæſonia* with her daughter, and a few more to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the reſt, and amongſt them *Cornelius Sabinus*, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*; but the brave tribune, grieved for the death of his friend *Chærea*, and ſcorning to outlive him, laid violent hands on himſelf [s]. After this the emperor cauſed an act of oblivion to be paſſed with reſpect to all that had been tranſacted in the ſenate, from the death of *Caius* to the time of his acceſſion to the empire, and obſerved it ſo ſtrictly, that he even raiſed thoſe to the firſt employments who had been the moſt ſanguine in the cauſe of liberty. The ſenate immediately decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modeſtly declined the greater part of them, and cauſed a decree to be paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding any one to pay him divine worſhip, or ſtyle him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cn. Pompeius*, he would not ſuffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occaſion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniverſary of his acceſſion to the empire [t]. He no ſooner began to exerciſe the authority with which he was inveſted, than he ſuppreſſed the law of majeſty, which under the two preceding emperors had proved ſo fatal to *Rome*. At the ſame time, he called home all the exiles; eaſed the people of the tributes with which *Caius* had loaded them; forbad ſuch as had any relations of their own, however diſtant, to name

Chærea and ſome of the conſpirators put to death.

Inſtances of Claudius's *modeſty, equity, &c.*

[s] JOSEPH. & DIO. ibid. [t] DIO. p. 667.

(T) *Chærea* died with the conſtancy of a true hero; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear, notwithſtanding the great example he had before his eyes. As he was pulling off his garments at the place of execution, he complained of cold; which unſeaſonable complaint *Chærea* turning into ridicule, told him, that cold had never yet done harm to a wolf, alluding to his name *Lupus*, which in the *Latin* tongue ſignifies *a wolf* (4). They were both beheaded, and the *Roman* people, a few days after their execution, offering the uſual ſacrifices in the month of *February*, in honour of their deceaſed friends, did not on that occaſion forget the brave *Chærea*, acknowledging their obligations to him, for having delivered the republic from ſo deſtructive a tyrant (5).

(4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Dio. p.* 666.

him

him among their heirs; reſtored the eſtates, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by *Tiberius* and *Caius*, to the owners or their heirs: ordered all the ſtatues, which *Caius* had cauſed to be brought to *Rome* from *Greece* and other countries to be carried back, and reſtored to the cities whence they had been taken, &c. With theſe and innumerable other inſtances of his clemency, juſtice, and good-nature (U), he won the hearts of the people to ſuch a degree, that upon a groundleſs report of his being aſſaſſinated, they raiſed dreadful diſturbances in the city, calling the ſoldiers traytors, the ſenate parricides, and loading with horrible curſes and imprecations all whom they ſuſpected to have been any ways acceſſory to his death. The tumult continued till the magiſtrates aſſured the people from the roſtra, that *Claudius* was only gone to *Oſtia*, whence he would return in a ſhort time [u]. But the zeal, which the people ſhewed on this and ſeveral other occaſions for his ſafety, was not ſufficient to cure his natural timorouſneſs. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the firſt month of his reign, to appear once in the ſenate, becauſe *Cæſar* the dictator had been murdered there. He cauſed all, whom he admitted to his preſence, to be firſt narrowly ſearched, leſt they ſhould have ſome weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be perſuaded to excuſe women, and even children, from being ſearched in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was conſtantly ſurrounded by his guards, whom he alſo obliged to attend him at table, diſtruſting the domeſtics even of his moſt intimate friends. He never failed to viſit in perſon ſuch of the ſenators as were indiſpoſed, but always ſent his guards before to ſearch every corner of the houſe [w]. However, theſe unneceſſary and ridiculous precautions did not render him ſo contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, as the weakneſs and want of judgment, which he betrayed in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He was no ways qualified for that office; but nevertheleſs could not be prevented from hearing and de-

Is beloved by the people.

His timorouſneſs.

Renders himſelf contemptible.

[u] Suet. c. 12. Dio. p. 669. [w] Suet. c. 35.

(U) When news of *Caligula*'s death reached *Gaul*, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in that province ſolicited *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, who commanded on the *Rhine*, to lay hold of that opportunity, and ſeize the ſovereignty for himſelf. The legions too offered to ſtand by him, thinking they had as good a right to diſpoſe of the empire as the prætorian guards. But *Galba* rejected their offers with indignation, which ſo pleaſed *Claudius*, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after ſhewed a particular affection for him (6).

(6) Suet. in Galb. c. 7.

ciding

ciding the moſt intricate cauſes, which ſerved only to expoſe him to public deriſion, and often to inſults, which he bore with incredible patience. *Suetonius* tells us, that a *Greek*, pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an *old fool*; and that a *Roman* knight, thinking himſelf wronged by him, had the boldneſs to throw his pen-knife at him, which wounded him in the cheek [x]. We are not told, that he ever reſented theſe groſs affronts; which ſufficiently ſhews the weakneſs of his underſtanding.

Reſtores ſeveral princes to their dominions.

IN the firſt year of his reign, he inlarged the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, with the addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which had been formerly poſſeſſed by his grandfather *Herod the Great*. To his brother *Herod* he gave the principality of *Chalcis* at the foot of mount *Libanus*, and granted to both the privilege of entering the ſenate, allowing *Agrippa* to appear there with conſular, and *Herod* with prætorial, ornaments [y]. He alſo reſtored *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his kingdom, *Mithridates* the *Cilician* to the kingdom of *Boſporus*, and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*, who had been all unjuſtly deprived of their dominions by *Caius* [z]. Soon after his acceſſion to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from the iſland of *Pontia*, to which they had been confined by their brother *Caius*; but his wife *Meſſalina*, who governed him with an abſolute ſway, jealous of the power which *Julia* aſſumed, prevailed upon him to ſend her back this very year to the place of her former baniſhment, under pretence that ſhe was guilty of adultery and ſeveral other crimes, which by the envious *Meſſalina* were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated *Seneca* had his ſhare in the misfortunes of the unhappy princeſs, being after his quæſtorſhip baniſhed to the iſland of *Corſica*, upon a bare, and, as is commonly believed, altogether groundleſs, ſuſpicion of a criminal converſation with her [a]. This year, the *Romans* gained ſome advantages over the *Mauritanians*, who had taken arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their king, barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by *Caius*'s orders [b]. About the ſame time, *Sulpitius Galba* overcame the *Catti*, and *P. Gabinius Secundus* the *Marſi*, two *German* nations. *Gabinius* after his victory had the good luck to diſcover and bring back with him to *Rome* one of the eagles, which the *Germans* had taken upon the defeat of *Varus*. For theſe victories *Claudius* took the triumphal ornaments and the title of *emperor*. *Gabinius* defeated likewiſe

Seneca *baniſhed.*

[x] Idem, c. 15. [y] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 4. DIO. p. 670. [z] JOSEPH. & DIO. ibid. [a] TACIT. annal. l. 11. c. 8. DIO. p. 670. [b] DIO. ibid.

the *Chauci*, another *German* nation, and was allowed by *Claudius*, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occaſion, to aſſume the ſurname of *Chaucius* [c].

The following year, *Claudius* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue *C. Largus*, but held it only for two months: to whom he reſigned the faſces we are no-where told; *Largus* continued conſul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he firſt aſſembled the ſenate in quality of conſul, obliged all the ſenators to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws of *Auguſtus*; took the ſame oath himſelf; but would not allow any of the magiſtrates or ſenators to lay themſelves under any obligation with reſpect to his own laws [d]. This year the *Mauritanians* were defeated anew by *Suetonius Paulinus*, who extended his conqueſts to the river *Nigris*, which ſeparates *Africa* from *Æthiopia*. *Cn. Hoſidius Geta* ſucceeding *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, gave *Salabes*, the *Mauritanian* general, two great overthrows, which obliged the whole country to ſubmit to the yoke. *Claudius* divided the kingdom of *Mauritania* into two provinces, *viz.* the *Cæſariana* and the *Tingitana*, the former being ſo called from *Cæſar*, a name now common to all the emperors, and the latter from *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, the metropolis of that province. Both theſe provinces were, by the appointment of *Claudius*, governed by *Roman* knights [e] (W).

Mauritania reduced and divided into two provinces.

[c] Suet. c. 24. [d] Dio. p. 671. [e] Dio. ibid. Plin. l. v. c. 1.

(W) *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Geta* purſued the *Mauritanians* beyond mount *Atlas*; and that while he was in thoſe dry and ſandy countries in great diſtreſs for want of water, a magician, who lived there, taught him certain charms, which, he ſaid, were frequently practiſed by the inhabitants with wonderful ſucceſs, when they wanted water. *Geta* gave no great credit to the magician; but being prompted, partly by curioſity, partly by the diſtreſs he was in, to make uſe of the charms which the *Mauritanian* had taught him, he was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee all on a ſudden the ſky overcaſt, and a great quantity of water fall from heaven. The barbarians, concluding from thence, that the gods favoured the *Romans*, ſent deputies to treat with, and ſubmitted to, *Geta*, upon his own terms. Thus *Dion Caſſius* (7). We read in *Pliny*, that *Claudius* ſent a colony to *Tingis*, which city he named *Julia Traducta* (8). But we are inclined to believe, that this colony was ſent to *Tingis* by *Julius Cæſar*, ſince it is mentioned by *Strabo* (9), who died before the

(7) *Dio. l.* lx. *p.* 671. (8) *Plin. l.* v. c. 1. (9) *Strab. l* iii. *p.* 140.

reign

This year *Claudius* cauſed a law to be paſſed, commanding, that thoſe who were named by the ſenate to the government of provinces, ſhould depart from *Rome* before the beginning of *April*[f]; but the year following he allowed them to ſtay in *Rome*, till the middle of that month. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding thoſe, whom he ſhould charge with the government of provinces, to return him thanks, as was cuſtomary, in the ſenate, ſince they owed no obligations to him; but he on the contrary was greatly indebted to them, for eaſing him of part of his burden[g]. The great famine, which raged this year at *Rome*, prompted *Claudius* to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*, which great work he happily completed, though *Cæſar* the dictator, if ſome miſtake is not crept into *Suetonius*, had many years before attempted it in vain[h]. It was an undertaking, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire; but the ſucceſſors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it, ſo that ſoon after his death it was choaked up with ſand and became quite uſeleſs[i] (X). At the ſame time, *Claudius* undertook the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, in the country of the *Marſi*, and the conveying of its waters, by a deep canal, into the *Tiber*, or rather the *Liris*, in which work he employed thirty thouſand men for eleven years together, but to no effect, as we ſhall ſee in the tenth year of his reign.

Claudius *makes a harbour at the mouth of the* Tiber.

THIS year, *Meſſalina* and *Claudius*'s freedmen began to abuſe the prince's weakneſs and the two great power he allowed them, to the deſtruction of ſuch of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or any-ways incurred their diſpleaſure. The firſt who fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a perſon of

[f] DIO. l. lx. p. 672. [g] Idem ibid. [h] SUET. c. 20. DIO. p. 672. [i] Idem ibid.

reign of *Claudius*. *Voſſius* takes *Pliny* to have been miſtaken in giving to *Tingis* in *Africa* the name of *Julia Traducta*, which, in his opinion, was peculiar to the city of *Tingis* in *Spain*, built in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, and peopled with inhabitants from *Tingis* in *Africa* (10).

(X) *Suetonius* calls it the port of *Oſtia*, though it lay on the other ſide of the *Tiber* over-againſt *Oſtia* at a place ſtill called by the inhabitants *il porto*, *the haven*. The ſame writer tells us, that at the entrance of the harbour was ſunk the veſſel, in which the great obelisk we ſpoke of in the preceding reign, was brought out of *Egypt*, as a foundation for the piles, upon which was raiſed a high tower, according to the model of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* (11).

(10) *Voſſ. in hiſt. p.* 197. (11) *Suet. c.* 20.

great diſtinction and known integrity. He married to his firſt wife *Æmilia Lepida*, grand-daughter to *Julia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and had by her *L. Junius Silanus*, to whom *Claudius* had betrothed his daughter *Octavia*. Upon the death of *Æmilia Lepida*, which happened this year, *Claudius*, who held him in the number of his moſt intimate friends, perſuaded him to marry *Domitia Lepida*, mother to his own wife *Meſſalina*. But to his great misfortune the empreſs, whoſe lewdneſs knew no bounds, fell in love with him herſelf, and was not aſhamed to diſcloſe to him her paſſion. *Silanus* rejected with the utmoſt indignation her inceſtuous ſolicitations, which provoked her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe reſolved upon his ruin, and compaſſed it with the concurrence of the freedman *Narciſſus* in the following manner. *Narciſſus* ruſhed into *Claudius*'s chamber one morning by break of day as in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was ſtill in bed, that he had dreamt *Silanus* deſigned to murder him that very day. *Meſſalina*, as had been agreed on beforehand, pretending to hear the freedman's accounts with ſurpriſe and amazement, aſſured the emperor, that ſhe had been for ſeveral nights together frightened with the ſame dream. In the mean time, *Silanus*, who had been told the day before, that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, ſuddenly came in, which ſo terrified *Claudius*, of all men the moſt timorous, that, without any further inquiries, he commanded him to be immediately ſeized and executed. The ſame day he acquainted the ſenate with what had paſſed, and was not aſhamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his ſafety, even in his ſleep [k] (Y). The death of *Silanus* alarmed the nobility, who

Lewdneſs of Meſſalina,

Death of Silanus.

[k] Suet. c. 37. Dio. p. 674. Tacit. annal. xi. c. 37.

(Y) *Suetonius* tells us, that a perſon, who had a ſuit at law depending before *Claudius*, in the ſame manner rid himſelf of his adverſary, telling him he had dreamt the night before, that he was aſſaſſinated; and afterwards, when his adverſary appeared, whiſpering him in the ear, that he was the aſſaſſin. This was enough for *Claudius* to have him immediately apprehended and executed, as if he had been convicted. The poor unmanly wretch was at the leaſt apprehenſion of danger eaſily put upon the moſt cruel and ſanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reaſon and temper, which had naturally no bias to cruelty. When returned to himſelf, he often teſtified great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a ſudden fright, without knowing what he did or ſaid: nay, we are told, that he frequently inquired what was become of thoſe very perſons who had been executed by his orders; that he ſometimes ſent to invite them to dine with him the very

who thinking their lives and eſtates precarious under a weak prince, intirely governed by his wife and freedmen, reſolved by his death to put an end to their reign, and deliver themſelves from the dangers that threatened. *Annius Vinicianus*, or, as *Joſephus* calls him, *Minucianus*, who had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*, and after his death had been by the ſenate judged equal to the empire, was at the head of the conſpiracy, and drew into it *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, who had been conſul ten years before, and with him a great number of knights and ſenators. *Camillus*, who was at the head of a powerful army, openly declared his deſign, and by aſſuring the troops under his command that he had nothing in view but to reſtore *Rome* to her antient liberty, perſuaded them to take an oath of allegiance to him; and at the ſame time, as he was well acquainted with *Claudius*'s timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him filled with reproaches, and threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not forthwith reſign the empire, and, betaking himſelf to a private and retired life, ſave him the trouble and charge of making war upon him. The coward was ſo terrified with this letter, that he aſſembled, in the utmoſt conſternation, his friends, to deliberate with them, whether or no he ſhould reſign the ſovereign power to *Camillus*? But he was ſoon delivered from his fears; for *Camillus*'s ſoldiers, not being able, by ſome ſtrange accident, to remove their enſigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor, began upon that omen to repent of their revolt, and being perſuaded that the gods diſapproved of it, fell upon their officers, and cut moſt of them in pieces. *Camillus* himſelf found means to eſcape to the iſland of *Iſſa* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, where he was ſtabbed in the arms of his wife *Junia* by a common ſoldier, named *Volaginius*, after he had bore the name of emperor for five days [1]. Upon his death moſt of the conſpirators, and amongſt the reſt *Vinicianus*, laid violent hands on themſelves; ſome were ſeized and executed, and ſome by purchaſing with large ſums the favour of *Meſſalina* and

Camillus revolts, and writes a threatening letter to Claudius.

Is abandoned by his men;

And murdered.

[1] SUET. c. 13. DIO. p. 674. PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 16. TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 75.

very next day, and was under the utmoſt concern when informed of their death, proteſting with tears in his eyes, that he had given no ſuch orders (12). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen: hence many bloody executions, according to the degree of his own timorouſneſs, or of their ambition, revenge, and avarice.

(12) *Suet. c.* 37, 39.

the

the emperor's freedmen, never were, though notoriouſly guilty, inquired after, while many innocent knights and ſenators were, under colour of being concerned in the conſpiracy, ſtript of their eſtates by the rapacious *Meſſalina* and *Narciſſus*, and either ſent into baniſhment, or executed without mercy. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that one of *Camillus*'s freedmen, by name *Goleſes*, being apprehended and brought before the ſenate, ſpoke there with great courage and freedom. Whereupon *Narciſſus*, who was preſent among the emperor's attendants and ſtood behind him, making up to the freedman, aſked him, *What would you have done, if your maſter had got poſſeſſion of the empire? I ſhould have kept behind him*, ſaid he, *and, mindful of my condition, not preſume to ſpeak in his preſence* [m]. The courage and reſolution of *Arria* is celebrated by moſt of the antient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a conſular man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was ſeized in *Dalmatia*, and ſent to be tried at *Rome*. *Arria* being by the mercileſs ſoldiers denied the ſatisfaction of attending her huſband in the ſame veſſel, followed him in another, and arriving at *Rome*, there publicly reproached *Junia*, the wife of *Camillus*, with want of courage and conjugal affection, in living after ſhe had ſeen her huſband inhumanly murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from thence, that ſhe was reſolved not to outlive her huſband, watched her day and night; but ſhe, to convince them that all their precautions were to no effect, beat her head againſt the wall with ſuch violence, that her friends, for ſome time, believed her dead. However, ſhe recovered; but finding ſhe could not, with all her intereſt, for ſhe was in great favour with *Meſſalina*, ſave her huſband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, ſhe took a dagger, plunged it into her own breaſt, and pulling it out again, preſented it to her huſband, ſaying, *Non dolet*; *I don't feel it* [n]. *Martial* makes her ſay, *I don't feel my wound, but ſhall feel yours* [o] (Z). *Otho*, father

The conſtancy, firmneſs, and death of Arria.

[m] Dio. p. 675. [n] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. [o] Mart. l. i. epig. 14.

(Z) This action of *Arria* is mightily cried up by the antients, eſpecially by *Pliny* the younger: but nevertheleſs, that judicious writer thinks his heroine far more commendable for the conſtancy and reſolution ſhe ſhewed in diſſembling the extreme grief ſhe felt on the death of one of her children, that her huſband who was dangerouſly ill and tenderly loved the child, might not be acquainted with his misfortune, till he was perfectly recovered. The conſtancy and intrepidity ſhe ſhewed at her death proceeded probably from vanity and a certain fondneſs for fame, ſays *Pliny*; but her manly behaviour in the height of her grief was the effect of the moſt refined virtue,

father to the emperor of that name, being appointed to ſucceed *Camillus* in the command of the troops in *Dalmatia*, had the courage to cauſe the heads of thoſe ſoldiers, who had any hand in the murder of their officers, to be cut off in his preſence; nay, in the midſt of the camp, though he well knew, that *Claudius* had approved of what they had done, and even advanced ſome of them to conſiderable poſts in the army. This conduct diſpleaſed the emperor; but *Otho* ſoon regained his favour, by diſcovering a conſpiracy formed againſt him by a *Roman* knight, who was apprehended, convicted, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, by the conſuls and tribunes of the people [p].

THE following year, *Claudius* was the third time conſul, having for his collegue *L. Vitellius*, the ſecond time conſul. *Claudius* held that dignity, according to *Suetonius* [q], only two months; but, according to *Dion Caſſius*, to the beginning of *July* [r], when both he and his collegue reſigned the faſces to *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* and *C. Sulpitius Galba*, as we learn from an antient inſcription [s]. This year *Claudius* deprived the *Lycians* of their liberty, to put a ſtop to the differences that reigned amongſt them, and to puniſh them for having in a tumult put ſome *Roman* citizens to death [t]. Their country was added to the province of *Pamphylia* [u] (A). In *Rome*, *Meſſalina*, *The two Julia's put to death.*

[p] SUET. in Oth. c. 1. DIO. l. lx. p. 675. [q] SUET. c. 14.
[r] DIO. p. 676. [s] Vide ONUPH. in Faſt. p. 189. [t] SUET. c. 25.
[u] DIO. p. 676.

virtue, ſince ſhe could not be prompted to it by any proſpect of fame or glory (13).

(A) The *Lycians* on this occaſion ſent a deputation to *Claudius*, at the head of which was one of their country, who enjoyed the rights of a *Roman* citizen; but *Claudius*, finding he did not underſtand the *Latin* tongue, cauſed his name to be razed out of the roll of citizens: he treated in the ſame manner many others, whom he judged unworthy of the *Roman* name (14). He forbad under ſevere penalties ſuch as were not free of the city to aſſume the name of any family in *Rome*; and even condemned ſome perſons to death, and cauſed them to be publicly executed, for no other crime, but becauſe they had falſely paſſed themſelves upon the world for *Roman* citizens. But notwithſtanding this rigor, he granted the freedom of the city to an infinite number of perſons of all nations, who had wherewithal to purchaſe it of *Meſſalina* or his freedmen. It was at firſt ſold at a very high rate, but became afterwards ſo common, that it was purchaſed, as was then ſaid by way of raillery, for a

(13) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 16. (14) *Dio. ibid.*

broken

lina, abuſing the abſolute ſway ſhe had over her weak huſband, perſuaded him by her malicious inſinuations firſt to put to death his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whom he had baniſhed the year before to the iſland of *Pontia*, and afterwards *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus* and grand-daughter of *Tiberius*: ſhe was likewiſe niece to *Claudius*, being the daughter of his ſiſter *Livilla*. They were both condemned and executed, ſays *Suetonius*, without being allowed to defend themſelves, though nobody could prove the charge that was brought againſt them [w]. However, the latter *Julia* well deſerved, on another ſcore the doom that overtook her; for ſhe was chiefly inſtrumental, as we have related above, in the ruin of her huſband *Nero* the ſon of *Germanicus*. When *Claudius* quitted his conſulſhip, the ſenate decreed him triumphal ornaments, which put him upon undertaking ſome enterpriſe that might intitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he choſe for his warlike exploits was *Britain*, at that time harraſſed with civil wars. Some *Britons* of diſtinction having abandoned their own country, to avoid the fury of the factions that raged there, and taken refuge in *Gaul*, their countrymen complained, not without threats, of the *Romans* for entertaining them, and inſiſted upon their being ſent back. This ſerved as a pretence to make war upon them, one of the fugitives, by name *Bericus*, perſuading the emperor by many arguments to attempt the conqueſt of that great iſland, which no *Roman* had ever dared to invade ſince the time of *Cæſar* the dictator. At his inſtigation, *Claudius* diſpatched orders to *Plautius*, who had ſucceed *Gabinius* in the command of the troops in *Lower Germany*, to convey, without delay, all his forces over into *Britain*. This order was not reliſhed by the ſoldiery, who, in a mutiny declared, *That they would not make war out of the compaſs of the world.* Hereupon *Claudius* ſent his freedman *Narciſſus* to appeaſe the mutiny, and encourage the diſheartened legions to obey their general. *Narciſſus*, upon his arrival, aſcended the tribunal, and thence began to harangue the legions, who, provoked at the audaciouſneſs of the ſlave, abuſed him with moſt opprobrious lan-

Claudius *deſigns to ſubdue* Britain.

[w] Suet. c. 29.

broken glaſs (15). Hence *Seneca* wrote in the invectives he publiſhed againſt *Claudius*, that if he had lived longer, he would have made all the *Greeks*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards* free of *Rome* (16). This to *Seneca* ſeemed very abſurd; but was afterwards practiſed by other emperors, and, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin*, very wiſely (17).

(15) *Dio Suet. ibid.* (16) *Senec. lud. in Claud. p.* 476. (17) *Aug. civ. Dei l.* v. c. 17.

guage,

language, bidding him quit the camp, and return to the maſquerades and plays at *Rome*; for they were determined, without his harangues, to follow their general. Accordingly, they immediately began their march to the ſea-ſide; and imbarquing on the veſſels, which *Plautius* had with incredible expedition, got ready for that purpoſe, landed in *Britain*, before the inhabitants had any notice of their deſign, whom therefore they eaſily defeated in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and advanced as far as the *Thames*. But *Plautius*, not thinking it ſafe to penetrate farther into the country, wrote to *Claudius*, purſuant to his inſtructions, acquainting him with the progreſs he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a farther purſuit of his conqueſts. Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor, who had drawn together a good number of legions, and kept them in a readineſs to march to the aſſiſtance of his lieutenant in *Britain*, left *Rome*, and imbarquing at *Oſtia*, ſailed to *Marſeilles* (B); thence he marched by land to *Geſſoriacum*, now, as is commonly believed, *Boulogne* [x], and from that place ſet ſail for *Britain*, where he landed without oppoſition; and joining *Plautius*, whom he found incamped on the banks of the *Thames*, which he paſſed, defeated the enemy, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, among the reſt of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, according to *Cambden*, where ſtood the palace of *Cynobelinus*, one of the *Britiſh* kings. In this expedition *Veſpaſian* diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; for partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himſelf, he fought thirty pitched battles, ſubdued two powerful nations, took twenty ſtrong

Plautius *paſſes over into that iſland.*

Is followed by Claudius.

[x] Vide BUCHER. de Belg. p. 147.

(B) *Claudius*, before he ſet out from *Rome*, committed the government of the city, and the command of the troops left there, to *Lucius Vitellius*, the father of the emperor of that name, and this year the emperor's collegue in the conſulſhip. He was a man of parts and valour; but, as we have obſerved already, a moſt infamous and ſlaviſh flatterer of perſons in power. Being appointed, as we may ſay, regent in the abſence of *Claudius*, he diſcharged his truſt with great credit and integrity. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Claudius* put off his departure from *Rome* for a few days upon a ſlight indiſpoſition, which ſeized *Sulpitius Galba*, afterwards emperor; ſo highly was he favoured and beloved by *Claudius* after the diſcovery of the above-mentioned conſpiracy. *Claudius* in his paſſage from *Oſtia* to *Marſeilles* was twice in danger of being ſhipwrecked, which induced him to purſue his journey from *Marſeilles* to *Boulogne* by land (18).

(18) *Suet. c.* 17.

towns and upwards, and reduced the iſland *Vectis*, or the iſland of *Wight* [y]. *Claudius*, having diſarmed the *Britons* who had ſubmitted, appointed *Plautius* governor of the conquered provinces, and, charging him to purſue his conqueſts, returned in great haſte to *Rome*, which, however, he did not enter till the next year; but the ſenate decreed both to him and his ſon the ſurname of *Britannicus* (C).

His conqueſts there.

His triumph.

The following year, *L. Quinctius Criſpinus* being the ſecond time conſul with *M. Statilius Taurus*, *Claudius* was received at *Rome* with a moſt magnificent triumph (D): and the ſenate, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to purſue their conqueſts, decreed, that all the treaties made by them ſhould have the ſame force, as if made by the ſenate and people of

[y] Suet. in Veſp. c. 4. & in Claud. c. 27. Dio. p. 679. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 4.

(C) *Claudius* ſet out from *Rome* on his *Britiſh* expedition about the beginning of *July*, and returned to the city in the beginning of *January* (19). He ſtaid in *Britain* a few days, ſays *Suetonius* (20); ſixteen days, ſays *Dion Caſſius* (21). On his return he imbarqued on the *Po*, and, entering by one of the mouths of that river the *Adriatic* ſea, landed at *Oſtia* (22). *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that he left the iſland without fighting one battle, nay without bloodſhed (23); and in another (24), that *Veſpaſian*, partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himſelf, fought thirty battles. The latter is agreeable to what we read in *Dion Caſſius*, whom we have followed. *Eutropius* (25) and St. *Jerom* (26) fix to this year the conqueſt of the iſlands *Orcades*. But *Tacitus* writes, that they were not ſubdued by, or known to, the *Romans*, till the reign of *Veſpaſian* (27). They were not perhaps ſubdued, but they were certainly known this very year to the *Romans*, ſince *Pomponius Mela* mentions them in his deſcription of the world, which he wrote while *Claudius* was waging war in *Britain* (28).

(D) That the ſhow might be more glorious by the concourſe of people, he not only gave leave to the governors of provinces to be preſent at it, but permitted ſeveral baniſhed perſons to return home on purpoſe to behold it. In the ſolemnity his wife *Meſſalina*, magnificently adorned, followed him at ſome diſtance in a ſtately chariot. He mounted the ſteps of the capitol on his knees, being ſupported by his two ſons-in-law. Among the ſpoils of the enemy he placed a naval crown on the top of his palace hard by the civic crown, in token of his victory over the ſea (29).

(19) *Dio. p.* 680. (20) *Suet ibid.* (21) *Dio. ibid.* (22) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 16. (23) *Suet. ibid.* (24) *Idem, in vit. Vespaſ. c.* 4. (25) *Eutrop. in vita Claud.* (26) *Hier. in Chron.* (27) *Tacit. in vit. Agr. c.* 10. (28) *Mela, l.* iii. *c.* 6. & *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 25. (29) *Suet. c.* 27.

Rome

Rome [a]. *Claudius* after his triumph reſtored to the ſenate the provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconſuls [b]. He likewiſe honoured *M. Julius Cottius*, prince of the *Alps* called *Cottiæ*, with the title of king, and inlarged his barren territories [c]; but deprived the *Rhodians* of their liberty for crucifying ſome *Roman* citizens [d], which, however, he reſtored to them nine years after, that is, in the fifty-third year of the chriſtian æra [e].

THE next conſuls were *M. Vinicius*, whom *Claudius* named to that dignity, though he had cauſed his wife *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* to be put to death, and *T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus*. As the city was filled with ſtatues, *Claudius* enacted a law, forbidding any new ſtatues to be erected within the walls of *Rome*, without the conſent of the ſenate, and at the ſame time ordered a great many already raiſed to be taken away [f]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome governors of provinces, who had oppreſſed the people they were ſet over, and enacted ſeveral wholeſome laws for bringing ſuch to juſtice as ſhould for the future be guilty of the ſame fault; ordering all governors to return to *Rome*, as ſoon as the time of their command was expired, to anſwer there the complaints that might be brought againſt them. The prerogative of granting leave to ſenators to travel out of *Italy*, which *Auguſtus* had lodged in the ſenate, he claimed himſelf, and obliged the ſenate to yield it to him by a decree [g]. This year, on the firſt day of *Auguſt* about an hour after mid-day, happened an eclipſe of the ſun. The emperor, as this was his birth-day, took care to give notice of it to the people before-hand, that they might not be ſurpriſed at that phænomenon, or draw bad omens from it [h].

Some wiſe ordinances of Claudius.

IN the following conſulate of *Valerius Aſiaticus* and *M. Junius Silanus*, died *M. Vinicius*, brother-in-law to *Claudius*, being poiſoned by *Meſſalina*. He was a man of a quiet temper and lived retired, concerning himſelf only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd *Meſſalina* conceived a violent paſſion for him, and poiſoned him, becauſe he could not by any ſolicitations be prevailed upon to injure *Claudius* [i]. *Aſinius Gallus*, the ſon of *Agrippina*, *Tiberius*'s firſt wife, conſpired this year againſt the emperor, with a deſign to ſeize the ſovereign power for himſelf; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, *Claudius* only condemned him to baniſhment, as a perſon from whom he had nothing to apprehend, ſince he was of a very low ſtature, ill-ſhaped, of a very deformed countenance,

Vinicius *poiſoned by* Meſſalina.

[a] DIO. p. 680. [b] SUET. c. 25. [c] DIO p. 681. [d] SUET. c. 25. [e] Idem ibid. [f] DIO. ibid. [g] SUET. c. 23. DIO. p. 682. [h] DIO. p. 682. [i] DIO. p. 683.

and ſo inconſiderate, that he had aſpired to the ſovereignty, though quite deſtitute of both friends and money, upon the bare ſuppoſition, that he ſhould be immediately acknowledged by all on account of his noble deſcent. This generous behaviour in *Claudius* was highly commended by perſons of all ranks; and no leſs pleaſing to the people was the decree, which he got paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding freedmen to appear in judgment againſt their patrons, and impowering their former maſters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful, or gave them any juſt motive of complaint [h] (E).

Claudius's *clemency.*

The next year, *Claudius* was conſul the fourth time with *Lucius Vitellius*, the third time conſul; but after two months reſigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of cenſor, chuſing for his collegue *Lucius Vitellius*, already conſul, who, as we have often obſerved, had a wonderful talent for flattery (F). In the diſcharge of this important office, *Clau-*

Claudius *cenſor.*

[h] Dio. p. 684. Suet. c. 25.

(E) St. *Jerom* tells us (30), that *Thrace*, which had hitherto been governed by kings, was this year, the fifth of *Claudius* and forty-ſeventh of the chriſtian æra, reduced to a *Roman* province. *Euſebius* likewiſe writes, that *Rhemetalces*, king of *Thrace*, being killed by his own wife, *Claudius* conquered that country. But of this memorable event no mention is made by the *Greek* or *Latin* writers, whoſe works have reached our times.

(F) He left no ſtone unturned, ſays *Suetonius*, to work himſelf into the favour of *Claudius*: obſerving him intirely addicted to his wife *Meſſalina* and his freedmen, he begged of the former, as the greateſt favour ſhe could beſtow upon him, that ſhe would grant him the honour of pulling off her ſhoes. *Meſſalina*, well pleaſed to ſee a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his requeſt; and *Vitellius*, the firſt time he diſcharged his honourable employment, carried away one of her ſhoes, and wore it conſtantly in his boſom, not being aſhamed to pull it out in public and often kiſs it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narciſſus*, the emperor's reigning freedmen, he worſhipped amongſt his houſhold gods. When *Claudius* entertained the people with the *ſecular* games, ſo called, becauſe they were exhibited but once in a century, his compliment to him was, *Sæpe facias; May you many times exhibit theſe ſports.* Not only *Claudius*, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were ſo taken with the groſs and fulſome flattery of this fawning ſlave, that they not only raiſed him to the firſt employments in the empire, but likewiſe his two ſons, whom he had the ſatisfaction to ſee conſuls in the ſame year, the one ſucceeding the other (31). His elder ſon was afterwards raiſed to the empire.

(30) *Hier. in chron.* (31) *Suet. in vit. c.* 2.

dius

dius performed ſome things highly commendable, but in others gave ſuch inſtances of his weakneſs and want of underſtanding, as expoſed him to public deriſion. He publiſhed above twenty edicts in one day, moſt of them quite trifling and ridiculous; by one of them, for inſtance, he warned the ſenate and people to take care that their wine-veſſels were well pitched, ſince there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the beſt remedy of all againſt the ſting of a viper. When he came to inquire into the manners of the *Roman* knights, he diſmiſſed a young man moſt notoriouſly vicious, without any puniſhment, becauſe his father gave him a good character, telling him, *You have a cenſor at home.* Another, infamous for debauching both married and unmarried women, he only admoniſhed, *either to live chaſte, or to be lewd more warily; for why muſt I know,* ſaid he, *with what women you keep company?* [i]. This year was remarkable for the deaths of ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, whom *Claudius*, at the inſtigation of *Meſſalina*, cauſed to be executed. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, who had married *Antonia*, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, fell the firſt. He was of an illuſtrious family, but not deſcended from *Pompey the Great*, being the ſon of *Craſſus Frugi*, who likewiſe bore the ſurname of *Great*. His credit with the prince, his great nobility, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to *Meſſalina*, occaſioned his ruin. He was condemned and had his head cut off by a ſoldier ſent to him for that purpoſe, without ſo much as knowing that he was accuſed [k]: ſo great and abſolute was the ſway, which *Meſſalina* had obtained over her weak, timorous, and credulous, huſband. At the ſame time, *Craſſus*, the father of *Pompeius*, and his mother *Scribonia* were by the order of *Claudius* put to death, though the former intirely reſembled him, being, to uſe the expreſſion of *Seneca*, as great a monſter as himſelf, and therefore no leſs qualified to be emperor [l]. Several other perſons of this ancient and illuſtrious family were at the ſame time ſacrificed to the jealouſy of *Meſſalina*, and the fears of *Claudius* [m]. Upon the death of *Pompeius*, the emperor married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus* [n], brother to *Meſſalina*, if *Zonaras* is to be credited [o], who had a ſon by her, upon whoſe birth *Claudius* would not ſuffer any public demonſtrations of joy. Many knights and ſenators of rank were after the death of *Pompeius* accuſed of conſpiring againſt the prince, ſome of whom *Clau-*

Expoſes his weakneſs in the diſcharge of that office.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus *put to death.*

[i] SUET. c. 16. [k] SUET. c 29. DIO. p. 679. SENEC. lud. in Claud. [l] SENEC. ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] SUET. c. 27. [o] ZONAR. p. 184.

dius,

Valerius Aſiaticus *accuſed.*

dius pardoned, that is, ſuch as he did not fear; but *Valerius Aſiaticus* (G) was proſecuted without mercy for no other crime, but becauſe he poſſeſſed, and had embelliſhed with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of *Lucullus*, which *Meſſalina* coveted. He was charged with a deſign of withdrawing into *Gaul*, to ſtir up his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of *Vienne* in that province, and ſupported there by numerous and powerful families, all his own relations. He was accuſed by *Soſibius*, preceptor to *Britannicus* (H), who eaſily prevailed upon the weak and timorous prince to ſecure his life and empire, by the deſtruction of his pretended enemy and rival. *Criſpinus*, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately diſpatched with a body of ſoldiers to ſeize him at *Baiæ*; which he did accordingly, and hurried him to *Rome* in chains. He was tried, not in the ſenate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the preſence

His tryal.

(G) *Valerius Aſiaticus* was a native of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province on account of his wealth and numerous dependents. He had been one of *Caius*'s moſt intimate friends; but that prince having firſt debauched his wife, and afterwards bragged of it in a public aſſembly in his preſence, the brave *Gaul*, who had too much ſpirit to put up ſuch an affront, reſolved to be revenged on the outrageous tyrant; and accordingly with great readineſs entered into the conſpiracy, nay, became, according to *Tacitus*, the principal director in the plot; though he had no ſhare, as we are told, by *Joſephus* and *Dion Caſſius*, in the execution of it. When the ſenate, after the aſſaſſination, were for puniſhing the conſpirators, *Valerius* riſing up, commended the action, owned himſelf privy to it, and publicly wiſhed he had had the glory of diſpatching the tyrant with his own hand. The ſenators, animated by his firmneſs and reſolution, took courage; granted impunity to the conſpirators, and were even for decreeing them rewards (32). *Valerius* had been conſul, the year before, the ſecond time, having been once honoured with that dignity in the preceding reign.

(H) This is probably the *Soſius*, whoſe writings are quoted by *Arnobius*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Suidas*. He was inſtructed by *Meſſalina* to warn *Claudius* under the maſk of zeal, that great wealth in the hands of private men proved always dangerous to princes; that *Valerius* was, on account of his immenſe riches and powerful alliances in *Gaul*, capable of diſputing the empire with him; that he was not only highly eſteemed by his countrymen the *Gauls*, but in mighty favour with the *Roman* people; that it was already a prevailing rumour through all the provinces, that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of the armies, *&c.* (33). Theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations were ſufficient to put the timorous *Claudius* upon the moſt cruel and bloody precautions.

(32) *Tacit. annal. l.* xi. *c.* 1 *Dio. l.* lix. *p.* 663. (33) *Tacit. ibid.*

of

of *Meſſalina*. However, he pleaded his cauſe with ſuch elo-quence and energy, that he forced tears both from *Claudius* and *Meſſalina* herſelf. But the empreſs, fearing pity and tenderneſs ſhould get the better of her other paſſions, left the room, and in going out, whiſpered *L. Vitellius* in the ear not to let the accuſed eſcape [p]. As *Valerius* declared that he had never before ſeen any of the witneſſes, who were produced againſt him, *Sofibius* at laſt brought in one, who, he ſaid, was well acquainted with him. He had beforehand informed his evidence, that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore upon his entering the room he deſired him in the firſt place to tell them which was *Valerius Aſiaticus: I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he*, ſaid the witneſs, pointing at another bald perſon, who happened to be preſent. This convinced *Claudius* that *Aſiaticus* was free from all guilt; but while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous *Vitellius*, throwing himſelf at his feet, and putting him in mind of the good ſervices of *Aſiaticus* to the commonwealth, of his attachment to *Antonia*, the prince's mother, of his gallant behaviour in the late *Britiſh* expedition, *&c.* begged him in the end with many tears to diſplay his mercy, by granting to ſo worthy and deſerving a citizen the free choice of his own death. *Claudius*, without further conſideration, complied with his requeſt; which was in effect condemning *Aſiaticus*, who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death [q] (I). *Meſſalina*, not ſatisfied with the ruin of *Aſiaticus*, ſuborned perſons, who urged

He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.

[p] TACIT. ibid. [q] Idem, c. 2, 3.

(I) He behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity both at his trial and after his condemnation; beſides the charge of treaſon, he was accuſed of winking at the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, of neglecting military diſcipline, of carrying on an adulterous amour with *Poppæa*, the mother of that *Poppæa*, who became ſo infamous in the reign of *Nero*, and laſtly with ſurrendering his perſon, like an harlot, to unnatural luſt. This laſt article *Aſiaticus* could not brook; but interrupting the accuſer, by name *Suilius*, a perſon, it ſeems, of ſome rank, *Aſk thy own ſons*, Suilius, ſaid he, *they will ſatisfy thee that I am a man.* After his condemnation, he continued his uſual exerciſes, walking, bathing, and even ſupping chearfully, telling his friends, that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen by the craft of *Tiberius*, or the fury of *Claudius*, than thus to periſh by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery of ſuch a baſe and proſtitute ſycophant as *Vitellius*. After ſupper he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed to another place, leſt the heat and ſmoke ſhould hurt his trees, and leſſen their cool ſhade: After this he opened his veins without betraying the leaſt concern, and bled to death [34].

[34] *Idem*, c. 3.

Poppæa,

Poppæa, with whom he was ſuppoſed to carry on a criminal converſation, to lay violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the diſgrace of a ſhameful impriſonment, with which they threatened her. The emperor was ſo utterly unappriſed of her unhappy end, that her huſband *Scipio* being a few days after at table with him, he aſked him why he came without his wife? *Scipio* anſwered, that ſhe was dead; but dared not mention the particulars of her death [r]. Afterwards two illuſtrious *Roman* knights, ſurnamed *Petræ*, were accuſed and condemned, becauſe one of them had had a dream, which was ſuppoſed to portend ſome misfortune, either to *Claudius* or the empire (K).

Claudius *ſupports the pleaders.*

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees from their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint of this grievance being begun by *Caius Silius*, conſul elect, the whole ſenate concurred, and demanded, that the *Cincian* law might be revived, injoining that no man ſhould, for pleading a cauſe, accept of any gift or payment. The demand of the ſenate was with great vehemence promoted by *Silius*, and with equal ardor oppoſed by the pleaders (L). *Claudius* favoured the latter, and

[r] Idem ibid.

(K) Some writers ſay, that he ſaw *Claudius* in a dream crowned with a garland of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, which was interpreted to foretel a public famine: others have wrote, that the chaplet he ſaw was of vine-branches and white leaves, which he conſtrued to portend the death of the prince at the cloſe of autumn. But whatever he dreamt, both he and his brother were ſacrificed, partly for a dream, and partly for accommodating, as was pretended, *Aſiaticus* and *Poppæa* with the uſe of their houſe for their private aſſignations.

(L) *Silius* urged the examples of the ancient orators who had required no other reward for pleading, but preſent applauſe and the praiſes of poſterity. By allowing orators to take fees, we put them upon the level with mechanics, ſaid he, and debaſe eloquence, of all accompliſhments the moſt glorious and honourable, to ſordid lucre: beſides, if eloquence once becomes venal, orators will, upon the proſpect of greater gain, be tempted to betray thoſe whom they have undertaken to defend; they will promote enmities, accuſations, mutual hatred, quarrels, *&c.* as a ſure means of enriching themſelves: if no man finds his advantage in defending ſuits, there will be few ſuits to defend: as diſeaſes are the market of phyſicians, ſo will our quarrels and animoſities prove the revenue of the pleaders, who will therefore take care to inflame us againſt each other, and keep us always at variance. They might remember *Caius Aſinius*, *M. Meſſala*, and more lately *Arruntius*, and *Eſerninus*, who were raiſed to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate by an unblemiſhed life and an eloquence never expoſed to ſale. Thus ſpoke *Silius*. In anſwer to him, the pleaders owned, that fame was indeed the greateſt reward a man could

and therefore the ſenate, inſtead of ſubjecting them, as they deſigned, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion, if they took any fee at all, or even preſent for, pleading, contented themſelves with ſettling their fees, which were not to exceed two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring thoſe who were not ſatisfied with that ſum, guilty of extortion[r]. The ſame year the *Cheruſci*, who inhabited the preſent dutchy of *Brunſwick*, had recourſe to *Claudius* for a king, who ſent them *Italicus*, ſon to *Tilavius* the brother of the famous *Arminius*. *Italicus* was born at *Rome*, and brought up there after the *Roman* manner; which induced the *Cheruſci*, though they received him at firſt with great joy to take arms againſt him, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards reſtored by the *Longobards*, and, being ſupported by them, oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner the *Cheruſcan* ſtate. At the ſame time, *Sanguinius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, being dead, the *Chauci* made incurſions into that province; but *Cn. Domitius Corbulo*, the greateſt commander of his age, who was ſent to ſucceed *Sanguinius*, obliged them to retire, purſued them into their own country, and would have forced them to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Claudius*, who feared *Corbulo* more than he did the *Germans*, put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and *Wars in Germany.*

[r] Idem, c. 5——8.

could wiſh for, but uncertain, and therefore not to be depended upon; that the practice of pleading was intended for the good of mankind, was a common refuge for all men, and prevented the powerful and mighty from oppreſſing thoſe who were not by themſelves in a condition to withſtand them; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expence; ſince they, who profeſſed it, neglected their domeſtic concerns to apply themſelves to the buſineſs of others. Many followed the profeſſion of war, many that of huſbandry, and by both profeſſions a livelihood was acquired; nay, nothing was purſued by any man, but with a view to the advantages it produced. As for *Aſinius*, *Meſſala*, &c. they were either inriched by the civil wars, or heirs of wealthy houſes; and therefore might well be above gain, and plead only for glory; but equally obvious were the examples of *P. Clodius* and *Caius Curio*, who never pleaded but for extravagant fees; for themſelves, as the ſtudy of eloquence had proved very chargeable to them, they thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould reap ſome advantage from it. Theſe conſiderations appearing of no ſmall force to *Claudius*, the revival of the *Cincian* law was dropt (35). This law was enacted by *M. Cincius*, tribune of the people, in the year of *Rome* 549, and revived by *Auguſtus*, who cauſed it to be confirmed by a decree of the ſenate (36).

(35) *Tacit. ibid. c. 7.* (36) *Dio. l.* liv.

ordered him to lead back all the *Roman* forces over the *Rhine*; *Corbulo* obeyed without uttering more than that *happy were the* Roman *commanders in former times*. As he had taken great pains to reſtore the antient diſcipline amongſt the legions, whom he found utter ſtrangers to military toils, that they might not relapſe into a habit of idleneſs, he employed them in digging a canal three-and-twenty miles long between the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations [s]. A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at preſent by the name of *Fliet*, which extends from *Sluys* on the *Meuſe* to *Leyden* on the *Rhine* [t]. The emperor granted to *Corbulo* triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to proſecute the war. He was ſucceeded by *Curtius Rufus*, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the conſular dignity, commanded armies, and died proconſul of *Africa* [u] (M).

Plautius *returns from* Britain.

Towards the end of the year, *Aulus Plautius*, returning from *Brtain*, was received by *Claudius* with great marks of diſtinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor himſelf attending him in that ceremony, and yielding to him the moſt honourable place [w]. *P. Oſtorius Scapula* ſucceeded *Plautius* in the government of *Britain*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. About this time, a *Roman* knight, by name

[s] Idem, c. 19, 20. [t] Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 11. [u] Tacit. c. 20. [w] Suet. c. 24. Dio. p. 685.

(M) He was, according to ſome writers, the ſon of a gladiator. When he grew to a man, he attended a *Roman* quæſtor into *Africa*, where while he was walking at *Adrumetum*, in the middle of the day, under a porch, a woman above human ſize appeared before him, and accoſted him with theſe words; *Thou* Rufus, *ſhalt one day govern this province with proconſular power*. Animated with hopes from this preſage, he returned to *Rome*, where, by the liberality of his friends and his own qualifications, he gained the quæſtorſhip, and afterwards ſtanding for the office of prætor in competition with ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, carried it by the intereſt of *Tiberius*, who gave him this encomium; *To me* Curtius Rufus *ſeems to be deſcended from himſelf*. He was, ſays *Tacitus*, a ſervile flatterer, of thoſe above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age, arrived at the conſulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, was in the end proconſul of *Africa*, and dying there, fulfilled the preſage. This, according to ſome authors, is the *Quintus Curtius*, whoſe hiſtory of the exploits of *Alexander the Great* has reached us. *Voſſius* indeed is of opinion, that this hiſtory was wrote in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, and not of *Claudius*; but the arguments with which he ſupports his opinion, are of no force (37).

(37) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 28.

Cneius

Cneius Novius, was discovered armed with a dagger, among those who were paying their court to the prince. When put to the rack, he confessed his design of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never discover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had put him upon that attempt [x].

THE following year, *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor, and *Lucius Vipsanius Poplicola* being consuls, *Claudius* in quality of censor created several new patrician families, most of those which had been raised to that dignity by *Romulus*, *L. Brutus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, being extinct. He likewise supplied the vacancies in the senate, introducing into that body some *Æduans*, that is, natives of *Autun* in *Gaul*, and promoting a decree of the senate, qualifying such of the *Gaulish* nobility as were *Roman* citizens to be admitted to the senatorial dignity. Such senators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded therein with great tenderness, advising them to resign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might soften and hide the infamy of their expulsion. For these regulations, the consul *Vipsanius* proposed, that *Claudius* should be styled *The father of the senate*; but he modestly declined that title. He then numbered the citizens, who in that survey amounted to six millions nine hundred thousand [y]. This year, *Claudius* was at length acquainted with the disorders of his wife *Messalina*. She was the daughter of *Valerius Messala Barbatus*, the emperor's cousin, and of *Domitia Lepida*, the granddaughter of *M. Antony* and *Octavia*, *Augustus*'s sister; so that she was *Augustus*'s great niece, as *Claudius* was his great nephew [z]. We have related several instances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell short of her monstrous lewdness. Her chief favourite was *Caius Silius*, the most comely young man in *Rome*, with whose graceful person she was so enchanted, that she obliged him to divorce his wife *Silana*, that she might ingross him wholly to herself. *Silius* was not unapprised of the blackness of his crime, and the doom which threatened him; but to withstand *Messalina* was present destruction. He therefore complied with her vicious inclination; and the empress, far from pursuing her amours privately and by stealth, openly frequented his house with a numerous train, accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with wealth and honours, &c. After some time, *Silius*, apprehensive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empress, without disguise, that they were

Gauls *admitted into the senate.*

[x] TACIT. c. 23. [y] Idem, c. 25. [z] SENEC. lud. in Claud p. 478.

gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that desperate attempts were the only security in glaring guilt; that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt *Britannicus*. This proposal, bold beyond all example and almost all belief, *Messalina* applauded, and a few days after, the emperor being gone to *Ostia* to assist at a sacrifice, she married *Silius* with all the usual solemnities in the face of the senate, of the equestrian order, of the whole people and soldiery. *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion Cassius*, who relate this memorable incident, being well apprised how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife should in his life-time dare to espouse another husband in form, and celebrate with him in the face of the city the nuptial feasts, declare, that how wonderful soever and incredible it may seem, they frame no fiction; but only recount what is unquestionably true, and what they had learnt from the living or written testimony of their fathers. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Messalina* induced *Claudius* himself to sign the marriage-contract, as if it were only dissembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head[a]. Horror seized the prince's family, especially those who bore the chief sway in it. It was no riddle whither such a marriage tended, and they dreaded nothing so much as a revolution, which would put an end to their power. On the other hand, when they recollected the stupidity of *Claudius*, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent persons sacrificed to her fury, their own apprehensions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. *Callistus* and *Pallas*, the reigning favourites, were still for dissembling the empress's enormities, and frightening her by secret menaces from keeping company with her adulterer. *Narcissus* thought the emperor should by some means or other be immediately acquainted with the monstrous conduct of his wife; and persisting in his opinion, he prevailed by gifts and promises upon *Calpurnia* and *Cleopatra*, two courtesans in high favour with *Claudius*, to undertake the discovery; which they did the more willingly, as by the fall of *Messalina* they apprehended, that their own authority would be thoroughly established. *Calpurnia*, therefore, while the emperor was still at *Ostia*, upon the first occasion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, Messalina *has married* Silius; and at the same time asked *Cleopatra*, who purposely attended to attest it, whether she had not found it to be true? *Cleopatra* confirming it, *Claudius*, struck with amazement, ordered *Narcissus* to be called, who, begging pardon for having concealed from him the dis-

Messalina *openly marries* Silius.

[a] Suet. c. 29.

orders

orders of his wife, told him, that he was in a ſtate of divorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city, and that *Meſſalina*'s new huſband, if he made not diſpatch, would be ſovereign of *Rome*. He then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for *Turrannius*, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and next for *Luſius Geta*, commander of the prætorian guards, and inquired of them. As they avouched it, all who were about *Claudius*, inſiſted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, and, by ſecuring the prætorian cohorts, conſult his preſervation before his revenge. *Claudius* was ſo confounded and diſmayed, that he often aſked whether he was ſtill emperor? whether *Silius* was yet a private man? In the mean time, *Meſſalina* was indulging herſelf without the leaſt apprehenſion in all manner of diverſions, not imagining, that any one would dare to diſcloſe her diſorders to the emperor, over whom ſhe had ſo mighty a ſway. As it was then the middle of autumn, ſhe exhibited in her houſe a repreſentation of the vintage, in which her new huſband *Silius* perſonated *Bacchus*, being attended by a choir of mock-prieſts and prieſteſſes, among whom was *Meſſalina* herſelf with a thyrſus in her hand, and her hair looſe and flowing. But in the midſt of their jollity and revels, meſſengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that *Claudius* was appriſed of all, and approached bent upon ſudden vengeance. Hereupon the company immediately diſperſed in the utmoſt conſternation; *Meſſalina* betook herſelf to the gardens of *Lucullus*; and *Silius*, who was then prætor and conſul elect, to diſſemble his fear, reſumed the offices of the forum. *Meſſalina*, finding no other reſource, reſolved to quit her retirement, and boldly to meet her huſband, not doubting but ſhe ſhould be able to avert the ſtorm, if ſhe only obtained to be heard. But in the firſt place, ſhe ordered her ſon *Britannicus* and her daughter *Octavia*, to go forth, and embracing their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: ſhe beſought *Vibidia*, the oldeſt veſtal, of whom *Claudius* entertained a high opinion, to do the ſame. She herſelf paſſed through the city on foot, attended only by three perſons, no one ſhewing the leaſt compaſſion for her in her diſgrace. When ſhe was without the walls, not being able to purſue her journey on foot, and finding no other convenience, ſhe was glad to be taken up by a gardener in his dung-cart, in which, quite forſaken by all her train, ſhe took the road to *Oſtia*. The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright, but was ſtill inceſſantly aſking, whether *Silius* was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewiſe betrayed no ſmall diſtruſt of *Geta*, commander of his guards, of which *Narciſſus*, who entertained the

Their ſecurity.

She endeavours to appease Claudius.

the ſame diſtruſt, being appriſed, he ſuggeſted to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preſerve him, than the transferring of the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only, and offered to undertake it himſelf. *Claudius* came readily into his propoſal, and *Narciſſus*, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, took his place as ſuch in the emperor's coach, in order to prevent *L. Vitellius* and *P. Largus Cæcina*, who were in the ſame coach, from interceding in favour of *Meſſalina*. Upon the road, *Claudius* ſometimes broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Meſſalina*; at other times ſhewed compaſſion for her and their common children. *Vitellius* uttered nothing, but, *O heinous! Oh the iniquity!* which words might be interpreted equally againſt *Meſſalina* and her accuſers. *Narciſſus* urged him to ſpeak plain; but gained nothing: *Vitellius* ſtill anſwered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently conſtrued; and his example was followed by *Largus Cæcina*. As they drew near the city, *Meſſalina* unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud with many tears to *Claudius*, that he would hear the mother of *Octavia* and *Britannicus*. *Narciſſus* no ſooner ſaw her, than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and ſtorm with great noiſe againſt the impudent and bold conduct of *Silius*, and the abominations of *Meſſalina*. At the ſame time, to divert the prince from ſeeing her, he delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her proſtitutions. As the emperor was entering *Rome*, ſome attempted to preſent to him his children by her; but *Narciſſus* ordered them to be conveyed away: he could not, however, remove *Vibidia*, who inſiſted with great vehemence, that the emperor's wife might not be condemned without being heard; ſo that *Narciſſus* was obliged to aſſure her, that *Meſſalina* ſhould be heard, and ſhould have full opportunity of clearing herſelf. He then adviſed the veſtal to withdraw, and attend the ſacred functions of her office. As for *Claudius*, he kept the whole time a wonderful ſilence, and *Vitellius* pretended to be amazed; ſo that *Narciſſus* controlled all things. By his command the houſe of the adulterer was opened, and the emperor carried thither. As he entered the porch, *Narciſſus* ſhewed him the ſtatue of *Silius* the father ſtanding there, tho' the ſenate had by a decree ordered it to be broken; for he had been arraigned under *Tiberius* of treaſon, as we have related in his reign: in the houſe he ſhewed him the rich furniture of the imperial palace, the monuments of his wife's proſtitution and his own diſgrace. Having thus worked him up to threats and fury, he led him without delay to the camp, where by *Narciſſus*'s direction he made a ſhort ſpeech to the ſoldiery, who with a general clamour demanded that the criminals might be immediately

The conduct of Narciſſus.

Meſſalina *meets the emperor.*

He is incenſed againſt her by Narciſſus.

immediately executed. Hereupon *Silius* and ſeveral others, whom *Narciſſus* had cauſed to be arreſted, were brought before the imperial tribunal; and, being convicted as accomplices of *Meſſalina*'s proſtitutions, were all dragged to execution. *Silius*, without offering any thing in his defence, only begged they would diſpatch him ſoon. *Mneſter*, the player, who had been likewiſe one of *Meſſalina*'s gallants, created ſome heſitation. He tore off his garments, and deſired the emperor to behold the marks of the ſtripes he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with *Meſſalina*'s impure ſolicitations; he reminded him at the ſame time of his own commands, obliging him to gratify *Meſſalina* without reſerve (N), adding, that others had been tempted to offend by great preſents, or mighty promiſes; but his offence was owing only to compulſion. Theſe conſiderations biaſſed *Claudius* to mercy; but his freedmen diſſuading him from ſaving a player after ſo many illuſtrious ſacrifices, *Mneſter* was condemned and executed with *Traulus Montanus*, a young knight of extraordinary modeſty and comelineſs, whom *Meſſalina* had forced to paſs only one night with her, and afterwards caſt off, her paſſion being, as *Tacitus* obſerves, with equal wantonneſs inflamed and ſurfeited [a].

Silius *and her other adulterers executed.*

[a] TACIT. c. 30—36. DIO. p. 674. SUET. c. 29. SENEC. Jud. in Claud.

(N) *Meſſalina* finding ſhe could neither by threats nor promiſes induce *Mneſter* to comply with her impure ſolicitations, had at length recourſe to ſtripes, and cauſed him to be inhumanly ſcourged; but to no effect, *Mneſter* dreading to incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor, which, he apprehended, would ſooner or later prove fatal to him, if he granted *Meſſalina* her requeſt; for her abominations were now ſo public, that he imagined *Claudius* could not be much longer unappriſed of them. Hereupon the lewd proſtitute, bent upon ſatisfying at all events the paſſion ſhe had conceived for the player; *What if the emperor himſelf*, ſaid ſhe, *ſhould command you to gratify me in what I require? I ſhould, without heſitation*, replied *Mneſter, obey the emperor's command. Meſſalina* flew to the emperor, and complained to him of the player, who, ſhe ſaid, had unmannerly refuſed her a ſmall favour. *Claudius* immediately ſent for *Mneſter*, reprimanded him with great ſeverity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reſerve. He obeyed, and now alledges this command as a powerful motive to induce *Claudius* to grant him his life (38). But *Narciſſus* urging, that his crime was of ſuch enormous malignity, that it availed not how he had committed it, he was executed upon the ſpot.

(38) *Dio. l.* lx.

WHEN

Claudius *ſeems to relent.*

When theſe executions were over, *Claudius* returned to the palace, where he paſſed the beſt part of the night in feaſting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm with wine, for he uſually drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint the *unhappy woman*, for theſe terms he is ſaid to have uſed, that ſhe ſhould attend the next day and plead her cauſe. She was then in the gardens of *Lucullus*, whither ſhe had retired, finding ſhe could have no acceſs to *Claudius*, and was there buſy in compoſing a memorial, which ſhe deſigned to preſent to the prince, not without hopes of moving him to compaſſion. But *Narciſſus*, alarmed at the meſſage he ſent her, and obſerving that his reſentment viſibly abated, and his uſual affection began to return, ran haſtily forth, and directed the tribunes and centurions then upon duty to diſpatch *Meſſalina*, for ſuch was the emperor's expreſs command. With them he ſent one *Evodus* a freedman, in whom he could confide, charging him to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeed not without reaſon, ſince *Claudius* began to relent, that the doom which he had prepared for *Meſſalina*, would, if ſhe lived to the next day, rebound upon his own head. *Evodus* flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her lying upon the ground, and her mother *Lepida* ſitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with her doom, and at the ſame time abuſed her with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave. Her mother encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, ſince ſhe could not prolong her life, to die with renown. Hereupon, laying hold of a dagger, ſhe aimed, with a trembling hand, firſt at her throat, and then at her breaſt; but had not courage and reſolution enough for ſuch an attempt. The tribune therefore who ſtood before her, without ever opening his mouth, obſerving her timidity and irreſolution, delivered her from her anxiety and fears, by running her through with his ſword. Thus juſt vengeance overtook her at laſt, in the very gardens for which ſhe had ſacrificed, as we have related above, the brave *Valerius Aſiaticus*. She was of all women recorded in hiſtory, if not the moſt lewd, the moſt amazingly bold in the purſuit of her lewdneſs [b]. *Claudius* was ſtill at table, when word was brought him, that *Meſſalina* was dead; but without any particulars, whether ſhe had ſuffered by her own, or by the executioner's hand. Neither did he make any inquiries, but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his uſual gaiety, without betraying either then, or in the following days, any ſymptoms of hatred, joy, anger, ſorrow, or any other human paſſion or affection, tho' he beheld

Narciſſus *haſtens her execution.*

Her death.

The ſtupidity of Claudius.

[b] Tacit. c 37.

the

the enemies of his wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the violent end of their mother [c]. Nay, *Suetonius* assures us, that as he was a few days after supping with some of his friends, he asked, why his wife *Messalina* came not to supper? Many other instances of the like almost incredible forgetfulness, or rather stupidity, are related by the same writer and by *Dion Cassius* [d].

UPON the death of *Messalina*, *Claudius* publicly declared, that since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future; nay, he gave every *Roman* leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that resolution. But, notwithstanding these protestations, he soon changed his mind, and, not remembering what he had said, declared his intention of marrying. Hereupon great strife and emulation arose among the imperial freedmen, which of them should chuse a wife for one, who had been ever governed by his wives. *Callistus* proposed to him *Lollia Paulina*, daughter to *M. Lollius*, a consular. *Pallas* recommended *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*; and *Narcissus* employed all his interest in behalf of *Ælia Petina*, whom he had divorced before upon a slight and trivial occasion. *Claudius* himself was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his last adviser. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length called together his counsellors, ordering them to declare and defend in his presence their different opinions (O). *Claudius* heard them all with great attention; but was most affected with

Claudius declares his intention to marry again.

And prefers his niece Agrippina to all others.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] SUET. ibid. DIO. p. 674.

(O) *Narcissus* alledged in favour of *Ælia Petina* the emperor's former marriage with her, and their common daughter, for by her he had *Antonia*; and that by recalling one who had already been his wife; he would introduce no innovation into his family, but a wife, who would not exercise the hatred of a step mother towards *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, since they were so nearly allied to her own children. *Callistus* urged, that to recall her after so long a divorce and dislike, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride; that *Lollia* was a much more eligible match, for having no issue of her own, she was void of every motive of emulation to his, and consequently would use her step-children with the tenderness of a real mother. *Pallas* recommended *Agrippina* from the following considerations; that with her she would bring the grandson of *Germanicus*, and was herself worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her descent, of tried fruitfulness, and in the prime of her age; that by this match would be prevented her carrying into another house the illustrious blood of the *Cæsars* (39).

(39) *Tacit c.* 2.

the arguments of *Pallas*, inforced by the careſſes and allurements of *Agrippina*, who, under colour of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle. This princeſs, ſo famous in hiſtory for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* the elder, whoſe courage and chaſtity we have often had occaſion to celebrate. *Tiberius* married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who ſucceeded *Claudius*, and is known by the name of *Nero*. Upon the death of her huſband, ſhe abandoned herſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, and was on that ſcore baniſhed by her brother, *Caligula*. *Claudius* recalled her, when ſhe married to her ſecond huſband *Criſpus Paſſienus*, one of an illuſtrious family, and ſoon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She was in high favour with *Claudius*, even in *Meſſalina*'s time; and therefore would have been ſacrificed, as well as her ſiſter *Julia*, to her jealouſy, had not the empreſs been diverted from it by other purſuits [c]. *Claudius* no ſooner ſhewed himſelf inclined to marry his niece, but ſhe began, as if already married, to exerciſe the power and authority of a wife. Her firſt purpoſe was, to concert a match between her ſon *Domitius* and *Octavia*, the emperor's daughter; but *Octavia* had ſome time ſince been by her father betrothed to *Lucius Silanus*, a youth of great quality, and no leſs beloved than eſteemed by *Claudius*. However, as the weak prince had no judgment, nor choice, nor averſion or affection, but ſuch as were inſpired by others, *Vitellius*, foreſeeing into whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtening, in order to purchaſe the favour of *Agrippina*, began to deviſe crimes againſt *Silanus*. That young nobleman had a ſiſter, by name *Junia Silana*, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and no leſs gaiety; and hence *Vitellius*, then cenſor, took the accuſation, wreſting to a charge of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter; an affection no-ways inceſtuous, but ſomewhat too free and unguarded; for while *Junia* was by others ſtyled *Venus* on account of her beauty, *Silanus* choſe, we know not why, to call her *Juno*, who was both ſiſter and wife to *Jupiter*. This the infamous ſycophant *Vitellius* laid hold of; and having firſt prejudiced the undiſcerning emperor againſt the innocent youth, quite unappriſed of any plots againſt him, he ſoon after, in quality of cenſor, degraded him from the rank of a ſenator, tho' the ſenate had been already reviewed, and the number of ſenators fixed a good while before; nay, he obliged him by an edict to renounce his prætorſhip, though it was of courſe to expire the next day, con-

Lucius Silanus degraded.

[c] Suet. in Ner. c. 6, 7. Tacit. c. 12, 13.

ferring

ferring it for that day upon *Eprius Marcellus*. *Silanus* being thus marked with infamy, *Claudius* broke off the match between him and *Octavia* [f].

The next conſuls were *C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *Q. Veranius Nepos*. Tho' *Claudius* and *Agrippina* lived publicly together, yet they durſt not celebrate their nuptials, there being no inſtance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that ſcruple was removed by *Vitellius*, who having firſt prevailed, without much trouble, upon *Claudius* to promiſe, that he would ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate and the unanimous voice of the people, eaſily perſuaded both orders to approve of the marriage; nay, ſome of the ſenators declared, that, if the emperor delayed longer, they would compel him. *Claudius* then yielded; but nevertheleſs did not celebrate the nuptials, till the ſenate paſſed a decree, declaring for ever lawful marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters. But notwithſtanding this general law, no one followed the example of *Claudius*, except one *Roman* knight, by name *Titus Alledius Severus*, and he only, as was believed, to court the favour of *Agrippina*. This law was afterwards revoked by the emperor *Nerva*, as was that legitimating the inter-marriage of couſin-germans, long unknown to the *Romans*, by *Theodoſius the Great*. The day after the decree of the ſenate was publiſhed, *Claudius* celebrated his nuptials with the uſual ſolemnity: and on the ſame day *Silanus* ſlew himſelf, whether by choice or conſtraint, is uncertain. His ſiſter *Junia* was baniſhed *Italy*; and to her ſentence *Claudius* added an order to the pontiffs, injoining them to offer expiatory ſacrifices in the grove of *Diana*; a ſource of mockery to all men, ſays *Tacitus*, that penalties and luſtrations ſhould be appointed for a pretended inceſt, while real inceſt was eſtabliſhed by law [g]. From this time the city aſſumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like *Meſſalina*, render the *Roman* ſtate ſubſervient only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her inſatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparallelled cruelty. She governed all, and the emperor himſelf, without controul; appeared with him in the ſenate; placed herſelf by him on the ſame tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and embaſſadors; and did not even abandon him in the courts of juſtice, which to the *Romans* was a ſight altogether new [h]. To ſignalize the beginning, we may ſay, of her reign, with ſome plauſible action, ſhe prevailed upon *Claudius*, not only to recal from exile, but to honour with the prætorſhip,

The ſenate and people approve of Claudius's *marriage with* Agrippina.

Seneca *recalled from exile.*

[f] TACIT. c. 4. DIO p. 677. SUET. c. 29. [g] Idem, c. 8, SENEC. Iud in Claud. [h] TACIT. c. 8. DIO. p. 687.

L. Annæus Seneca, a man by all greatly esteemed on account of his eloquence and accomplishments. But in this she had also her private views, which were the education of her son *Domitius* under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of her ambitious designs; for she did not doubt, but *Seneca* would, out of gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain, for all his philosophy, an irreconcileable hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished [k]; and truly his hatred appears but too plainly in his writings. Not long after, *Agrippina*, pursuing her ambitious designs, gained by vast promises *Memmius Pollio*, consul elect, to move the senate, that they would unanimously beseech *Claudius* to betroth *Octavia* to *Domitius*. To this, which was a great step towards the sovereignty, the senate readily agreed; and *Claudius*, not apprised of his wife's aspiring views, with the same readiness consented. Thus was *Domitius*, by the efforts and devices of his mother, raised almost to an equality with *Britannicus*. He was born on the fifteenth of *December* in the thirty-seventh year of the christian æra; so that he was in the beginning of this, the forty-ninth, entered into the twelfth year of his age [l]. In the next place, *Agrippina*, no less implacable in her hatred, than ambitious in her views, being inraged at *Lollia Paulina*, for having aspired to the emperor's bed, framed crimes against her, and suborned an accuser, who charged her with consulting the magicians and *Chaldeans* about the match. *Claudius*, without hearing her, represented her supposed guilt to the senate, and required, that her estate might be confiscated, and she banished *Italy* [m]. But *Agrippina*, not satisfied with this punishment, sent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The tribune obeyed; and *Agrippina* is said to have with her own hands opened the mouth of the deceased, that from her teeth, which had something, we know not what, very singular, she might be well assured it was her head [n] (P).

Octavia *betrothed to* Domitius.

Lollia Paulina *put to death.*

Calpurnia,

[k] Tacit. ibid. [l] Suet. in Ner. c. 6. [m] Tacit. c. 22. [n] Dio. p. 686.

(P) *Lollia Paulina* was first married to *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece* and *Macedon*, from whom she was forced by *Caligula*, who took her to himself. She was grand-daughter to *M. Lollius*, appointed by *Augustus* governor to *Caius Cæsar*, when he was sent into the east. *Claudius*, in representing her pretended guilt to the senate, touched upon her noble descent, telling the senator, that by her mother she was niece to *Lucius Volusius*; that *Cotta Messalinus* was her great-uncle; that she herself was once the wife of *Memmius Regulus*, &c. but of her marriage with *Caligula* he said nothing. He added, that she pursued pernicious designs, and must be divested of

Calpurnia, another woman of great diſtinction, was likewiſe doomed to ruin, becauſe the prince had praiſed her beauty: but as this was from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in occaſional diſcourſe, her life was ſpared. This year to the inhabitants of *Narbonne Gaul* was granted the ſame privilege with that of *Sicily*, of viſiting their eſtates there, without aſking leave of the prince. The ſame year the countries of *Iturea* and *Judea* were, upon the death of their kings, *Sohemus* and *Agrippa*, annexed to the government of *Syria*. About the end of the year, *Claudius* widened the circumference of *Rome*, incloſing, according to *Onuphrius* °, mount *Aventine*. We are told, that ſuch only as had extended the limits of the empire, were, in virtue of an antient inſtitution, impowered to inlarge alſo the bounds of the city [P]. This power *Claudius* probably claimed, in regard of his having conquered part of *Britain*. As for the troubles which happened this year in the kingdoms of *Parthia* and *Boſporus*, we refer our readers to the account we have given of them in our hiſtory of thoſe countries (Q). Rome inlarged.

THE following year, *C. Antiſtius Vetus* and *M. Suilius Nervilianus* being conſuls, the freedman *Pallas*, who had conducted the late marriage of *Agrippina*, and was now engaged in a criminal correſpondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to her intereſt, perſuaded *Claudius* to adopt, in preference to his own ſon, *Domitius* for his eldeſt, becauſe he was three years older than *Britannicus* (R). From this time *Domitius* was

° ONUPH. in faſt. p. 101. [P] TACIT. c. 23.

of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this her immenſe wealth was confiſcated, and only about thirty thouſand pounds of our money left her. *Tacitus* tells us, that the tribune diſpatched by *Agrippina* had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herſelf (40).

(Q) *Phlegon*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, tells us, that this year, the ninth of *Claudius*'s reign, a woman was delivered at *Rome* of an ape (41).

(R) *Tacitus* tells us, that it was obſerved by perſons ſkilled in antiquity, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the *Claudii*; which, from *Attus Clauſus*, called afterwards *Appius Claudius*, the firſt who ſettled at *Rome*, had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock. *Lipſius* is not at all pleaſed with this obſervation; but urges againſt it the adoption of *Germanicus*. However, being prompted by his good-nature to excuſe the miſtake, he acquaints us, that *Tiberius*, when he adopted *Germanicus*, was not himſelf of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian* family; a poor quibble

(40) *Idem*, c. 22. (41) *Phleg. de reb. memorabil.* c. 22.

indeed,

was named *Nero Claudius Cæſar Druſus Germanicus* (S). This adoption was applauded by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed confirming it, and conferring upon *Agrippina* the ſublime title of *Auguſta*. However, there was no *Roman* ſo void of compaſſion, as not to be affected with the hard lot of the unhappy *Britannicus*, whom *Agrippina*, under colour of tenderneſs for him, kept locked up in a nurſery, though now nine years old. By degrees ſhe removed from him his former attendants, and even cauſed ſome of them to be put to death; among the reſt his preceptor *Soſibius*, putting in their room perſons who were intirely at her devotion. She would never allow him to appear abroad, nor even to wait upon his father, giving out, that he was diſordered in his ſenſes, and troubled with the falling-ſickneſs. Not long after the adoption of *Nero*, *Britannicus* having ſaluted him, as he was uſed to do before, by the name of *Ahenobarbus*, *Nero* reſented it to ſuch a degree, that he

The hard treatment of Britannicus.

indeed, and altogether unworthy of ſo learned a critic! It is ſurpriſing, that a writer of ſuch penetration ſhould thus miſtake the meaning of *Tacitus*, though conveyed to him in the plaineſt terms. *Some obſerved*, ſays the hiſtorian, *that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the* Claudii, *&c.* Could *Lipſius* poſſibly ſuppoſe *Germanicus* to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family? We cannot think him capable of entertaining a notion ſo notoriouſly abſurd, ſince *Germanicus*, *Tiberius*'s own brother's ſon, was, as is manifeſt, by birth, and without any adoption, of the *Claudian* family. On the other hand, if he does not ſuppoſe him to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family, but only for his ſon, as he truly was, to what purpoſe alledge ſuch an adoption againſt thoſe who obſerved, to the glory of the *Claudian* family, that it had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock ſince its firſt ſettling at *Rome*, to the adoption of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*? Beſides, if *Tiberius* was himſelf no longer of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian*, family, how could he adopt *Germanicus* into the former? That *Tacitus* meant not ſuch an adoption as that of *Germanicus*, but an adoption into the family, is evident both from the context in that writer, and from *Suetonius*, who tells us that *Claudius*, when he adopted young *Domitius*, publicly declared, *that no one had ever before been adopted into the* Claudian *family* (42). But *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

(S) *Suetonius* tells us, that, when *Domitius* was born, *Caligula* being deſired by his ſiſter *Agrippina* to give the child what name he thought proper, the emperor, fixing his eyes upon *Claudius*, gave him, by way of raillery, his name; which *Agrippina* took much amiſs, *Claudius* being at that time the laughing-ſtock of the court; but now ſhe eſteems both herſelf and her ſon highly honoured with a name which ſhe then deſpiſed (43).

(43) *Suet. in Claud. c.* 39.

(43) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 6.

endeavoured

endeavoured to perſuade the emperor, that he was a ſuppoſitious child. This year *Agrippina*, to diſplay her power at *Rome* in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be ſent to the capital of the *Ubii*, a town in which ſhe had been born, and which ſhe called by her own name *Colonia Agrippinenſis*. This city is now known by the name of *Cologn* [p]. About the ſame time the *Catti*, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Tiberius*, made incurſions into the *Roman* territories; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by *Pomponius Secundus*, commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, who, on that occaſion, releaſed from bondage ſome *Romans*, who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of *Varus* and his legions. His vigilance and gallant conduct ſeemed to the ſenate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive ſo much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly cried up by the beſt judges of antiquity [q]. It was at this time too, that *Vannius*, whom *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius*, had thirty years before created king of the *Suevians*, was driven out by the *Hermundurians* and *Ligians*. *Claudius*, though he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the barbarians, yet granted a ſafe refuge to the depoſed king, and lands in *Pannonia* both to him and his followers. *Vangio* and *Sido*, his own ſiſter's ſons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the *Romans* [r].

Colonia Agrippinenſis.

THE following year, *Claudius*, being the fifth time conſul, with *Servius Cornelius Orfitus* (T), *Nero*, though not yet fourteen, was preſented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the ſame time, the ſenate, with the concurrence of *Claudius*, decreed, that in his twentieth year he ſhould diſcharge the conſulſhip, and in the mean time, as conſul deſigned, be inveſted with proconſular authority out of *Rome*, and be ſtyled prince of the *Roman*

Nero *takes the manly robe*

[p] TACIT. c. 26. SUET. in Ner. c 7. DIO. p. 667. [q] TACIT. c. 28. [r] Idem, c. 29.

(T) *Claudius* held this his laſt conſulſhip ſix months (44). *Onuphrius* adds to his collegue's other names that of *Scipio* (45); and truly the *Orfiti* ſeem to have been of the family of the *Scipio's* (46). *C. Minucius* or *Minicius Funcenus*, and *C. Verbenius Severus*, were ſubſtituted in the conſulſhip to *Claudius* and *Orfitus* (47). *Veſpaſian*, who was afterwards emperor, was conſul for the two laſt months of this year, as we read in *Suetonius* (48).

(44) *Suet. c. 4.* (45) *Onuph. in faſt.* (46) *Grut. p. 17.* (47) *Onuph. ibid.* (48) *Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.*

youth.

youth. *Claudius* moreover beſtowed, in *Nero*'s name, a largeſs upon the ſoldiery, and another upon the people; and to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, made him appear at the circenſian games, which were then ſolemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial ſtate, while *Britannicus* was carried about in his prætexta, the uſual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth; but they were all, under various pretences, ſoon removed from the palace; even ſuch of the young prince's freedmen, as were found inviolably attached to his perſon and intereſt, were partly diſcharged, and partly put to death, as if they had inſpired their patron with hatred and emulation againſt *Nero*, which might in the end flame out into war and public ruin. Upon their removal, *Britannicus* was committed to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother. The next ſtep which *Agrippina* took towards the accompliſhment of her great deſign was, the removing of *Luſius Geta* and *Rufus Criſpinus* from the command of the prætorian cohorts. She imagined them grateful to the memory of *Meſſalina*, and thence zealouſly devoted to her children. She therefore alledged to the emperor, that, by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas by the authority of one, they would be more eaſily kept to their duty. Hereupon *Claudius*, without any further inquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on *Burrhus Afranius*, whom ſhe recommended, an officer highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, but well appriſed to whom he owed his preferment. And now *Agrippina* began to aſſume a more haughty deportment than ever: ſhe entered the capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction granted to none but prieſts. This, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one, who was, without example, the daughter of a *Cæſar*, the mother of one, ſiſter to the late emperor, and wife to the preſent. But, in the mean time, her chief champion, *L. Vitellius*, was by a ſenator, named *Junius Lupus*, accuſed of high-treaſon; and *Claudius*, ever timorous, would have hearkened to the charge, had not *Agrippina*, by menaces rather than intreaties, turned his reſentment againſt the accuſer, who was baniſhed, *Vitellius* deſiring no further puniſhment [a]. This year, a great famine raged in *Rome*, and the populace, not confining their complaints to houſes and corners, gathered in tumultuous crouds round the prince, while he was publicly adminiſtering juſtice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; inſomuch, that with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped

Burrhus Afranius appointed commander of the prætorian guards.

A famine at Rome.

[a] Idem, c. 42.

their

their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude[t]. *Suetonius* tells us, that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the inraged populace, but ſo pelted with cruſts of bread, that he narrowly eſcaped being killed[u]. However, inſtead of reſenting ſuch baſe treatment, he took ſuch effectual care to have the city ſupplied with corn, that in leſs than fifteen days no one had occaſion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not again be reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, he gave all poſſible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to ſuch as built trading veſſels, and took upon himſelf to make good all the loſſes they ſhould ſuffer.

Farther conqueſts in Britain.

THIS year, the tenth of *Claudius*'s reign, the proprætor, *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, landing in *Britain* (U), was obliged, ſoon after his arrival, though the ſeaſon was already far advanced, to take the field againſt the *Britons*, who broke into the territories of the friends and allies of *Rome* with ſo much the more violence and confidence, as they ſuppoſed that a new general, not yet acquainted with his army, would not in the beginning of winter dare to take the field and make head againſt them. But *Oſtorius*, who was an officer of great experience, being well appriſed, that by the firſt events of war confidence or conſternation was raiſed in an enemy, led forth ſuch cohorts as were next at hand, fell unexpectedly upon the unwary *Britons* with great ſlaughter, and purſued ſuch as were broken ſo cloſe as to prevent their rejoining. Then, as he could not depend upon a peace made by conſtraint, and therefore not ſincere, he deprived of their arms thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and by means of ſeveral forts on the *Severn* and the two *Avons*, one of which is called alſo the *Nen*, he endeavoured to reſtrain the army from making any farther inroads into the territories of the *Roman* allies. This the *Iceni*, that is, the inhabitants of the preſent counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* could not brook. They were a powerful people, and not weakened by any wars or invaſions; for they had of their own accord entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. Being therefore joined by the bordering nations, they ſoon raiſed a conſi-

[t] Idem, c. 43. [u] SUET. c. 18. [w] SUET. ibid.

(U) *Aulus Plautius* left *Britain*, and returned to *Rome*, according to *Dion Caſſius*, in the ſixth year of *Claudius*'s reign: whereas *Oſtorius* did not arrive in that iſland, as is evident from *Tacitus*, till three years after. Hence it is plain, that between *Plautius* and *Oſtorius* was another governor of this country, whom authors have not mentioned, probably becauſe he performed nothing worthy of notice.

derable army, and incamped in a place defended by a ditch, and narrow lanes, not paſſable by the horſe. *Oſtorius*, though not yet joined by his legions, reſolved to attack them; and accordingly, having drawn up his auxiliaries and diſmounted his cavalry, he advanced in good order to attack the enemy's ruſtic fortifications. The ditch was ſoon forced, and the *Britons* put in diſorder, being hampered and intangled with their own incloſures. However, as they were cooped in on all ſides, and no way was left for them to eſcape, being animated with deſpair, they performed many fates of bravery. In this battle *M. Oſtorius*, the ſon of the general, acquired the civic crown, by ſaving the life of a *Roman* citizen. The *Iceni* being thus overcome, and thoſe unſettled ſpirits, who had hitherto wavered between peace and war, calmed by their overthrow, *Oſtorius* advanced into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the preſent counties of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*, laying waſte their territories, and committing general ſpoil, till he approached the *Iriſh* ſea, when commotions begun among the *Brigantes*, the inhabitants of *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, the biſhopric of *Durham*, and the counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, drew him back; for the *Brigantes* had ſubmitted to him before, probably by their deputies, after the overthrow of the *Iceni*; and the *Roman* general was determined to proſecute no new enterprize, till his former ones were completed and ſecure. The chief authors of the diſturbance were executed, and the reſt pardoned, which put a ſtop to any farther attempts of the *Brigantes*. But the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South-Wales*, would hearken to no terms. *Oſtorius* therefore reſolved to lead his legions againſt them; but firſt conveyed a numerous colony of veterans to *Camalodunum*, in order to keep the conquered countries in awe, and inure the *Roman* allies to the laws and juriſdiction of *Rome*. To *Cogidunus*, a *Britiſh* king, and a great friend to the *Romans*, certain cities were given, to attach him ſtill more to their intereſt; for it was a cuſtom, as *Tacitus* obſerves [x], practiſed in the earlieſt ages by the *Roman* people, to employ even kings as their inſtruments in eſtabliſhing bondage on nations. After theſe precautions, *Oſtorius* marched with all his forces againſt the *Silures*, a people reſolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the valour and conduct of *Caractacus*, whom many proſperous, and many doubtful, ſucceſſes had rendered famous, and raiſed in renown above all the other *Britiſh* commanders. As he was better acquainted with the country than the *Romans*, but inferior to them in the number of his troops, he wiſely removed the ſeat of the war into the territories of the

The Iceni *defeated.*

They ſubmit.

The Brigantes *reduced.*

A Roman *colony ſettled at* Camalodunum.

The Romans *march againſt the* Silures.

[x] Tacit. in vit. Agr. c. 4.

Ordovices.

Ordovices, now *North-Wales*. There he choſe a place, againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was no leſs difficult to retire; every way incommodious to the *Romans*, and every way favourable to his own men; for it was upon the ridges of exceeding ſteep mountains, the ſides of which, where approachable, he fortified with walls of ſtone; at the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and the walls which he had reared, were defended by numerous bodies of his braveſt men. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer Caradoc*, which is a ſteep hill on the weſt borders of *Shropſhire*, at the foot of which runs the river *Clun*: *Caradoc* in the *Britiſh* tongue is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Caractacus* in *Latin*. *Oſtorius* having drawn hither all his forces, ſince the *Britiſh* commander was reſolved to put the whole to the deciſion of the ſword, began to advance in battle-array towards the enemy. At his approach the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, who had joined *Caractacus*, ran from rank to rank, animating their followers with repreſentations proper to diſpel fear, and rouſe in their breaſts a martial ardor. As for *Caractacus*, he flew through the whole army, proclaiming, where-ever he paſſed, that from this day, from this battle, they muſt date their liberty completely recovered, or their ſlavery eternally eſtabliſhed: he put them in mind of the glorious feats of their anceſtors, who had driven out *Cæſar* the dictator, and by whoſe valour they yet lived free from tribute and the *Roman* axes, yet preſerved the perſons of their wives and children from diſhonour. His harangue was anſwered by loud ſhouts and acclamations, which were echoed and doubled by the neighbouring woods and mountains. In the end, every one bound himſelf by the moſt ſacred oath amongſt them, never to yield to force or wounds. The reſolute alacrity of the enemy ſtartled the *Roman* general, eſpecially when he diſcovered the river before him, the ramparts raiſed upon its banks, the ſteepneſs of the mountains filled with men hanging almoſt over their heads, and in ſhort the moſt diſmal and threatening ſcene of war he had ever beheld. But the ſoldiers preſſed for the attack, crying out, *All difficulties are ſurmountable by courage*. *Oſtorius* therefore, having carefully ſurveyed the ground, and tried where the river was fordable, and where not, ordered the trumpets to ſound, and his legionaries to advance. They gained without much difficulty the oppoſite bank; but as they approached the rampart, they were galled with inceſſant ſhowers of darts, which did great execution, till forming themſelves into a *teſtudo*, they demoliſhed the wall, which covered the enemy, and encountered them hand to hand upon ground equal to both. Then the *Britons*, not able to ſtand the ſhock

Caractacus oppoſes the Romans.

Engages Oſtorius the Roman general.

of the legions, betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains, where they made a ſtand againſt the *Romans*, who purſued them; but as they covered themſelves with no armour, and only fought with diſcharges of arrows, the *Romans* cloſing with them, eaſily broke their ranks, put them to flight, and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of *Caractacus* were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrendered at diſcretion. He himſelf had recourſe to the protection of *Cartiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*; but as all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, he was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, according to *Tacitus* in the ninth, but by a more exact computation in the ſeventh, year after the commencement of the war in *Britain*; ſo long had he ſuſtained it; and hence his renown, ſays *Tacitus*, had reached all the iſlands, ſpread over the neighbouring countries, and was celebrated even in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where all longed to behold the brave commander, who had for ſo many years defied the arms, and baffled all the attempts, of the *Romans*. He was immediately ſent to *Claudius*, who received him in a kind of triumph. As he drew near the city, the people were ſummoned, as to ſome ſolemn ſpectacle, to ſee the illuſtrious captive; as he paſſed by, the prætorian guards ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. Before the *Britiſh* king marched his ſervants and followers, carrying the gold chains and military ornaments, which he had taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife, and daughters; and laſtly himſelf expoſed to view. All but he appeared dejected, and deſcended to ſupplications unworthy of their rank and character. The king himſelf, without betraying the leaſt fear, or uttering a word that implored mercy, being brought before the emperor, who was ſeated on his tribunal, addreſſed him thus: "If my moderation in proſperity "and ſucceſs had been equal to my quality and fortune, I "ſhould have arrived in this city under another character, that "of a friend, and not a captive; nor would you have diſdained "to receive into terms of alliance a prince, deſcended from "illuſtrious anceſtors, and ruling over ſo many nations. But "different is my preſent lot, a lot, which reflects no leſs glory "upon you, than diſgrace and reproach upon me. I was "lately maſter of men and arms, horſes and treaſures; and "where is the wonder, that I was unwilling to loſe them, "that I ſtrove to retain them? Though you, *Romans*, aim at "extending your dominion over all mankind, it does not thence "follow, that all men will readily and voluntarily ſubmit to "the yoke. Had I immediately yielded, my misfortune would "have been leſs remarkable, your conqueſt leſs renowned: "even now, if I am to ſuffer death, the fame of my reſiſtance

"and

But is defeated.

And flies to the Romans by the Greeks of Rome

His ſpeech to Claudius.

" and your victory will die with me; but if you preſerve my " life, I ſhall be a living monument of your clemency". *Claudius*, compaſſionating the misfortunes of ſo brave a man, and admiring the conſtancy with which he bore them, generouſly granted to him, to his wife, his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. Being releaſed from their chains, they firſt paid their duty and acknowledgment to the prince, and next to *Agrippina*, who was ſeated upon another tribunal cloſe to the emperor's [x]. We are told, that *Caractacus* being aſked, after he had viewed the city of *Rome*, which was then in the height of its beauty and grandeur, what he thought of that ſtately metropolis? returned the following judicious anſwer: *I am amazed, that men, who have ſuch magnificent habitations of their own, ſhould leave them, and come ſo far to bereave us* Britons *of our poor cottages* [y]. In the ſenate many pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of *Caractacus*, ſome of the ſenators extolling it as an event no leſs illuſtrious, than the taking of *Syphax* by *P. Scipio*, or of *Perſes* by *Lucius Paulus*. To *Oſtorius*, who continued in *Britain*, triumphal ornaments were decreed.

Who grants him his life and liberty.

THUS far the adminiſtration of *Oſtorius* had proved ſucceſsful; but now his fortune began to change; whether it was, that upon the captivity of *Caractacus* the *Romans* thought the war concluded, and thence grew leſs vigilant, or that the *Britons* inraged, rather than diſheartened, at the loſs of their king, ſtrove more vehemently to revenge it. However that be, the *Silures* fell by ſurpriſe upon the prefect of the camp and ſome legionary cohorts, whom *Oſtorius* had left to rear forts in their country; and would have cut them all in pieces, had they not received timely aſſiſtance from the neighbouring gariſons; as it was, the prefect himſelf, eight centurions, and a great number of the moſt reſolute ſoldiers were ſlain. Soon after they routed the *Roman* foragers and the troops ſent to ſupport them. Hereupon *Oſtorius* diſpatched to their relief ſome cohorts lightly armed; but they not being able to put a ſtop to the flight, the legions were drawn out. Their arrival encouraged the fugitives; the fight was renewed, and the ſucceſs, after having been long doubtful, proved in the end favourable to the *Romans*; the enemy fled, but, as night approached, with ſmall loſs. Thenceforward ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome encounter or ſkirmiſh, ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in the marſhes; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge, as deſign or chance gave them an opportunity. What moſt exaſperated the *Silures* was, a ſaying of the *Roman* general current among

Some advantages gained by the Silures.

[x] TACIT. ibid. c. 36, 37. [y] ZONAR. p. 86.

among them, that their name muſt be utterly extinguiſhed, as was that of the *Sicambri*, who had been partly cut off, and partly tranſplanted into *Gaul*. Being thus animated, they ſurpriſed and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, as they were without due circumſpection pillaging the country, to ſatiate the avarice of their commanders. The ſpoil and captives they diſtributed among the neighbouring nations, with a view to draw them too into the revolt. In the mean time, *Oſtorius*, ſinking under the weight of his cares and anxieties, ended his days to the great joy of the enemy, that ſo renowned a commander had periſhed in the war [z]. *Claudius* was no ſooner appriſed of the death of his lieutenant, than he appointed *Aulus Didius Gallus* to ſucceed him, who, notwithſtanding his expeditious arrival, found affairs in a much worſe condition than they had been at the death of *Oſtorius*. For the *Silures*, finding the *Romans* deſtitute of a general, had attacked and defeated a legion commanded by *Manlius Valens*, a diſaſter magnified both by the enemy and the new general; by the enemy, to terrify and diſcourage him; by *Didius* to gain the greater glory, if he put an end to the war, or to have the juſter excuſe, if it continued. In the mean time, the *Silures* made frequent and wide incurſions into the territories of the *Roman* allies, committing everywhere dreadful devaſtations, till *Didius*, taking the field, ſet upon them, repulſed them, and reſtrained them within more narrow bounds.

Oſtorius dies.

Other advantages gained by the Silures.

Next to *Caractacus* in merit and valour was *Venutius*, or *Venuſius*, one long faithful to the *Romans*, and protected by them, during his marriage with *Cartiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*. That princeſs was amply rewarded by the *Romans*, and in high favour with them, for having ſeized and delivered up into their hands king *Caractacus*. Wherefore, preſuming upon their protection, ſhe wantonly deſerted her huſband *Venutius*, and married his armour-bearer *Vellocatus*, on whom with her perſon ſhe conferred her crown. This action, generally abhorred by the *Britons*, occaſioned great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war among the *Brigantes*. The queen, by craft and ſubtil ſtratagems, got the brother and other relations of *Venutius* into her power. But *Venutius*, on the other hand, being ſupported by the *Brigantes* themſelves, who were offended at their queen's reproachful conduct, and ſcorned to be governed by a woman, and receiving powerful ſuccours from the neighbouring nations, reduced the unfaithful princeſs to the utmoſt diſtreſs. She then had recourſe to her faſt friends the *Romans*, who immediately diſpatched ſome cohorts and ſqua-

The queen of the Brigantes driven out in ſpite of the Romans.

[z] Tacit. c. 38, 39.

dron

drons to her aid. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which was long doubtful; but in the end proved ſucceſsful to the *Romans*, who reſcued the queen from impending danger. *Venutius*, however, maintained himſelf in the kingdom, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* general. Many battles were fought with doubtful ſucceſs, and no great advantages gained on either ſide. At length *Didius*, who was ſtricken in years, and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, gave over all thoughts of reſtoring the queen, and contented himſelf with acting only defenſively, and reſtraining the enemy by his lieutenants. In this poſture continued affairs here till the ſeventh year of *Nero*'s reign, *Didius* and his ſucceſſor *Veranius* thinking it ſufficient juſt to maintain what acquiſitions their predeceſſors had made, or only to raiſe ſome forts further in the iſland, and very few they were, purely for the name and reputation of having inlarged their government. *Veranius* indeed died in leſs than a year, and was ſucceeded by *Suetonius Paulinus* [a], whoſe feats in this iſland we ſhall relate in the reign of *Nero*, when the order of time will oblige us to reſume the detail, which it now cauſes us to interrupt.

THE following year, *Fauſtus Sylla* and *Salvius Otho Titianus* being conſuls, the ſenate paſſed a rigorous decree for expelling the aſtrologers out of *Italy*, which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree iſſued againſt women of rank, who married ſlaves, ordaining, that ſhe who thus debaſed herſelf, without the conſent of the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould herſelf be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; but where he conſented, ſhe ſhould be held for a ſlave manumitted. *Claudius* declared in the ſenate, that *Pallas* was the deviſer of this ſcheme; whereupon *Bareas Soranus*, conſul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a preſent of about a hundred thouſand pounds of our money. *Cornelius Scipio* added, that public thanks ſhould be returned him for deigning, though deſcended from the antient kings of *Arcadia*, to be reckoned among the emperor's miniſters, and poſtponing this his antient nobility to the ſervice of the ſtate. The haughty ſlave accepted the ornaments of the prætorſhip, and alſo the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but deſpiſed the preſent, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint the ſenate in his name, that he was ſatisfied with the honours, and choſe to live ſtill in his antient poverty. Hereupon a decree paſſed, was engraven in braſs, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted ſlave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now

A decree againſt women who married ſlaves.

The ornaments of the prætorſhip decreed to Pallas.

[a] TACIT. ibid. c. 40. vit. Agr. c. 14. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 45.

worth

worth near ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the venerable parcimony of the primitive ages. This in truth was a compliment, as *Pliny* the younger obſerves [b], made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves. Thus was dignity debaſed, infamy exalted, the awful authority of the ſenate proſtituted, and the ornaments of magiſtracy ignominiouſly defiled. It was not enough for the once great and veñerable *Roman* ſenate to heap honours upon the emperor; they muſt likewiſe court, adore, and exalt his ſlaves and freedmen, creatures brought from the chain and oar, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. This year *Claudius* finiſhed at an immenſe charge the aqueduct, which *Caligula* had begun fourteen years before, and conſecrated it, to uſe the expreſſion of the antient writers, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, his birth day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its ſtately ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen with an inſcription, in which *Claudius* is ſtyled emperor the twenty-ſeventh time. Four hundred and ſixty perſons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large ſalaries aſſigned them out of the public treaſury. The ſame year the great canal being finiſhed, which was deſigned for the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, and had kept thirty thouſand men conſtantly employed for eleven years together, being at length finiſhed, before the waters were let out, *Claudius* exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thouſand condemned criminals engaged on board an hundred large gallies, repreſenting the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* fleets. The lake was ſurrounded with an incloſure of huge rafts to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape. Upon the rafts ſtood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with gallies; the ſhore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crouded with a mighty multitude; many from the neighbouring towns, others from *Rome* itſelf, either from a paſſion to behold the ſpectacle, or in compliment to the prince: the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre, and that greater numbers of ſpectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river *Liris* was levelled. The emperor preſided in a coat of mail, and with him *Agrippina* in a mantle of cloth of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up and ready to engage, a *Triton* of ſilver, ſpringing by an ingenious contrivance out of the midſt of the lake, ſounded the charge, and the combat began, which, though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and gallantry of brave ſoldiers; ſo that after a moſt obſtinate conteſt, after many wounds and much blood, *Claudius* granted ſuch of them as remained, their

The debaſement of the ſenate.

A combat exhibited on the lake Fucinus.

[b] Plin. l. viii ep 6.

lives,

lives, and redeemed them from ſlaughter (W). When the ſhow was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be ſunk ſufficiently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake. Its bed therefore was dug deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more together, a ſhow of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it. After the ſhow, the emperor made a great banquet juſt at the fall from the lake; but the water, breaking out unexpectedly with incredible violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, ſhook the ground to a great diſtance and by its impetuoſity and roaring, terrified and diſmayed *Claudius*, his gueſts, and the ſpectators, who all betook themſelves to flight, aad narrowly eſcaped being carried away with the ſtream. *Agrippina*, taking advantage of the emperor's fright, charged *Narciſſus*, the director of the work, with avarice, as if he had not laid out, but imbezzled the vaſt treaſures allotted for it: on the other hand, *Narciſſus* did not ſpare *Agrippina*, but reproached her with aſpiring and boundleſs views [c]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Narciſſus* let out the waters on purpoſe to cover another fault, which the deſire of ſaving for his own uſe the immenſe ſums allowed him for the work, prompted him to commit [d]; but what fault that was, he does not tell us: we only learn from *Tacitus* [e], that when the water was diſcharged, the negligence of the workmen and the inſufficiency of the work manifeſtly appeared. *Suetonius* ſeems to inſinuate, that *Claudius* accompliſhed this vaſt undertaking, and drained the lake. *Pliny* likewiſe reckons the draining of the lake *Fucinus* amongſt the moſt remarkable works of *Claudius*; but it was neglected, ſays he, thro' envy, by his ſucceſſor *Nero*. On the other hand, *Dion Caſſius* calls the immenſe ſums, laid out on this ſtupendous work, uſeleſs expences; and *Seneca* writes, that the lake *Fucinus* was in his time ſtill full,

A combat of gladiators on the canal.

The undertaking unſucceſsful.

[c] TACIT. c. 57. SUET. c. 21, 32. [d] DIO. in excerp. Val. p. 678. [e] TACIT. ibid.

(W) *Suetonius* tells us, that the combatants, when upon the point of engaging, cried out to *Claudius*, *Farewel, good emperor; we, who are going to die, ſalute you:* the emperor returned the compliment, bidding them *farewel too*; which words they conſtrued as if he had excuſed them from the combat, and therefore refuſed to engage, ſtanding ſtill, till *Claudius*, tranſported with rage, leapt down from his ſeat, and running in a moſt unbecoming manner about the banks of the lake, threatened to deſtroy them with fire and ſword, if they did not immediately engage (48).

(48) *Suet c.* 21.

though the workmen had in *Claudius*'s time with immenſe labour finiſhed the canal, which if *Suetonius* is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain for three miles together [f]. *Spartianus* ſays, that *Adrian* drained this lake [g]. However, it is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Farther Abruzzo*, and is known by the name of the lake of *Celano*. Towards the end of the year the *Bithynians* ſent deputies to *Rome* to accuſe *Junius Cilo*, their governor, of extortion. He had indeed oppreſſed them in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; but the emperor, when they were admitted to his preſence, not well underſtanding what they ſaid, deſired *Narciſſus*, when they withdrew, to acquaint him with the end of their embaſſy. *They are come*, anſwered frankly *Narciſſus*, *to return you thanks for your kindneſs, in appointing over them a man of ſuch integrity, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, as* Cilo. Hereupon *Claudius* relying intirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that *Cilo*, ſince he had given ſuch ſatisfaction, ſhould be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people [h]: a remarkable inſtance this of the prince's weakneſs, and the impudent boldneſs of his freedmen!

The weakneſs of the prince abuſed by his freedman.

The following conſuls were *Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus*, and *Q. Haterius Antoninus*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Nero*, who had entered the ſixteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December*, married *Octavia* the daughter of *Claudius*, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after, to acquire the glory of eloquence, he undertook the cauſe of the *Ilians*, and obtained for them, as the anceſtors of the *Romans*, an intire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatſoever. He likewiſe made an oration in favour of the *Rhodians*, and prevailed with *Claudius* to reſtore them to their antient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-eſtabliſhed: a third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of *Bononia*, a *Roman* colony, which had been utterly conſumed by fire; and they were at his ſuit relieved with a large bounty [i]. The two firſt orations he uttered in *Greek*, and the third in *Latin*. At the ſame time the inhabitants of *Apamea*, *Byzantium*, and *Coos*, having recourſe to the young prince, obtained by his mediation ſignal favours; the *Coans* a general immunity from impoſitions (X), and the inhabitants of *Apamea* and *Byzantium*,

Nero *marries* Octavia.

Several favours granted at his ſuit.

[f] Suet. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [g] Spart. in Adr. p. 11.
[h] Dio. p. 637. [i] Tacit. c. 48. Suet. in Ner. c. 7.

(X) When *Claudius* propoſed in the ſenate a general immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes in behalf of the *Coans*, he made a long deſcant upon their antiquity; how the *Argives*, or at leaſt

Byzantium, a diſcharge from all tribute for the ſpace of five years, the latter having ſuffered much by the late wars of *Thrace* and *Boſporus*, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms, and the former by an earthquake[m]. All this through the policy of *Agrippina*, to gain for her ſon the reputation of a compaſſionate and humane prince. On the contrary, ſhe puſhed *Claudius* upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe was deſirous of poſſeſſing the fine gardens of *Statilius Taurus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been proconſul of *Africa*, ſhe ſuborned *Tarquitius Priſcus*, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having conſulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. *Taurus*, finding *Agrippina* bent upon his deſtruction, laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſenate were to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo worthy a citizen, and provoked againſt the accuſer, that exerting themſelves on this occaſion, they expelled him the ſenate in ſpite of the protection and intrigues of *Agrippina*[n]. *Suetonius* pretends, that *Taurus* entering into a conſpiracy with *Gallus Aſinius*, corrupted ſeveral of the emperor's freedmen and domeſtics with a deſign to make an inſurrection[o], whereas *Tacitus*, whom we have followed, tells us, he was proſecuted merely on account of his fine gardens, which upon his death *Agrippina* ſeized, as *Meſſalina* had done thoſe of *Valerius Aſiaticus*. *Claudius* had often declared, that the ſame force ſhould be allowed to the deciſions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now to ſhew that this was no declaration at random, he cauſed it to be confirmed and eſtabliſhed by a decree of the ſenate. Theſe receivers of the emperors were their ſtewards, perſons intruſted with their domeſtic concerns, for the moſt part franchiſed ſlaves; and nevertheleſs to ſuch ſons of

Statilius Taurus *accuſed, lays violent hands on himſelf.*

Claudius *equals the power of his freedmen to his own.*

[m] TACIT. c. 58. [n] Idem, c. 59. [o] SUET. c. 13.

leaſt *Ceus*, the father of *Latona*, firſt cultivated that iſland; how *Æſculapius* arrived thither ſoon after, and with him the art of medicine, an art which had long flouriſhed amongſt his deſcendants, whoſe names he rehearſed, and marked the ſeveral ages, in which they lived. He added, that *Xenophon*, his own phyſician, was deſcended from the ſame family; and that at his requeſt an intire diſcharge for ever from all tributes ought to be granted to his countrymen, that they might attend only the cultivation of an iſland ſacred to that deity. *Tacitus* obſerves, that he might have alledged many good offices of theirs towards the *Roman* people, nay, and victories gained by their aid; but had not judgment enough to colour under ſome public conſideration his perſonal partiality to his phyſician (49). We ſhall ſoon ſee what return *Xenophon* made him for his kindneſs.

(49) *Tacit. c.* 61.

earth the weak prince, intirely controuled by them, was not aſhamed to aſſert by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate, a power equal to his own, and to that of the laws. At the ſame time he conferred univerſal juriſdiction upon the equeſtrian order, the ſame juriſdiction, for which ſo many ſeditions had been formerly raiſed, and ſo much blood ſhed. *Auguſtus* had ordained, that the knights, who governed *Egypt*, ſhould act judicially; ſoon after their juriſdiction was extended to other provinces; and even in *Rome* itſelf many things formerly determined by the prætors, were referred to the tribunal of the knights. *Claudius* now inveſted them with the ſame unbounded juriſdiction, which had been hitherto enjoyed by the ſenatorial order, and was looked upon by them as their peculiar prerogative [P].

An unlimited juriſdiction granted to the knights.

The following year, *M. Æſinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being conſuls, a change of affairs was portended, if the antients are to be credited, by many prodigies (Y). But *Agrippina* was not ſo much alarmed by them, as by a ſaying of *Claudius*, uttered heedleſsly in his wine; *That it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for ſome time, and at laſt to puniſh them.* About the ſame time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he anſwered one of his freedmen, who applauded the juſtice of his ſentence, *It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to puniſh adulteries*; which plainly ſhewed, that he was not unappriſed of the intrigues and amours of his wife. He likewiſe betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with *Agrippina*, and the adoption of *Nero*; for his ſon *Britannicus* preſenting himſelf to him, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindneſs, bidding him grow up, for he would

Is apprized of the wickedneſs of Agrippina.

[P] Tacit. c. 50.

(Y) The enſigns of the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorched with fire from heaven; a ſwarm of bees ſettled upon the ſummit of the capitol; children were born of different forms; a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk (50). A blazing ſtar appeared; the monument of his father *Druſus* was ſtruck and ſplit with lightning; the number of every order of magiſtrates was leſſened that year; for one of the quæſtors, one of the ædiles, a tribune, a prætor, and a conſul, died within a few months. In his deſignation of conſuls, he named none for that dignity beyond the month of *October*, in which he died, as if he had been appriſed of his approaching end. The laſt time he came to the ſenate, having with great earneſtneſs exhorted his natural and adopted ſons to live in unity and concord, he recommended them both to the care and protection of the fathers. The laſt time he adminiſtered juſtice in public, he is ſaid to have told the people from his tribunal, that *his courſe was ended* (51).

(50) *Idem*, c. 64. (51) *Idem ibid.* & *Suet.* c. 46.

give

give him an account of his whole conduct; adding in *Greek*, *It is love that prompts me*; he declared at the same time his intention of giving him soon the manly robe, *That the people of* Rome, said he, *may have at last a true* Cæsar [q]. As the emperor let no word drop, which was not immediately carried to *Agrippina*, she resolved to be before-hand with him; but first to destroy by his means *Domitia Lepida*, who gave her no small umbrage. She was daughter to *Antonia* the younger, great niece to *Augustus*, cousin-german to *Agrippina* the elder, and sister to *Cneius Domitius*, the present *Agrippina*'s former husband; so that she accounted herself no-ways inferior to *Agrippina* in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to *Tacitus*, both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their tempers, and no less rivals in vices, than in the lustre of their families and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention and struggle was, which of them, the aunt, or the mother, should acquire the sway over *Nero*. *Lepida* endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious *Agrippina* treated him with severity and threats, like one, who was desirous indeed to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her. To get rid of her troublesome rival, she accused *Lepida* of having sought by charms and imprecations to destroy the emperor's wife, and of disturbing the public peace of *Italy* by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous bands of her slaves in *Calabria*. For these imputations she was by the servile senate doomed to die, and executed in spite of the opposition and interest of *Narcissus*, who grew daily more and more distrustful of *Agrippina*, and therefore strove to save *Lepida* [r]. We are told by *Suetonius*, that *Nero* himself was obliged by his mother to appear as a witness against his aunt, though he had a particular kindness and value for her [s]. In the mean time, *Claudius* being taken ill, for the recovery of his health, had recourse to the soft air and wholsome waters of *Sinuessa*; and this occasion was greedily seized by *Agrippina*, long since bent upon his destruction, and for that purpose well furnished with wicked agents. She thought it would be safest to procure his death by poison; but she was at a loss what sort to use; if it were powerful and sudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if slow and consuming by degrees, there was danger, that *Claudius*, when his end approached, might suspect her, and thence annul the adoption of *Nero*. At length

Domitia Lepida *accused and condemned.*

Claudius *is taken ill.*

[q] Idem, c. 64. SUET. c. 43. [r] Idem, c. 65. [s] SUET. in Ner c. 7.

she

ſhe adjudged a ſubtile poiſon the beſt, ſuch as would diſorder his ſenſes, and not ſuddenly put an end to his life. An experienced artiſt in ſuch preparations was choſen, by name *Locuſta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poiſoning. By her the poiſon was prepared, and *Halotus*, an eunuch and the emperor's taſter (Z), was charged to adminiſter it, which he did accordingly in a diſh of muſhrooms, of which *Claudius* was a great lover. But whether it was from his natural ſtupidity, or becauſe he was drunk, he did not ſeem to feel the virulence of the doſe; at the ſame time a looſeneſs ſeemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation and force of the poiſon. *Agrippina* therefore, terribly diſmayed, as one who knew that her own life lay at ſtake, had recourſe to *Xenophon*, the emperor's phyſician, who being already engaged in her wicked deſigns, under pretence of aſſiſting *Claudius* in his efforts to vomit, thruſt down his throat a feather dipt in moſt potent poiſon, which ſoon put an end to his life [t] (A). Thus died the emperor

Is poiſoned by the contrivance of Agrippina.

[t] Tacit. c. 69. Dio. p. 688.

(Z) The office of taſter, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably eſtabliſhed by *Auguſtus*, as we conjecture from the following epitaph ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome: Cenio. Cæli. Herodian. Præguſtator. Divi. Auguſti. Idem. Poſtea. Villicus. In. Hortis. Salluſtianis. Deceſſit. Nonis. Auguſtis. M. Cocceio. Nerva. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coſſ.* *Tiberius* too had his taſter, as appears from the following inſcription: *Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clauſus. Ti. Aug. Præguſtator.* Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This cuſtom obtained among the *Perſians*, as we read in *Xenophon* (52), and of them in all likelihood the *Roman* emperors borrowed it.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that all the particulars of *Claudius*'s death were ſoon after ſo thoroughly known, that the writers of thoſe times were able to relate the moſt minute circumſtances of this black deed. But *Suetonius* writes, that though it is agreed on all hands, that he died by poiſon, yet authors are not unanimous either as to the place where, or the perſon by whom it was given Some, ſays that writer, tell us, that the eunuch *Halotus*, his taſter, poiſoned him, while he was banquetting among the prieſts in the capitol. Others will have it, that in a feaſt at his own houſe, *Agrippina*, knowing he was a great lover of muſhrooms, preſented him with one that was poiſoned. Neither are the other circumſtances of his death better known, continues the ſame writer; ſome relate, that he expired ſoon after he had taken the poiſon, others, that he continued all night in great agony, and died about break of day. Some affirm, that he fell aſleep as ſoon as he had taken the doſe, and was

(52) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* i.

afterwards

ror *Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero*, on the thirteenth of *October*, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of *Caius*'s death [u]. He was a weak prince, almoſt a changeling; had no diſcernment or paſſions of his own, but was intirely governed by his wives and freedmen. However, *Tacitus* ſeems to allow him a ſhare of ſenſe at intervals. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty, and tells us, that thirty-five ſenators, and above three hundred *Roman* knights, were by his orders put to death. But it is certain, that the prince himſelf was altogether a ſtranger to moſt of theſe executions; for a centurion bringing him one day word, that, purſuant to his orders, he had executed ſuch a conſular, the emperor, with no ſmall ſurpriſe, anſwered, that he had given no ſuch order; but one of his freedmen ſaying, that the officer had done well in revenging of his own accord injuries offered to the perſon of the emperor, he acquieſced, and without further inquiry approved of the execution [w]. *Seneca*, in the bitter ſatyr he wrote againſt him, ſays, among other things, that he no more ſcrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly [x]. But his hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been baniſhed to the iſland of *Corſica* and kept there for the ſpace of eight years, prompted him to charge the prince with theſe crimes, which other writers, free from paſſion and prejudice, lay at the door of his wives and freedmen. He had, according to *Tacitus*, *Dion Caſſius*, and *Suetonius*, many good qualities, was an utter enemy to all pride and oſtentation, a ſtranger to revenge, free from the imputation of avarice, a great lover of juſtice, and when he acted of himſelf, and was not by fear bereft of his ſenſes, inclined to mercy and compaſſion. But *Seneca* paints him as a monſter, in whom centered all vices, without allowing him one ſingle virtue, one good quality; whence it is but too manifeſt, that his paſſion got the better of his philoſophy. *His character.*

WHILE *Claudius* lay dead in his apartment, the ſenate, the conſuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his recovery, nay, reſtoratives were ſtill applied, and every thing elſe performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were diſpoſed for ſecuring the empire to *Nero*. With this view

[u] Idem, ibid. DIO. p. 689. [w] SUET. c. 23. [x] SENEC. lud. in Claud. p. 478.

afterwards relieved with vomiting, whereupon the doſe was doubled, &c. We have followed *Tacitus*, who ſeems to have been better acquainted with the circumſtances of *Claudius*'s death than any other writer, ſince he relates them without the leaſt doubt or heſitation, as publicly known in his time.

Agrippina,

Agrippina *perſonates great ſorrow.*

Agrippina, as ſoon as the prince expired, perſonating inconſolable grief, and pretending to ſeek on all hands ſome allay to to her ſorrow, claſped *Britannicus* faſt in her arms, ſtyled him the true image of his father, and by various devices kept him in the chamber, and likewiſe his two ſiſters, *Octavia* and *Antonia*. At the ſame time, ſhe poſted guards in all the avenues, ſhut up all the paſſages, and from time to time gave out, that the prince was recovering. At laſt, when ſhe had taken all poſſible precautions to prevent any diſturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of *Burrhus*, he was received with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. Some indeed heſitated, frequently looking and aſking, where was *Britannicus?* but as he was detained in the chamber of the deceaſed emperor, and no one appeared to propoſe him, they preſently joined the others, and embraced the choice that was offered them. Thus *Nero* was carried to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late prince, he was ſaluted emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the ſenate, which were, without reluctancy, accepted by the people both at *Rome* and in the provinces. To *Claudius* was decreed a ſolemn and pompous funeral, the ſame as had been ordained for *Auguſtus*, *Agrippina* emulating the magnificence of her great-grandmother *Livia Auguſta*. His laſt will, however, though atteſted by the hands and ſeals of all the magiſtrates, was not read in public, leſt his preferring there the ſon of his wife to his own ſon might be reſented by the people [y].

Procures Nero *to be declared emperor.*

Narciſſus *ſacrificed to the revenge and jealouſy of* Agrippina.

Nero had ſcarce been ſaluted emperor, when the imperious and revengeful *Agrippina* made what haſte ſhe could to diſpatch *Narciſſus*. who had ſpoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no ſmall affection for *Britannicus*. She cauſed him to be immediately arreſted, and dragged to priſon, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, conſtrained to lay violent hands on himſelf, ſore againſt the will of *Nero*. He is ſaid to have been at once proſuſe and rapacious, to have ſurpaſſed in wealth *Craſus*, the kings of *Perſia*, and *Claudius* himſelf, and at the ſame time to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an abſolute ſway under *Claudius*, his friendſhip was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces, all ſtriving who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſents. We have ſeen in the courſe of *Claudius*'s reign, by how many crimes he deſerved the doom that overtook him at laſt. But

[y] Tacit. c. 69. Suet. c. 44.

after

after all, he was faithful to his maſter, preſerved his life with great care, and was ready, as *Tacitus* informs us, to lay down his own for his ſervice [z]. *Agrippina* would never have attempted to poiſon *Claudius*, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited [a], had ſhe not firſt removed *Narciſſus*, by perſuading him to try the baths of *Campania* for the recovery of his health. Before he laid violent hands on himſelf, he conſigned to the flames ſeveral letters and ſecret papers againſt *Agrippina*, which, as the prince's ſecretary, he had in his cuſtody, that her accuſers might not be expoſed to the fury of a woman, whoſe tempeſtuous ſpirit, to uſe his expreſſion, and violent luſt of dominion, if not reſtrained, would ſoon drown *Rome* in blood [b]. *Zonarus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Narciſſus* put an end to his life upon the tomb of *Meſſalina* [c]. About the ſame time, another victim, far more illuſtrious, was ſacrificed, and indeed unknown to *Nero*, by the deadly fraud of *Agrippina*. This was *Junius Silanus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, a man of great wealth and equal quality, but of a quiet diſpoſition, and ſo little inclined to raiſe any diſturbances in the ſtate, that he had, during the late reigns, ſpent his life in ſlothful indolence, and even in ſcorn; inſomuch, that *Caligula* uſed to call him *the golden ſheep*. However, as upon the death of *Claudius*, it was whiſpered among the populace, that as *Nero* was ſcarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, ſuch a man as *Silanus* ought to be preferred to him, one of ripe years, of an unblemiſhed character, and, what was then highly eſteemed, deſcended from the *Cæſars*; for he too was the great-grandſon of *Auguſtus*; this was enough for *Agrippina* to diſpath him; and accordingly ſhe ſent orders, without her ſon's conſent or knowledge, to *P. Celer*, a *Roman* knight, and to *Helius*, a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in *Aſia*, to murder *Silanus*. Her orders were obeyed, and poiſon was given him at a banquet by the two aſſaſſins, ſo openly, as if they were neither aſhamed nor afraid to own the murder. A torrent of ſlaughters would have followed, had not *Afranius Burrhus* and *Annæus Seneca* prevented it. Theſe were the young prince's governors, who was now only in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power, yet, by a rare inſtance, they lived free from all jealouſy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accompliſhments. *Burrhus* was his inſtructor in the military art, and *Seneca* in the precepts of eloquence. In theſe different offices they aſſiſted and ſupported each other, the eaſier to ma-

And Junius Silanus.

Burrhus and Seneca the young prince's governors.

[z] TACIT. c. 65. [a] DIO. p. 688. [b] Idem ibid. [c] ZONAR. p. 187.

nage between them the dangerous age of the prince, neither of them having any thing in view, any thing at heart, but the ſervice of their illuſtrious pupil and the welfare of the public. They had both one conſtant ſtruggle to maintain againſt the turbulent ſpirit of *Agrippina*, who, tranſported with the luſt of ruling without controul and ſupported by *Pallas*, was for ſacrificing, even before the obſequies of her huſband were performed, to her rage and jealouſy, all thoſe who gave her the leaſt umbrage. But *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, unanimouſly exerting their authority, reſtrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. *Nero* indeed heaped all kinds of honours upon her, and to the tribune, who came to attend him, the firſt day of his government, for the word, he gave that of *optima mater*, *excellent mother*: the ſenate too, the firſt time they aſſembled, decreed her two lictors, and ſeveral other marks of diſtinction; but the emperor's governors, bearing a greater ſway than ſhe over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing ſuch exceſſes, as ſhe had been guilty of during the late reign [d].

They reſtrain the fury of Agrippina.

Claudius's *funeral praiſes.*

Nero's firſt care after his acceſſion to the empire was, to perform, with all poſſible pomp and magnificence, the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor: he pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, in which he diſplayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many conſulſhips, the many triumphs of his anceſtors; he likewiſe touched upon his perſonal accompliſhments, eſpecially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleaſure. But when he began to cry up the wiſdom, foreſight, and providence of *Claudius*, the whole audience broke into a loud laughter; though the ſpeech was of *Seneca*'s compoſing, and diſcovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, ſays *Tacitus*, a fine genius and a ſtyle well adapted to the taſte of that time. On this occaſion it was obſerved, that *Nero* was the firſt *Roman* emperor who ſtood in need of another man's eloquence; *Cæſar* the dictator ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators, and none of his ſucceſſors wanted eloquence, addreſs, and energy in ſpeaking. But *Nero* having from his early childhood applied himſelf to graving, painting, ſinging, and managing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of *Seneca*, where-ever he had occaſion to ſpeak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. *Seneca* had one under him, named *Beryllus*, who is ſtyled by *Joſephus* [e], *Nero*'s preceptor, but was only his *Greek* ſecretary.

[d] Tacit. annal. 13. c. 1, 2. Suet. c 8. Dio l. lxi. p. 696.
[e] Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7

When

WHEN the obſequies were over, the young prince repaired to the ſenate, where, after an introduction, in which he acknowledged himſelf indebted for the empire to the authority of the ſenate and the concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declared in what manner he deſigned to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and deciſion of affairs; that the whole power and authority ſhould not be confined to a few perſons, but every magiſtrate ſhould have their peculiar juriſdiction; that nothing ſhould be ſaleable within his walls, nor any acceſs there to informers; that between his family and the republic a juſt diſtinction ſhould ever be maintained; that the ſenate ſhould preſerve their antient juriſdiction; that *Italy* and the provinces belonging to the people ſhould apply only to the conſuls, and by them procure acceſs to the fathers; that to himſelf he reſerved what was eſpecially committed to his care, the direction of the armies: he concluded with aſſuring them, that he deſigned to govern his people according to the model of the deified *Auguſtus*. The ſenate ordered this ſpeech, which was likewiſe compoſed by *Seneca*, to be engraved on a plate of ſilver, and to be annually read in the ſenate by the new conſuls [f]. At the ſame time, they accumulated all kinds of honours upon him, which he accepted, without refuſing any, except that of *Father of his country*, in conſideration of his youth [g], which, however, he aſſumed before the ſecond year of his reign expired, as appears from ſome antient medals [h]. He ſeemed at firſt inclined to perform the mighty promiſes he had made to the ſenate; for this year he gave innumerable inſtances of clemency, moderation, and good-nature: to the people he diſtributed four hundred ſeſterces a man; to ſuch of the ſenators as were deſcended from illuſtrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual ſalaries, to ſome five hundred thouſand ſeſterces, beſides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewiſe allowed monthly to his guards: many impoſitions he utterly ſuppreſſed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redreſſed ſeveral diſorders; reſtrained the profuſe luxury of feaſts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, *Claudius* himſelf being greatly addicted to feaſting; with the approbation of the ſenate he publiſhed an edict, forbidding the ſelling of any thing boiled in public houſes, except pulſe and greens; he ſuppreſſed a kind of ſports, in which certain perſons, running up and down the city, pretended to have by cuſtom acquired a right of robbing, as it were in jeſt, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could ſeize [i]. The ſenate likewiſe, depending upon the prince's

[f] TACIT. c. 3. SUET. c. 10. DIO. p. 650. [g] SUET. c. 8.
[h] Vide GOLTZ p. 44. [i] SUET. c. 16.

declaration, began to exercise their antient jurisdiction; and made various regulations, among the rest the two following: that no orator or pleader should receive any fee, payment, or present, for defending a cause; and that those, who were designed quæstors, should be no longer obliged to exhibit public shows of gladiators. All this was opposed by *Agrippina* as annulling the acts of *Claudius*; but *Nero* preferred the counsels of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to those of his mother, and the fathers prevailed. However, out of respect to her, he caused her late husband *Claudius* to be ranked among the gods, with all the solemnity and pomp of priests, altars, and sacrifices: which gave occasion to the pleasantry of *Gallio* the brother of *Seneca*, who hearing of the deification of *Claudius*, could not help saying, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged to the *Tiber* [k]. Towards the end of this year, *Nero* bestowed the *Lesser Armenia* on *Aristobulus* the son of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*; to *Sohemus* he gave, with the ensigns of royalty and title of king, the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagene*, and adding some towns of *Galilee* to the territories which *Claudius* had given to *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, king of *Judæa* [l]. Before the year expired, embassadors arrived from *Armenia* to plead before *Nero* a cause of their nation; and while the emperor was hearing them, seated on the imperial throne, *Agrippina* appeared all on a sudden, and was advancing to sit in joint judgment with the prince. The whole assembly was struck with amazement; but no one daring to restrain her, *Seneca* suggested to him, to descend and meet his mother; and thus, under the disguise of filial reverence, that public disgrace was prevented; for the *Romans* thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations should believe them to be governed by a woman [m]. The audience was put off to another day, when *Seneca* and *Burrhus* took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was but a youth, and wholly indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and therefore pretended to answer foreign embassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies; to preside among the *Roman* eagles, and in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire, which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed upon the young prince to assemble

Claudius *deified.*

The unbounded ambition of Agrippina.

[k] Dio. p. 688. [l] Tacit. c. 5. Joseph. ibid. l. xx. c. 5.
[m] Tacit. ibid.

the

the ſenate in the palace, that, poſted by a door behind a curtain, ſhe might over-hear the debates without being ſeen[m]. *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, well appriſed what dreadful diſorders ſhe would raiſe, if ſhe once got the aſcendant over the prince, left no ſtone unturned to leſſen her power; and their attempts were not without ſucceſs, as we ſhall find anon. The ſame year, *Nero* applied to the ſenate for a ſtatue to his father, and for the conſular ornaments to *Aſconius Labeo*, who had been his tutor. The ſenate not only complied with his requeſt, but at the ſame time decreed ſtatues to himſelf of ſolid ſilver and gold, which he abſolutely refuſed, and checked thoſe who propoſed them. The ſenate likewiſe decreed, that the year ſhould for the future begin on *December*, the month in which *Nero* was born; but, notwithſtanding the ordinance of the ſenate, he preſerved the antient cuſtom of beginning the year with the firſt of *January*. Neither would he admit a criminal proſecution againſt *Corinas Celer*, a ſenator, upon the accuſation of a ſlave; nor againſt *Julius Denſus*, a *Roman* knight, who was charged with his devotion to *Britannicus*, as a great crime[n].

THE following year, *Nero*, who was, by a decree of the ſenate, to exerciſe the conſulſhip in the twentieth year of his age, though he was now but in his eighteenth, took poſſeſſion of that dignity, agreeable to the cuſtom of other emperors, who never failed to aſſume the faſces the year after their acceſſion to the empire. He choſe for his collegue *L. Antiſtius Vetus*; but would not ſuffer him to ſwear, as was uſual, upon his acts, an action mightily cried up by the fathers, with a deſign to animate his youthful mind to the purſuit of glory reſulting from things of greater moment. At the ſame time, he gave a ſignal inſtance of his mercy towards *Plautius Lateranus*, whom, formerly degraded from the order of ſenator for adultery with *Meſſalina*, he now reſtored to his antient rank. *Tacitus* obſerves, that he made great profeſſions of clemency in the frequent ſpeeches, which *Seneca*, the compoſer, uttered in public by his mouth, either to manifeſt what good counſels he gave him, or to diſplay his own wit[o]. After two months he reſigned the faſces; but to whom we are no-where told. This year, *Nero* firſt began to ſlight the authority of his mother, which was no-ways diſpleaſing to *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, who dreaded her violent ſpirit, and expected to ſee the calamities of the late reign renewed, if ſhe came to bear the chief ſway in the adminiſtration. The young prince conceived a violent paſſion for a franchiſed ſlave, by name *Acte*, and at the ſame time aſſumed as confidents in his amour *Otho* and *Claudius Se-*

Nero's *firſt conſulſhip.*

Begins to ſlight the authority of his mother.

[m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, c. 11. [o] Idem ibid.

necio;

necio; the firſt of a conſular family, the ſame who arrived afterwards at the empire, and the other the ſon of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful perſons, but utterly abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and on that ſcore admitted by *Nero* to an intire intimacy. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were ſoon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but, upon mature deliberation, thought it adviſeable not to thwart him in his amour, ſince with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince ſatisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were reſtrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageouſly inſult women of the greateſt diſtinction; for he had already conceived an utter averſion to his wife *Octavia*, however illuſtrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue. Thus reaſoned *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, men, without all doubt, of great penetration, experience, and diſcernment [P]. But *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes to their unſeaſonable condeſcenſion and indulgence the many horrible exceſſes, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the lateſt poſterity. Crimes, ſays that judicious writer, are linked together, and a paſſion, when once let looſe, is ſcarce ever again reſtrained within due bounds. The prince's governors meant well; but the prince, finding they did not check the firſt ſallies of his paſſion, took by degrees greater libertics, and at length, impatient of all controul, gave a looſe to his irregular appetites. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [r]. But, however that be, *Agrippina* could not diſſemble the irregular conduct of her ſon, not from any motive of virtue, as will ſoon appear, but becauſe ſhe dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no ſtone unturned to check his growing paſſion; ſhe filled the city with the angry invectives of an incenſed woman, complained, fretted, and ſtormed, that a manumitted ſlave was become her rival, a hand-maid her daughter-in-law. But the fouler her reproaches were, the more they fired his paſſion; ſo that, being at length overcome by its force, he ſhook off all reſpect to his mother, and threw himſelf, without reſerve, into the arms of *Seneca*, with whom he knew *Anicetus Serenus* (B) lived in cloſe confidence, one

He is indulged by his governors in his paſſion for Acte.

But checked by his mother.

[P] Tacit. c. 12. [r] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 681.

(B) He was commander of the city guards, and generally eſteemed, notwithſtanding his thus cloaking *Nero*'s paſſion for *Acte*. To him *Seneca* inſcribed his books *de tranquilitate*, and was to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo dear and worthy a friend, as he himſelf owns in one of his letters (38), that he deſerved to be ranked among thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be overcome by an unmanly grief.

(38) *Senec. epiſt.* 63.

who

who had hitherto cloaked the prince's paſſion for *Acte*, by pretending to be in love with her himſelf, and had openly preſented to her in his own name whatever *Nero* in ſecret beſtowed upon her. *Agrippina* was no ſooner appriſed of this, than ſhe changed her arts and addreſs, attempting to regain the confidence of her ſon by ſoft and alluring ſpeeches; ſhe often offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleaſed, within her own arms, he might more privately indulge his paſſion, a paſſion pardonable in one of his youthful years and ſovereign fortune. She even acknowledged her unſeaſonable ſeverity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was not much ſhort of the imperial treaſures. Thus from being over-ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſhe became all at once beyond all meaſure ſubmiſſive and fawning. This ſudden change deceived not *Nero*; and his intimate friends, dreading it, beſought him to be upon his guard againſt the ſnares of an implacable and deceitful woman [s].

Who endeavours afterwards to humour him.

It happened about this time, that as *Nero* was ſurveying the rich ornaments, in which the emperors wives and mothers uſed to appear on ſolemn days, he choſe out the moſt pompous and ſtately, and ſent them as preſents to his mother. This the young prince did to convince her, that though he would not be controuled by her, yet he bore her no rancour or ill-will; but *Agrippina*, tranſported with rage, uttered bitter complaints againſt her ſon, who, ſhe ſaid, by ſending her ſuch trifles, did not ſo much intend to make her a preſent, as to exclude her from all the reſt, and to divide with her what he had wholly received from her. Theſe words, as ſlanderers and tale-bearers are never wanting in courts, were immediately carried to *Nero* with aggravations, who thereupon provoked with *Pallas*, by whom chiefly *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious deſigns, diſmiſſed him from his employment, the management of the finances, which he had received from *Claudius*, and in which he had acted more like the ſovereign director of the empire, than of a miniſter. We are told, that as he left the palace, attended by a great throng of followers, *Nero* ſaid, not unpleaſantly, *Pallas is going to abdicate the ſovereignty.* The emperor, however, aſſured him upon his word, that he ſhould not be queſtioned for his paſt behaviour, and that as to his accounts, the public ſhould have no more demands upon him, than he upon the public. Thus *Pallas* forfeited his power, but preſerved immenſe wealth, amounting to ſeven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. The

A new motive of miſunderſtanding between Nero *and* Agrippina.

Pallas *diſmiſſed.*

[s] TACIT. c. 13.

diſgrace

His disgrace highly resented by Agrippina.

disgrace of *Pallas* provoked *Agrippina* to such a degree, that, not able to refrain her rage, she abandoned herself to it without controul, uttering dreadful threats and curses even in the emperor's hearing. *Britannicus*, said she, is now grown up, the true and worthy son of *Claudius*; he is now fit to assume the empire of his father, an empire, which one, who is a son only by adoption, holds to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abusing and insulting his mother: she threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the steps she had taken to secure the empire to the ungrateful monster her son, the surreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poisoning her husband, the crying calamities she had brought upon her own family, the unhappy house of *Germanicus*, &c. She added, that only one comfort by the providence of the gods remained to her, that her step-son was still alive; with him she would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the decision of the soldiery, whether the prating pedagogue *Seneca* and the maimed *Burrhus*, or the son of the deified *Claudius* and the daughter of the renowned *Germanicus*, should have the sovereign rule of mankind. At the same time, she shook her fist at the emperor himself, tossed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curses, imprecations; devoted the monster, so she called her son, and his governors to the infernal furies; invoked the manes of her husband *Claudius*, of the *Silani*, and many others, whom she had murderred to no purpose. This alarmed *Nero*, and as *Britannicus* the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began seriously to reflect with himself, now on the violent temper of his mother, then upon the promising genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feasts of *Saturn* a glaring proof, and gained by it the favour and esteem of all. Besides many other innocent diversions practised on that occasion by the *Roman* youth of the like age and condition, it was an antient custom among them to chuse a king, whose commands, whatever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was chosen by lot, and in the palace, where the emperor, who was himself but a youth, *Britannicus*, and other children of the first quality, diverted themselves with this pastime, the lot fell upon *Nero*, who thereupon gave to all the rest different commands, yet such as exposed them to no ridicule; but that to *Britannicus* was to stand up in the middle of the company, and there sing a song. He hoped the boy, unaccustomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himself in public, would become an object of laughter. But *Britannicus*, to the great surprise of all, with a becoming modesty, and an undisturbed address, though

Nero endeavours to expose Britannicus *to ridicule.*

though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raiſed his voice, and ſung a few verſes, importing, that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjuſtly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modeſt and comely aſpect of the youth, the deep concern which he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all, who were preſent, made within themſelves, drew ſighs and tears from the whole company. *Nero*, ſtruck with the addreſs of the youth, but more with the verſes he ſung, immediately withdrew, as did all the reſt in ſilence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their tears flow unreſtrained. From that time *Nero* conceived an irreconcile- *Reſolves*
able hatred to the innocent youth, and being now alarmed at *upon his*
the threats of his mother, he reſolved to rid himſelf of one, *deſtruction.*
whom he no longer looked upon as a brother, but as a competitor. But not daring openly to command the execution of a perſon of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poiſon to be privately prepared, employing as his agent *Julius Pollio*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept under condemnation for poiſoning the famous *Locuſta*, who had adminiſtered poiſon to *Claudius*. As for thoſe who were about the perſon of *Britannicus*, *Agrippina* had long taken care, that they ſhould be ſuch as had no ſenſe of honour or honeſty. The doſe was therefore haſtily prepared by *Locuſta*, and adminiſtered to the young prince by the hands of his governors; but whether it was not powerful enough in itſelf, or, to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden operation, it had been qualified, it was without effect, being voided by a looſeneſs. Hereupon *Nero* threatened the tribune with immediate death, and would have ordered *Locuſta* to be executed, purſuant to her former ſentence, for preferring her own ſafety to the ſecurity of the prince, had ſhe not undertaken to prepare a doſe, which, ſhe engaged, ſhould diſpatch him as ſuddenly as a dagger. Accordingly the deadly potion, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienced energy and quickneſs, was prepared in a chamber next to the emperor's, and in his preſence. The opportunity to give it him was taken while he was dining with the emperor; but at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly ſerved, as it was the manner of the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but ſitting poſture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of theirs, a taſter. To the end therefore, that neither this cuſtom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be diſcovered, by the death of both, the matter was thus concerted. To *Britannicus* drink was preſented without poiſon, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding

Britannicus *poiſoned.*

hot, and for that reaſon returned. It was then tempered with cold water, into which poiſon had been poured before-hand, of ſuch force and quickneſs in its operation, that *Britannicus* had ſcarce drunk it when he fell to the ground, bereft at once of ſpeech and life. Fear and trembling ſeized his companions; ſome inſtantly made off, but others, who comprehended the myſtery, remained with their eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon *Nero*, who, with the air of one utterly ignorant, declared, that it was only an uſual fit of the falling-ſickneſs, to which *Britannicus* had been ſubject from his early childhood, and that by degrees his ſight and underſtanding would return. *Agrippina* and the young prince's ſiſter *Octavia* were both preſent, but ſtrove to conceal their grief and ſurpriſe; wherein *Octavia* indeed topped her part, having learnt, however raw in years, artfully to diſſemble every ſymptom of grief and tenderneſs, and every other affection of her ſoul. But *Agrippina*, ſenſible that her laſt refuge was ſnatched from her, could not help betraying manifeſt tokens of dread and conſternation. However, with diſguiſed looks, ſhe endeavoured to ſmother her concern; ſo that after a ſhort ſilence the gaiety of the entertainment was reſumed[t]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Titus*, afterwards emperor, being among the other young noblemen at the table with *Britannicus*, when he drank the baneful potion, taſted it, but recovered after a lingering and dangerous illneſs[u]. This is no-ways conſiſtent, as every reader muſt perceive, with the detail, which *Tacitus*, of all the antient writers the moſt accurate, gives us of that remarkable incident.

His funeral.

Upon one and the ſame day were ſeen the untimely fate of *Britannicus* and his funeral pile, to which his corpſe was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been prepared before-hand. His remains were repoſited in the field of *Mars* without any pomp, ſolemnity, or even a funeral oration; though he was the laſt branch of the *Claudian* family, which had ſubſiſted in great ſplendor, and upon its own ſtock, without adoptions, ever ſince the time of *Romulus*, that is, for the ſpace of eight hundred and three years. During the funeral a violent and tempeſtuous ſhower of rain fell, which the populace looked upon as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for ſuch a crying iniquity, while others, reflecting on the eternal diſſentions of rival brothers, and the unſociable genius of ſovereignty, called it a pardonable crime[w]. *Nero* by an edict juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies, complained, that in *Britannicus* he had loſt the ſupport of a brother, and exhorted the fathers to cheriſh with the greater tenderneſs a prince, who

Nero's hypocriſy.

[t] Idem, c. 16, 17. [u] Suet. in Tit. c. 2. [w] Tacit. c. 17.

alone

alone ſurvived of a family, born to ſuſtain the ſovereign power. He then diſtributed the poſſeſſions of *Britannicus*, his palaces in *Rome*, his manors and villas throughout *Italy*, like ſpoils taken in war, among the chief perſons of his court, to purchaſe by ſuch donations their approbation, or at leaſt their ſilence. *Tacitus* tells us, that ſome were ſeverely cenſured for ſharing in theſe diſtributions, notwithſtanding the ſeverity and uprightneſs they profeſſed. He means, no doubt, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; but endeavours to excuſe them, by adding, that they were perhaps conſtrained to accept the preſents by the authority of the emperor, who, being ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hoped, that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes he could engage, as it were, in the ſame guilt, perſons of ſuch credit and reputation. In this diſtribution, *Nero* did not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempeſtuous ſpirit. She careſſed *Octavia*, the deceaſed prince's ſiſter, and the emperor's wife; held frequently ſecret cabals with her confidents, and was upon all hands amaſſing treaſure, as if ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport with it: ſhe paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received in the moſt obliging manner ſuch of the nobility as came to wait upon her. Theſe meaſures were known to *Nero*, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards, which attended her, as confort to the late emperor and mother to this, and alſo the band of *Germans*, which, as a further honour, had been added to the former; at the ſame time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the houſe, which had belonged to her grandmother *Antonia*. He repaired thither now and then to viſit her, but always ſurrounded with a croud of officers, and withdrew after a ſhort compliment. *Agrippina* was immediately deſerted in her new habitation; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while ſhe lived in the palace, inſtantly vaniſhed; no one appeared to comfort her in her diſgrace, no one to viſit her, except a ſmall number of ladies, and theſe not from any friendſhip or affection, to which inſects, who frequent courts, are commonly no leſs ſtrangers than to virtue and honeſty, but to watch all the words and actions of the diſgraced princeſs, and carry them with the uſual aggravations of talebearers to the emperor. Among theſe was *Julia Silana*, whom *Caius Silius* had divorced, as we have related above, to marry *Meſſalina*. She was no leſs infamous for her lewdneſs, than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty; had been long dear to *Agrippina*, and had for a conſiderable while lived with her in great intimacy; but being afterwards diſguſted with her for diverting *Sextius Africanus*, a noble youth, from marrying her, ſhe reſolved now to make *Agrippina* pay

Agrippina driven out of the palace

She is accuſed unjuſtly.

dear for the wrong done her. With this view ſhe inſtructed two of her own creatures, *Iturius* and *Calviſius*, to accuſe her, as if ſhe deſigned to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great-grandſon to *Auguſtus*, with a view to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate. This was by *Iturius* and *Calviſius* imparted to *Atimetus*, the freedman of *Domitia*, *Nero*'s aunt, and by him to *Paris*, the celebrated player, who was alſo *Domitia*'s freedman. *Paris* haſtened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail of the pretended conſpiracy, and ſo terrified him, that, without any further inquiries, he reſolved not only to put his mother and *Plautus* to death, but to remove *Burrhus*, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to *Agrippina*. Some authors write, that a commiſſion was already diſpatched to *Cæcina Thuſcus*, intruſting him with the command of the prætorian bands; but that *Burrhus* retained his dignity by the intereſt and mediation of *Seneca*: others write, that no jealouſy was entertained of that officer's fidelity. However that be, *Nero* could not be diverted from the cruel purpoſe of killing his mother, till *Burrhus* took upon him to ſee her executed, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he ſaid, ought to be heard before condemnation, and much more a mother. Early next morning, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, attended by ſome of the emperor's freedmen to watch their diſcourſe, went to wait on *Agrippina*, and notify to her the charge brought againſt her, and give her the names of her accuſers. She received them with great haughtineſs, and when her crimes were explained to her, defended herſelf with her wonted fierceneſs, but at the ſame time with ſuch energy, that *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, fully convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but at her requeſt prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview, during which ſhe took not the leaſt notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were ſufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, leaſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance ſhould be taken of her accuſers, and ſuitable rewards conferred on her friends, and obtained both. Among her friends *Fenius Rufus* was honoured with the charge of ſupplying the city with corn; to *Aruntius Stella* was given the direction of certain public ſhows; to *Caius Balbilius* was aſſigned the government of *Egypt*, and that of *Syria* to *Publius Anteius*, who was nevertheleſs under various pretences detained at *Rome*. Of her accuſers, *Silana*, *Calviſius*, and *Iturius* were ſent into exile; againſt *Atimetus* ſentence of death was pronounced and executed; but *Paris*, the emperor's inſeparable companion in his debauches, was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment.

Burrhus *intercedes for her.*

She is found innocent, and returns into favour.

punishment [x]. This year *Pallas* and *Burrhus* were charged with a design of raising to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia*, the late emperor's daughter; but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of *Pallas*, however innocent, gave on this occasion no small offence; for the accuser naming to him some of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchised slave had the impudence to answer, that he never condescended to speak to any of his domestics, but constantly signified his pleasure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn to keep their distance. *Burrhus*, though accused, sat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuser *Petus* was condemned to banishment. Towards the close of the year, the emperor caused the cohort to be removed, which used to attend, as a guard, at the public sports, to exhibit thereby a plausible appearance of popular liberty, and also to prevent the soldiery from tainting their discipline with the licentiousness of the theatre [y]. Such was *Nero*, during the first year of his reign, when he gloried in not having shed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which *Seneca* inscribed to him some time after he had entered the nineteenth year of his age, that is, about the fifty-fifth of the *Christian* æra. The chief aim of that excellent writer throughout the whole work is to imprint deeply in the mind of his pupil, that a general and extensive beneficence is the genuine characteristic of a good prince; that those who are intrusted with the sovereign power, are not only bound to protect the innocent and guiltless, but often extend their mercy and good-nature to those who may seem unworthy of their favour and protection. This he insinuates to have hitherto been practised by *Nero*, and relates a celebrated saying of the young prince, who being desired by *Burrhus* to sign a warrant for the execution of two public robbers, put it off from time to time; but *Burrhus* pressing him to dispatch that affair, he at last set his hand to the warrant with the utmost reluctance, which he expressed with the following words mightily extolled by *Seneca*: *Oh had I never learnt to write* [z]!

The arrogance of Pallas.

A signal instance of Nero's clemency.

THE following year, *Quintus Volusius Saturninus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* being consuls, *Nero* began to indulge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, especially *Otho* and *Senecio*, of whom we have spoken above, incessantly repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to

[x] TACIT. c. 20—22. [y] Idem, c. 22—24. [z] SENEC. de clem. l. ii c. 1. SUET. c. 10.

be

be awed by a *Burrhus* or a *Seneca*; that they ought to tremble before him, as their ſovereign, and not he before them, as his tutors and maſters, *&c.* As youth are more ſuſceptible of bad than good counſels, the young prince, in ſpite of the wholeſome advice of his governors, abandoned himſelf to unſeaſonable revellings, and filled *Rome* with innumerable diſorders. For, unmindful of his rank and diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, he ſcoured in the night the ſtreets, the public inns, and the ſtews, followed by his debauched companions, who ſeized as a lawful prey whatever they found expoſed to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met. In theſe frolics he often ran great dangers, and once was ſo wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the ſcar, no one imagining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the ſtreets. But when that came to be known, his name was falſly aſſumed as a cloak by others, who in ſeparate gangs practiſed the ſame exceſſes; ſo that ſuch combuſtions happened almoſt every night in the city, as if it had been ſtormed by an enemy. The prince having one night offered ſome affront to a woman of diſtinction, as ſhe was returning home in the dark, her huſband, by name *Julius Montanus*, a ſenator, who attended her, not only repulſed the aggreſſor, but handled him ſo roughly, that he was for ſeveral days obliged to keep his room: *Suetonius* ſays, he was almoſt killed. However, he diſſembled this treatment ſo long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but *Montanus* having at laſt diſcovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored by a letter his forgiveneſs, *Nero*, thinking he reproached him by owning he knew him, obliged him by threats and menaces to lay violent hands on himſelf. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was conſtantly attended in his nocturnal rambles, by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators following him at ſome diſtance, who, however, were ordered not to interpoſe, till the prince's party was quite overcome. He likewiſe took great delight in ſtirring up and inflaming the different factions in the play-houſe, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in battle, it was a great diverſion to him to throw ſtones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerouſly wounded a prætor in the head. Theſe tumults rent the whole city into parties and factions, ſome favouring one player, and ſome another; inſomuch, that greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, but that of driving the players out of *Italy*, and recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre at the celebration of the public ſhows [a].

Nero abandons himſelf to revelling and debauchery.

Players driven out of Italy.

[a] Tacit. c. 25. Suet c. 26. Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 685.

Under

Under the ſame conſuls, *Vipſanius Lenas* was accuſed of extortion in his government of *Sardinia*, and condemned to baniſhment: *Ceſtius Proculus*, charged with the ſame crime, was acquitted: *Clodius Quirinalis*, commander of the fleet which rode at *Ravenna*, being convicted of ſeveral acts of cruelty, prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation: *Caninius Rebilus*, one of the ableſt civilians and richeſt citizens in *Rome*, redeemed himſelf from the uneaſineſs of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, which was thought the more ſurpriſing, as he had ever been infamous for his effeminacy and laſciviouſneſs. The ſame year, died *Lucius Voluſius Saturninus*, in the ninety-third year of his age, a man of great integrity, wealth, and intereſt, and nevertheleſs, what to *Tacitus* ſeems a kind of prodigy, never obnoxious to, or diſturbed by, any of the bloody emperors under whom he lived [b]. He was father to *Quintus Voluſius*, this year's conſul, who was born to him in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age: he was governor of *Rome* when he died [c].

THE next conſuls were *Nero*, the ſecond time, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, who, after ſix months, reſigned the faſces to *Duennius Geminus* and *Pompeius Paulinus*. This year, *Nero* remitted the duty upon the ſale of ſlaves, diſtributed to the populace a largeſs of four hundred ſmall ſeſterces a man, and iſſued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public ſhows, being well appriſed, that ſuch acts of munificence were only deſigned to ſtop the mouths of the people, who in the end bore the whole charge; ſo that the liberality of their governors and their avarice concurred equally to undo them. He likewiſe conſented, with great readineſs, to a decree of the ſenate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his ſlaves, thoſe who had been manumitted, if they ſtill continued under the ſame roof, ſhould be executed with his other ſlaves. *Lucius Varius*, who had been conſul, but formerly degraded for extortion, he reſtored to his rank; and referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great diſtinction, but accuſed of having embraced a foreign ſuperſtition, ſays *Tacitus*, meaning probably the chriſtian religion, purſuant to the antient cuſtom, to the inquiſition of her huſband. She was married to *Aulus Plautius*, the ſame who, by his conqueſts in *Britain* in the reign of *Claudius*, had deſerved an ovation. *Plautius* aſſembled his relations, took together with them cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent. *P. Celer* was accuſed of many crimes by the province of *Aſia*; but as he had diſpatched by poiſon the proconſul *Silanus*, as we have related above, that crime covered

Several inſtances of Nero's *generoſity, good-nature, &c.*

[b] TACIT. c. 30. [c] PLIN. l. vii. c. 8.

all

all his other enormities; ſo that *Nero*, aſhamed to diſcharge him unwilling to condemn him, lengthened out the proceſs, till he died of old age. *Eprius Marcellus* was accuſed by the *Lycians* of extortion; but abſolved, though evidently guilty; nay, ſo powerful a faction was formed in his favour, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſhed with exile, as if they had conſpired the ruin of an innocent man. The *Cicilians* had better ſucceſs in the proſecution of *Coſſutianus Capito*, who, for his extortions, was condemned to baniſhment [c].

Relieves poor ſenators.

THE following year, *Nero* entered upon his third conſulſhip; but held it only four months. His collegue was *Valerius Meſſala*, to whom, as he was of an illuſtrious family but by misfortunes reduced to poverty, *Nero* generouſly preſented a yearly penſion of five hundred great ſeſterces. At the ſame time, he aſſigned annual appointments to other ſenators, who did not deſerve them, having waſted their paternal wealth in voluptuouſneſs and riotous living.

P. Suilius accuſed.

This year *Publius Suilius*, an abandoned accuſer, who had made a great figure during the reign of *Claudius*, and with his venal eloquence procured the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes. He was charged with the death of *Poppæa Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*, of *Valerius Aſiaticus*, of *Lucius Saturninus*, of *Cornelius Lupus*, and of whole bands of *Roman* knights condemned at his inſtigation; in ſhort, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to *Suilius*. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of theſe accuſations of his own accord, but purely in obedience to the prince. But *Nero* checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of *Claudius* it evidently appeared, that no accuſation whatſoever had been undertaken by his orders. The accuſed then pleaded the commands of *Meſſalina*: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was ſaid, had no other advocate but *Suilius* been ſingled out to accompliſh the bloody purpoſes of that proſtitute? *Seneca* ſeems to have been the chief and moſt ſanguine promoter of this proſecution; for againſt him chiefly *Suilius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princeſſes, meaning *Julia*, *Germanicus*'s daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childleſs, as it were, in his net; with his exhauſting all *Italy* and the provinces by his exceſſive uſury; with amaſſing, by what precepts of wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, he ſaid, he knew not, a treaſure of more than ſeven millions, in the ſhort ſpace of four years. Theſe reproaches, ſays *Tacitus*, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagoniſt *Seneca*. *Suilius*, however,

His invectives againſt Seneca.

[c] TACIT. c. 32—34.

however, was condemned, and baniſhed to the *Balearic* iſlands on the coaſt of *Spain*. In hatred to him his ſon *Nerulinus* was alſo arraigned; but *Nero* interpoſed, alledging, that public vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated by the doom of the father[d]. This year was firſt kindled *Nero*'s paſſion for the celebrated *Poppæa Sabina*; a paſſion which proved the ſource of heavy calamities to the *Roman* ſtate. She was the daughter of another *Poppæa Sabina*, put to death by *Meſſalina*'s orders, as we have related above, and of *Titus Ollius*, a ſenator. As *Poppæus Sabinus*, her mother's father, had ſhone in the republic, borne the conſular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, ſhe borrowed his name, and called herſelf *Poppæa Sabina*; for to her own father the friendſhip of *Sejanus* had proved fatal, before he had attained to any dignity. She poſſeſſed every ornament becoming her ſex, except that of virtue; in beauty ſhe excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging addreſs, and ſprightly converſation, charmed all who converſed with her. But her lewdneſs knew no bounds, nor was ſhe controuled in the purſuit of it by the awe of fame. Between huſband and adulterer ſhe made no diſtinction, ſays *Tacitus*, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any ties, however binding. Hence, though ſhe was married to *Rufus Criſpinus*, a *Roman* knight, and by him had a ſon, ſhe was not aſhamed to leave him, and live publicly with *Otho*, a gay youth and the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was ſoon followed by their marriage, *Criſpinus* readily conſenting to a divorce. *Otho*, now her huſband, was continually extolling to *Nero* the beauty and charms of his wife, being prompted thereunto either by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover, or by a deſire of kindling in the young prince's breaſt the like paſſion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, an additional ſupport to his preſent authority. *Nero*'s paſſion was eaſily inflamed; he deſired to ſee *Poppæa*, an interview was appointed, and the emperor, in his firſt converſation with her, was ſo taken with her ſoft arts, with her addreſs and careſſes, that he carried her to the palace and there detained her. But the artful *Poppæa*, after a night or two, when ſhe had worked up the prince's affection to the higheſt pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtineſs, importuning the emperor to let her return to her huſband, whom of all men ſhe thought the moſt deſerving, the moſt worthy of her affection. Hereupon *Otho* was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred of all intercourſe, and even acceſs to the emperor, and ſoon after, to

Poppæa Sabina *her character.*

She captivates Nero.

[d] Idem, c. 42, 43.

Otho *ſent into* Luſitania.

prevent his having any communication with *Poppæa*, preferred to the government of *Luſitania*; a government which he adminiſtered for the ſpace of ten years with eminent uprightneſs and honour, having acquired no leſs reputation in authority, by his gravity and regular conduct, than he had deſerved infamy in a private ſtation, by a moſt voluptuous and diſſolute life [c] (C). Thus *Nero* enjoyed *Poppæa* without a rival, and was for ſome time intirely governed by her pernicious and deſtructive counſels, as we ſhall relate anon. This year *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia* the daughter of *Claudius*, being falſely accuſed of forming a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, was baniſhed his country, as if he had been a traytor fully convicted, and confined within the walls of *Marſeilles* (D). The ſame year, as

[c] Tacit. c. 45, 46. Suet. in Oth. c. 3. Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

(C) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, conceiving a paſſion for *Poppæa*, took her from her huſband, and ſent her to *Otho*, who, receiving her into his houſe under colour of marriage, was ſo taken with her charms, that he pretended to ingroſs her wholly to himſelf, and not only refuſed to admit ſuch as were ſent to her from *Nero*, but once ſhut out the emperor himſelf, though he earneſtly intreated him to deliver her up to him, and added menaces to his intreaties. Upon this *Nero*, to deliver himſelf from ſo troubleſome a rival, preferred him to the government of *Luſitania*, now *Portugal*, fearing that a more ſevere puniſhment might diſcover the whole intrigue; yet ſo far it was known, that the following lampoon was made and diſperſed;

Cur Otho mentito ſit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mœchus cœperat eſſe ſuæ.

That is, *Why was* Otho *baniſhed under colour of an honourable preferment? Becauſe he became the adulterer of his own wife.* *Plutarch*, in the life of *Galba*, tells us, that *Nero* would not have been ſatisfied with ſo ſlight a puniſhment, had not *Seneca*, who had a great friendſhip for *Otho*, prevailed upon the emperor to condemn him only to an honourable exile, which would put him in full poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs (39).

(D) *Sylla* was accuſed by one *Graptus*, *Nero*'s freedman, an old, ſubtle, and wicked courtier, well practiſed, ever ſince the reign of *Tiberius*, in the dark devices of the emperors. He, upon this occaſion, forged the following plot. The *Milvian* bridge was then the ſcene of nocturnal revellings; and thither *Nero* frequently reſorted, that he might there the more licentiouſly riot without the city. *Graptus* therefore pretended, that a plot was laid for him, as he ſhould return from thence by the *Flaminian* way; but he had, by the providence of the gods eſcaped it, in coming home through the

(39) *Plut. in Galb.*

gardens

as the people complained loudly of the arbitrary tranſactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for intirely ſuppreſſing all taxes and duties, thinking that the greateſt bounty he could beſtow upon mankind; but the ſenate, after many high encomiums on the greatneſs of his ſoul, reſtrained him, by remonſtrating, that the ſuppreſſion of all taxes muſt neceſſarily be attended with the diſſolution of the empire. The prince therefore contented himſelf with ordaining by an edict, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept ſecret, ſhould be hung up in public, to the end that every one might know the preciſe ſum he was to contribute; that the publicans ſhould exact no claims for above a year backward; that all cauſes againſt them ſhould be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and in the provinces by the proprætors and proconſuls for the time being, with other the like intirely equitable injunctions, which, however, grew ſoon obſolete, though the ſuppreſſion of the *quadrageſima* or fortieth penny, and of the *quinquageſima* or fiftieth, as alſo of ſome other impoſitions, continued in force at leaſt till the reign of *Adrian*. At the ſame time, to encourage the tranſportation of grain from the tranſmarine provinces, it was ordained, that no duty ſhould be paid for the ſame [f].

Nero deſigns to ſuppreſs all taxes.

Iſſues ſeveral equitable regulations.

IN *Germany*, affairs having continued in a ſtate of tranquillity till this time, the commanders of the *Roman* armies, having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various works. *Paulinus Pompeius*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, perfected a dam, which *Druſus* had begun threeſcore and three years before, to reſtrain the overflowing of the *Rhine*. A modern writer places it in the neighbourhood of *Duerſtede* or *Wick* above *Utrecht* [g]. *Lucius Vetus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, undertook a work truly great, ſtupendous, and worthy of the *Roman* grandeur, which was to dig a canal of communication between the *Sône* and the

The ſtate of affairs on the Rhine.

[f] TACIT. c. 51. 52. SUET. c. 10: [g] BUCH. de Belg. l. v. c. 5.

gardens of *Salluſt*; and that *Sylla* was at the head of this conſpiracy. The only foundation of all this was, that certain debauched youths had in ſport filled with groundleſs fears ſome of the emperor's attendants, as they were repairing back to the palace. But *Silla* was, by his marriage with *Antonia*, *Claudius*'s daughter, nearly allied to the family of the *Cæſars*; and *Nero* miſtook his natural heavineſs and indolence, which rendered him unequal to any attempt of treaſon, for deep artifice and diſſimulation; and hence his ruin (40).

(40) *Tacit. ibid.*

Moſelle, that the armies from *Italy*, ſailing by ſea into the *Rhone*, and then into the *Sône*, might fall through this canal into the *Moſelle*, thence through the *Rhine* into the ocean; ſo that a communication might be opened between the *Mediterranean* and the ſaid ſea. But *Ælius Gracilis*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, through which the *Moſelle* flowed, jealous of the glory which *Vetus* would have acquired by ſo great and uſeful an undertaking, warned him not to bring his troops into another man's province, and at the ſame time threatened him with the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at ſuch an enterpriſe, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the *Gauls*. Thus was that glorious project dropped[h]. Theſe things ſeem to have happened in the firſt year of *Nero*'s reign; for our hiſtorian relates in this place the tranſactions of ſeveral years. Afterwards, that is, according to *Onuphrius*, in the third year of the ſame prince's reign, *Paulinus* being ſucceeded by *Dubius Avitus*, and *Vetus* by *T. Curulius Mancias*, the *Friſians*, under the conduct of *Verritus* and *Malarigis*, poſſeſſed themſelves of certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the uſe of the *Roman* ſoldiers, who were wont to ſend their horſes and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings and ſown the fields, when *Avitus* threatened to drive them from thence, unleſs they firſt obtained from the emperor a grant of thoſe territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to *Rome*, where, while they waited for acceſs to *Nero*, among the ſeveral ſights which were uſually exhibited to ſtrangers, they were conducted to *Pompey*'s theatre, to aſſiſt at a public ſhow. There, while they were gazing round them, ſurveying with aſtoniſhment the multitudes of people, and informing themſelves which were the *Roman* knights, where ſat the ſenators, *&c.* they ſpied certain perſons in a foreign dreſs ſitting among the latter, and aſked who they were? This is a diſtinction, anſwered the interpreter, conferred by the *Roman* people on the embaſſadors of ſuch nations, as have ſignalized their bravery in war and fidelity towards us. If ſo, replied the two chiefs, we claim a right to ſit there too; for amongſt men there is not a nation, which in fidelity and feats of arms ſurpaſſes the *Germans*; and thus leaving their ſeats, they placed themſelves amongſt the ſenators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous aſſembly, as the effect of an honeſt emulation. *Nero* honoured them both with the rights of *Roman* citizens; but commanded them to abandon their new poſſeſſions: which their countrymen refuſing to do, *Avitus*, by a ſudden irruption, put many of them

The Friſians *poſſeſs themſelves of lands belonging to the* Romans.

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

[h] Tacit. c. 53.

to the ſword, and forced the reſt to comply with the emperor's orders [i]. Some time after, the *Anſibarii*, being driven out of their own country by the *Chauci*, took poſſeſſion of the ſame lands, being ſupported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by a man of great renown and of known fidelity towards the *Romans*, his name *Boiocalus*. He alledged to *Avitus*, in behalf of himſelf and his people, that, upon the revolt of the *Cheruſci*, when *Varus* and his legions were ſlaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by *Arminius*; that he had afterwards ſerved under *Tiberius*, then under *Germanicus*, and, to the merit of fifty years ſervice, was ready to add that of ſubmitting his people to the empire of *Rome*. He remonſtrated, that the territory in diſpute was large and lay waſte; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, ſettlements in it, and at the ſame time retain wide tracts for the horſes and cattle of the *Roman* ſoldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconſiſtent with humanity to famiſh men in order to feed their beaſts, and with religion to devote to diſmal deſerts and ſolitude any part of the earth, which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that ſuch parts of it as none poſſeſſed, were free and common to all. Then lifting up his eyes to the ſun and the other celeſtial luminaries, he aſked them, how they could bear to behold a deſolate ſoil? and would they not more juſtly let looſe the ſea to ſwallow up uſurpers who thus engroſſed the earth? *Avitus*, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakeſt muſt ſubmit to the more powerful; and that ſince the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the ſovereign judgment to the *Romans*, other judges than themſelves they would ſuffer none. This anſwer he gave in public; but to *Boiocalus* in private he offered lands, as an acknowldgement of his long attachment to the *Romans*. But this offer the brave *German* looked upon as a price propoſed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, *A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot.* Thus they parted with mutual animoſity. The *Anſibarii* invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but *Curtilius Mancias*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, paſſing the *Rhine* at the head of his legions, threatened them with deſolation and ſlaughter, if they lent any aſſiſtance to the enemies of *Rome*. On the other hand, they were awed by *Avitus*, who likewiſe appeared with his legions on the banks of the *Rhine*; ſo that the unhappy *Anſibarii*, deſerted by all, had recourſe to the *Uſipites*, the *Tubantes*, the *Catti*, the *Cheruſci*,

The Anſibarii *poſſeſs the ſame lands.*

[i] Idem, c. 54.

begging

But are utterly exterminated.

begging leave to ſettle in their territories; but being everywhere driven out as enemies and intruders, in theſe long and various wanderings the people periſhed [k]. This year, the *Jubones*, a people in alliance with *Rome*, who are ſuppoſed to have inhabited the counties of *Naſſau* and *Iſemberg*, were afflicted with the ſudden eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which conſumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of *Cologn*, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguiſh it with the throwing of water and other uſual expedients, tranſported with rage, vented their wrath by attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones. This, to their great ſurpriſe, allayed its fury; which no ſooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a cloſer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy, and at length, which was ſtill more ſurpriſing, they quite got the better of the devouring conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it [l]. This year, *Domitius Corbulo*, the greateſt general of his age, completed the reduction of *Armenia*, by driving from thence *Tiridates*, brother to *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, and making himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, the moſt important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Armenia*; and therefore, not to treſpaſs upon the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we ſhall only add here, that for the ſucceſs which had attended *Corbulo*'s arms, *Nero* was proclaimed emperor, and by a decree of the ſenate days of public thankſgiving were appointed, with ſtatues of victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the conſulſhip. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city of *Artaxata* was taken, the day when the news arrived at *Rome*, and the day which produced that decree, ſhould all be for ever kept as feſtivals. This motion was oppoſed by *Caius Caſſius*, who argued, that were every inſtance of public proſperity to be attended with public thankſgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion; a juſt diſtribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of buſineſs, that the worſhip of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men [m].

Armenia *reduced by* Corbulo.

Hitherto *Nero*'s adminiſtration was univerſally applauded, and is generally cried up by hiſtorians; nay, *Trajan*, an excellent prince, is ſaid to have propoſed to himſelf the five firſt years of *Nero*'s reign as the moſt accompliſhed model of an equitable government [n]. This, if true, muſt, no doubt, be underſtood under ſeveral reſtrictions. But however that be,

[k] Idem, c. 57. [l] Idem ibid Buragh. numiſ. p. 92. [m] Tacit. c. 34. [n] Aur. Vict in epit.

this

this year, the ſixth of his reign, when *Caius Vipſanius Apronianus* and *Caius Fonteius Capito* were conſuls, produced an inſtance of the blackeſt and moſt unnatural iniquity recorded in hiſtory, that of a mother murdered by a ſon, who was indebted to her not only for his life, but for the empire, and that very power, which, by an apoſtacy from nature, he impiouſly employed againſt her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the lateſt poſterity, we ſhall relate, as it has been tranſmitted to us by the moſt unexceptionable hiſtorians of antiquity. *Agrippina* had, after the late groundleſs charge brought againſt her, in ſome degree regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no ſmall ſway at court, till *Poppæa* was introduced there. That ambitious proſtitute aimed at nothing leſs than ſolemnly marrying the emperor; but as ſhe could never hope to ſee *Octavia* divorced, nor herſelf honoured with imperial wedlock during the life of *Agrippina*, ſhe made it her whole ſtudy to inflame *Nero* againſt her, ſometimes jeering him by the ſarcaſtical name of pupil, one blindly ſubject to the capricious humour of a woman, and ſo far from being ſuffered to ſway the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty, which every private *Roman* enjoyed as his birth-right. As for herſelf, ſhe deſired to be reſtored to the conjugal embraces of *Otho*, that ſhe might in any corner of the earth rather hear of the emperor's abaſement and reproach, than ſtay to behold it. She added atrocious calumnies againſt *Agrippina*, as if ſhe deſigned to attempt upon his life, and threatened to abandon him, that ſhe might not be with him expoſed to the dangers that ſurrounded him. Her complaints and expoſtulations, inforced with ſighs, tears, and all the ſoft artifices, which the deceitful adultereſs poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, pierced the ſoul of *Nero*, and in behalf of *Agrippina* no one interpoſed, all at court being overjoyed to ſee her authority cruſhed, and no one imagining the ſon would ever be hardened to ſuch a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to ſpill the blood of his mother [o].

Poppæa inflames Nero againſt his mother.

IN the mean time, *Agrippina*, well appriſed of the views and artifices of *Poppæa*, left nothing unattempted, which thirſt of power could ſuggeſt to retain her wonted dominion. Authors, who lived in thoſe times, and to whoſe authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the luſt of ruling tranſported her to ſuch extravagant and almoſt incredible lengths, that while *Nero* was well heated with wine and banqueting, ſhe accoſted him gayly attired; and, without any regard to fame or modeſty, prompted him, we relate it with horror! to a crime no leſs repugnant to nature, than that which he ſoon after committed.

By what impious means Agrippina ſtrove to retain her power.

[o] TACIT. l xiv. c. 1. DIO. l. lxviii.

mitted. *Seneca*, who was preſent, obſerving the prince, while he was thus drunk, inclined to yield to the ſolicitations of his mother, for an antidote againſt the inticements of one woman, had recourſe to another, and introduced *Acte*. By this means the unnatural abomination was prevented; but the reputation of *Seneca* ſomewhat tarniſhed, who might, by ſome other expedient more worthy of a philoſopher, have diverted the prince from ſo monſtrous an impurity. *Fabius Ruſticus*, a writer of thoſe times, aſcribes this unheard-of paſſion, not to *Agrippina*, but to *Nero*, and adds, that he was reſcued from ſo great an infamy by *Acte*. But in the detail we have given, all other authors agree, and it was moreover confirmed in *Tacitus*'s time by the teſtimony of popular fame. Be that as it will, *Nero* dreading the infamy, which the bare ſuſpicion of ſuch a deteſtable iniquity would reflect on his character, and being told, that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; which gave *Poppæa* a favourable opportunity of inflaming him more and more againſt her, till at length ſhe worked him to a reſolution of delivering himſelf by a parricide from one, who, ſhe ſaid, was his dread and his torment. He was now therefore only in ſuſpenſe about the means of diſpatching her, whether by poiſon, by the ſword, or by any other effectual method. That of poiſon was preferred at firſt; but to adminiſter it was thought difficult; for if it were done at the prince's table, her death would never be believed ſudden and accidental, ſince in the like manner *Britannicus* had already periſhed. To apply to her own domeſtics appeared dangerous. As ſhe was a woman long acquainted with frauds and blood, ſhe was upon her guard againſt all ſnares, and armed by counter-poiſons againſt the operation of poiſon. How to diſpatch her with the ſword and cover the execution, no one could contrive. It was feared too, that none could be found ſufficiently hardened for the execution of ſuch iniquitous orders. In this perplexity, *Anicetus* proffered his ſervice and his dexterity. He was a franchiſed ſlave, and had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy; but was now commander of the fleet which rode at *Miſenum*. As he was an implacable enemy to *Agrippina*, and *Agrippina* to him, he undertook to contrive a veſſel ſo, that, by a ſudden and artificial burſting in the open ſea, it ſhould overwhelm and drown her, without the leaſt warning or apprehenſion. If ſhe were thus diſpatched by ſhipwreck, no one, he ſaid, could aſcribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. *Nero* was pleaſed with this device the more, becauſe he had a favourable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at *Baiæ* the ſolemn feſtival of *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, which began

Nero reſolves to deſtroy her.

Is in ſuſpenſe about the means.

gan on the nineteenth of *March*, and laſted five days. In order to intice his mother thither, he pretended a deſire to be reconciled to her, declaring that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that, for himſelf, it behoved him to forget all paſt provocations, and be ſincerely reconciled to a tender mother, whoſe gift was the power and empire which he ſwayed. A general rumour of this pretended diſpoſition was immediately ſpread abroad, reached *Agrippina*, and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their wiſhes, and promiſes matter of joy. At the ſame time, he wrote a letter to her, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to paſs the feſtival with him at *Baiæ*. *Agrippina*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, tho' well practiſed in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but imbarquing at *Antium*, where ſhe then was, ſailed to *Bauli* (E), an imperial villa between the cape of *Miſenum* and the gulph of *Baiæ*. Thither *Nero* haſtened to receive her, met her upon the ſhore, preſented her his hand, embraced her, and conducted her to the caſtle. Not far from the ſhore, amongſt ſeveral other veſſels belonging to the emperor and the noble men of his court, rode that which had been contrived by *Anicetus*, more pompous and gaudy than the reſt, as if *Nero* by that diſtinction intended freſh honour to his mother. But ſhe having had ſome intimation of the plot, tho' doubtful whether ſhe ſhould believe it or not, when invited on board, declared ſhe choſe to go to *Baiæ* by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a ſedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of *Nero*, obliging beyond expreſſion and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for *Nero*, during her ſtay there, treated her with the utmoſt magnificence, yielded

He pretends kindneſs for her.

His prodigious falſhood and ſhow of filial tenderneſs.

(E) This villa belonged firſt to *Hortenſius* the celebrated orator, and afterwards to *Antonia*, the wife of *Druſus* (41). At this time it was poſſeſſed by the emperor, and long after by *Symmachus*, who deſcribes it, and gives the etymology of its name in the following verſes:

Huc deus Alcides ſtabulanda armenta coegit
Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
Inde recens ætas corrupta Boaulia Baulos
Nuncupat, occulto nominis indicio.
Ab Divo ad proceres dominos fortuna cucurrit,
Fama loci obſcuros ne pateretur heros.
Hanc celebravit opum felix Hortenſius aulam,
Contra Arpinatem qui ſtetit eloquio.

(41) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 55.

to her at table the moſt honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diverſions, granted her all the favours ſhe aſked in behalf of herſelf or her friends, and, in converſing with her, broke ſometimes out into ſallies of youthful gaiety, diſcourſing at other times with a compoſed and grave air of weighty affairs, as if he repoſed in her an intire confidence and ſought her counſel. Having, with theſe inſnaring careſſes and hollow fondneſs, removed all her ſuſpicions, he drew out the laſt banquet till the night was far ſpent; and in the mean time gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys, to run foul of that which had conveyed *Agrippina* to *Bauli* and diſable it, that ſhe might be obliged to imbarque on the fatal veſſel. When the banquet was over, *Nero* acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own veſſel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himſelf, *Anicetus*, to attend her to *Antium*. The emperor attended her in perſon to the ſhore, and at parting hung upon her neck, kiſſing her eyes, kiſſing her boſom with ſuch tenderneſs, that he left it uncertain, as our hiſtorian obſerves, whether he meant by that paſſionate behaviour to cloak his horrid deſign, or whether his ſpirit, however fierce and ſavage, could not withſtand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the laſt ſight of a mother juſt going to periſh [p].

The ſea proved ſmooth and calm, the night clear, and the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, as if all this, ſays our hiſtorian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that ſo black a murder might not remain undiſcovered, by being aſcribed to the malignity of winds and waves. *Agrippina*, when ſhe imbarqued was attended only by two perſons, *Crepercius Gallus*, who ſtood in the ſteerage, and a lady named *Aceronia Polla*, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleaſing diſcourſe of the remorſe of her ſon and his ſincere reconciliation, when all on a ſudden, upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened; and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down, and cruſhed *Crepercius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by the poſts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield to the weight; neither did the veſſel open as had been concerted, ſuch of the mariners as not had been intruſted with the plot, obſtructing the meaſures of thoſe who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, ſtrove to bear the veſſel down on one ſide, and ſo ſink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the deſign, at the ſame time ſtruggling to preſerve her, by ballancing the contrary way, ſhe was not at once ſwallowed up, but ſunk by

[p] Tacit. c 4. Suet. c. 34. Dio. l. lxi. p. 695.

degrees

degrees; ſo that *Agrippina* and *Acceronia* fell ſoftly into the ſea. The latter ſcreaming out, for the more ſpeedy relief, that ſhe was *Agrippina*, and paſſionately calling upon the mariners to ſuccour the prince's mother, was by them purſued with their poles and oars, and ſo ſlain. *Agrippina* never opened her mouth, and being therefore leſs known, eſcaped, with one wound only on her ſhoulder; and, what with ſwimming, what with the timely aſſiſtance of ſome fiſher-boats which rowed out to ſuccour her, reached the lake *Lucrinus*, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There reflecting upon the danger which ſhe had eſcaped, the fate of *Acceronia*, miſtaken for herſelf and deſignedly ſlain, the manner in which the veſſel, under the ſhelter of the ſhore, not toſſed by winds, nor ſtriking upon rocks, had yielded in its upper part and been purpoſely overſet, ſhe concluded, that for this very end ſhe had been inticed by the fraudulent letters of her ſon, and for this treated by him with ſuch extraordinary marks of honour. However, ſhe thought it adviſeable to diſſemble the whole, and however well appriſed of theſe black devices, to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view ſhe diſpatched *Agerinus* her freedman, to acquaint the emperor with the danger ſhe had eſcaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to intreat him, that, however alarmed at the miſfortune which had threatened his mother, he would poſtpone the trouble of viſiting her; for what ſhe only ſtood in need of at preſent was reſt. In the mean time, diſguiſing her fear and counterfeiting perfect ſecurity, ſhe cauſed her wound to be dreſſed; and calling for the laſt will of *Acceronia*, ordered all her effects to be regiſtered and ſealed up [q].

Agrippina deſignedly ſhipwrecked.

She eſcapes.

And diſſembles her apprehenſions.

As to *Nero*, he had paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs and anxiety, attending the ſucceſs of his deſign; and while he was hourly expecting expreſſes to appriſe him, that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived, that his mother had eſcaped only with a ſlight wound. At this he was ſtruck with terror and diſmay, not doubting, but her fierce ſpirit, bent upon haſty revenge, would either arm the ſlaves, ſtir up the rage of the ſoldiery againſt him, or recur with a tragical repreſentation of the whole plot to the ſenate and people. Thus terrified and diſmayed, he immediately ſent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who perhaps had not before, ſays *Tacitus*, been acquainted with the conſpiracy. To them he notified his diſappointment, and told them, that in the preſent emergency, he had no reſource, no protection, no one to adviſe with, but them. They both kept long ſilence, either becauſe they thought it was in vain to diſſuade him from a deſign on which they ſaw him bent, or becauſe they believed matters

Nero's *fears upon the eſcape of his mother.*

[q] TACIT. c. 5. DIO. p. 695.

already puſhed ſo far, that unleſs *Agrippina* ſoon periſhed, *Nero* certainly muſt. At length *Seneca*, who uſed always to ſpeak the firſt, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he aſked him, whether orders for the diſpatching of *Agrippina* might not be truſted to the ſoldiery under his command? *Burrhus* underſtood him, and anſwered, that the prætorian guards were ſo zealouſly attached to the name of the *Cæſars*, ſo fond of the family and memory of *Germanicus*, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt againſt their deſcendants. He added, that *Anicetus* ought to accompliſh what he had begun. *Anicetus* undertook without heſitation to acquit himſelf of his engagement; and *Nero* crying out, that *Anicetus* preſented him that day with the empire, urged him to uſe diſpatch, taking with him whom he pleaſed to aſſiſt him. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, with the news of her diſaſter and eſcape, was immediately admitted to the emperor, by whoſe orders, as he was delivering his meſſage, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been ſent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to priſon. This fable was forged to ſupport another; for *Nero* intended to give out, that his deſtruction had been concerted by his mother, and that ſhe, upon the diſcovery of her treaſon, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the puniſhment ſhe deſerved [h].

Anicetus undertakes to finiſh the murder.

Zeal of the populace upon diſcovering her danger.

In the mean time, the danger which threatened *Agrippina* at ſea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the ſhore to aſſiſt her; ſome crouded into barques and ſkiffs; others entered the ſea, and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, ſome ſtretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: ſo that the whole coaſt reſounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indiſtinct clamour of a multitude, ſolicitous about her ſafety. When they underſtood, that ſhe was out of danger, they all haſtened to congratulate her upon her eſcape. But, in the mean time, *Anicetus* arriving with an armed band of mariners, they all diſperſed; and the franchiſed ſlave, having beſet the villa with a guard, burſt open the gates, ſecured ſuch of her ſlaves as offered to ſtop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a ſmall number of her friends, who, at the ſight of ſo many armed men, betook themſelves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneaſy, that no ſoul had yet arrived from her ſon, nor had even *Agerinus* returned, when ſhe heard a ſudden noiſe and tumult at the door of her chamber; which ſo ter-

Her houſe beſet with armed men.

[h] Tacit. c. 6. Dio. p. 695. Suet. ibid.

rified

rified her maid, that ſtarting up, ſhe too was about to depart; which *Agrippina* perceiving, *Thou likewiſe*, ſaid ſhe, *art going to abandon me:* and that moment *Anicetus*, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy. The princeſs, tho' well appriſed of their deſign, yet addreſſing them with great intrepidity, *If you are come*, ſaid ſhe, *from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him, that I am well refreſhed and recovered; if upon any bloody deſign, I will never believe you commiſſioned by my ſon; my ſon cannot command a parricide.* But the aſſaſſins, without returning her any anſwer, placed themſelves round her bed; for in her chamber was a ſmall light, and *Herculeus* the firſt diſcharged a blow upon her head with a great club. *Oloaritus* the centurion inſtantly drew his ſword to diſpatch her; but ſhe, notwithſtanding the blow ſhe had received, ſtarting up, preſented her belly, crying with a loud voice, *Strike me here; this carried and brought forth ſuch a monſter as* Nero. In uttering theſe words, ſhe was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired [i]. In theſe particulars all authors agree; ſome add, that *Nero* afterwards ſurveyed the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their ſymmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and ſeems inconſiſtent with the concern which he afterwards ſhewed. That very night her corpſe was burnt without any pomp or ſolemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed than that which ſhe lay upon at her meals. Her bones were interred by her domeſtics, who, after the death of *Nero*, raiſed her a vulgar tomb upon the road to cape *Miſenum*, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to *Cæſar* the dictator. *Mneſter*, one of her freedmen, as ſoon as her funeral pile was lighted, run himſelf thro' with a ſword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of ſome terrible doom, which he apprehended hanging over his head, was never known. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrippa*, and great grand-daughter to *Auguſtus*, ſiſter to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom ſhe had deſerved by a long train of crying iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told, that ſhe was warned of it many years before by the *Chaldeans*, who being conſulted by her concerning the fortune of *Nero*, and anſwering, that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; *Let him kill me*, ſaid ſhe, *ſo he do but reign* [k].

Her murder.

Her end foretold long before.

[i] TACIT. c. 7, 8. DIO. p. 696. SUET. c. 24. [k] TACIT. c. 9. DIO. SUET. ibid.

THE

The ſcene of this horrible iniquity being over, the emperor began to reflect within himſelf on the enormity of his guilt; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and empire! With this thought he paſſed the reſt of the night in dreadful agonies, now dumb, motionleſs, with his eyes fixed, then ſtarting up amazed and trembling. Thus wild and ghaſtly, he waited the return of day, which, he apprehended, would bring upon him ſome dreadful and final doom. *Burrhus* was the firſt who afforded him ſome comfort in the midſt of theſe horrors, by perſuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily eſcaping the enormous treaſon deviſed by his mother. Their example was followed firſt by the emperor's friends, and next by the neighbouring communities of *Campania*, who teſtified their joy by ſacrifices to the gods, and embaſſies to the prince. *Nero* himſelf, by a quite oppoſite diſſimulation, pretended to be inconſolably grieved for the death of his mother, anſwering thoſe who ſtrove to comfort him, that he hated a life, which upon ſuch terms had been ſaved. However, as the face and aſpect of places cannot change like the countenannes of men, the ſight of that coaſt and thoſe ſhores, where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; beſides, there were ſome, who imagined they heard horrid ſhrieks and wailings from *Agrippina*'s tomb, and a mournful ſound of trumpets from the neighbouring clifts and hills. *Nero* therefore flying from ſuch tragical places, which inceſſantly reproached him with the crying greatneſs and enormity of his crime, withdrew to *Naples*, whence he ſent letters to the ſenate, acquainting them, that *Agerinus*, a freedman of *Agrippina*, had been ſent by her to aſſaſſinate him; but had been timely apprehended, and that ſhe had thereupon laid violent hands upon herſelf, with the ſame guilty conſcience which had prompted her to attempt upon the life of her ſon. To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back; he even aſcribed to her all the vile meaſures and black iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public bleſſing, and aſcribed to the auſpicious fortune of the *Roman* ſtate. This letter was compoſed by *Seneca*, who thereupon was ſeverely cenſured, and indeed not undeſervedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conſpiracy; but nevertheleſs the ſenators, with wonderful heat and competition, ſtrove to ſurpaſs one another in decreeing new honours to *Nero* on this occaſion. The following ſolemnities were therefore ordained, that at all the altars public devotions ſhould be obſerved; that the feaſt of *Minerva*, during which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould be celebrated with anniverſary

Nero's agonies upon her death.

He affects ſorrow.

He charges her with many crimes.

The flattery of the ſenate.

ſary plays for ever; that the ſtatue of that goddeſs in gold ſhould be placed in the ſenate-houſe, and cloſe by it that of the emperor; and laſtly, that the anniverſary of *Agrippina* ſhould be inſerted in the number of unlucky days. *Thraſea Pætus*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign, walked out of the ſenate as ſoon as the emperor's letter was read, chuſing rather to provoke the vengeance of *Nero*, than give his aſſent to ſuch ſervile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the ſenate, who had ſo much honour and integrity as to follow his example. And now *Nero*, to heighten the public hatred towards his mother and blacken her memory, as if ſhe had checked his natural inclination to mercy, reſtored to their native country and eſtates ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly by her doomed to exile. He likewiſe pardoned *Iturius* and *Calviſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and ſuffered the body of *Lollia Paulina*, who had ended her courſe at *Tarentum*, to be brought home, and repoſited in the tomb of her illuſtrious anceſtors. Notwithſtanding theſe acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himſelf to return to *Rome*, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the ſenate and people. But the abandoned profligates of his court, and no court upon earth, ſays *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more, aſſured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred; inſomuch, that by her death he had ſecured for ever the affections both of the people and ſenate. Hereupon he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promiſed him. The ſeveral tribes in diſtinct bodies came forth to meet him, and likewiſe the ſenate in their robes, with mighty crouds of women and children, ranged into ſeparate claſſes according to their ſex and age. Where-ever he paſſed, plays and ſhows were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a ſolemn triumph. Elated with pride upon ſuch a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations [1]. But all theſe tokens of joy and approbation could not ſmother the reproaches of his own conſcience; the horrors of his guilt never forſook him; he owned, that the furies purſued him with ſtripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was ſometimes ſo great, that every joint of him trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their ſacrifices, to call up the ghoſt of his mother, and intreat her to forgive him; nay, ſome time after, when he travelled into *Greece*, though he was mighty deſirous of aſſiſting at the *Eleuſine* ceremonies,

Endeavours to blacken her memory.

He is received at Rome with extraordinary flattery.

[1] TACIT. c. 11—13. DIO. l. lxi. p. 796.

yet

yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as ſoon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane perſons to depart [m].

He diverts himſelf with chariot-driving.

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholſome advice, but, on the contrary, all conſpired to deceive him with ſervile flattery, and to commend even his moſt enormous exceſſes, he abandoned himſelf without controul to all his extravagant paſſions. He was chiefly fond of two diverſions, both highly unbecoming his rank and ſtation, *viz.* of driving a chariot and ſinging to the harp in a theatrical habit. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* had thought it adviſeable to indulge him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more ſhameful and unmanly employment. Thus a piece of ground in the *Vatican* was incloſed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driving, without being expoſed to the view of a promiſcuous croud of ſpectators; but now he was deſirous of being publicly ſeen, and even invited to the ſight the populace, who failed not to magnify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined, that by bringing many others under the ſame infamy he ſhould leſſen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the theatre, ſeveral noble *Romans*, deſcended from illuſtrious families, but decayed and through indigence become venal. He likewiſe engaged with great rewards ſeveral *Roman* knights to undertake the acting of parts in public repreſentations. However, that he might not yet debaſe himſelf in the common theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays called *juvenales*, which were exhibited in private houſes or gardens, perſons of the firſt quality, nay, many who had borne the chief offices of the ſtate, acting in them, and degrading themſelves to imitate the port and buffoonry of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics, even in their moſt obſcene geſticulations. The contagion even reached ladies of the greateſt diſtinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their aſſemblies and repreſentations too in a grove planted by *Auguſtus*, where booths were built, and in them ſold whatever incited to ſenſuality and wantonneſs. Thus was even the outward appearance of virtue baniſhed the city, and all manner of avowed lewdneſs, depravity, and diſſoluteneſs introduced in its room, men and women being engaged in a contention to outvie each other in glaring vices and ſcenes of impurity. At length *Nero* could forbear no longer, but took the harp, and mounted the public ſtage, trying the ſtrings with much attention and care, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions and a cohort of the guards, with many

He engages ſeveral noble Romans *to debaſe themſelves upon the ſtage.*

[m] Suet. c. 34.

tribunes

tribunes and centurions, and *Burrhus* their commander, ſad on this infamous occaſion, but praiſing *Nero* while he grieved for him. At this time, he inrolled a body of *Roman* knights, intitled the *knights of* Auguſtus, young men diſtinguiſhed by the bloom of their years and ſtrength of body, but all profeſſed profligates. As the emperor ſpent whole days and nights in ſinging and playing upon the harp, the whole buſineſs of theſe knights was to commend his perſon and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to ſing his airs about the ſtreets [n].

THE next year, *Nero* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus* for his collegue, and held that dignity for ſix months. This year he inſtituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, conteſts of eloquence and poetry, with other games to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were ſtyled *quinquennial games.* On this occaſion the players and pantomimes, who had often cauſed great animoſities, were recalled and reſtored to the ſtage. During theſe ſports a comet appeared, which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes; hence, as if *Nero* had been already depoſed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him, and the name of *Rubellius Plautus* was on this occaſion in every one's mouth. He was, by his mother *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*, deſcended from the family of the *Cæſars*, and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a ſtrict adherence, notwithſtanding the general corruption, to the venerable inſtitutions and ſevere manners of the primitive *Romans.* At the ſame time, as *Nero* was ſitting at an entertainment at a place called *Sublaqueum*, on the banks of the *Simbruine* lake, a flaſh of lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcattered the diſhes, overturned the table, and, while the emperor was drinking, ſtruck the cup out of his hand. As this happened in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, whence *Plautus* was originally ſprung by his father's ſide, the people believed, that he was appointed and marked out by the gods to ſucceed *Nero.* All this alarmed *Nero*, who thereupon wrote to *Plautus*, that he would do well to conſult the peace and tranquillity of *Rome*, by withdrawing to his poſſeſſions in *Aſia*, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, *Plautus*, who had long ſince buried himſelf in retirement, ſhunning and dreading power, left *Rome*, and, with *Antiſtia* his wife and a few friends, haſtened

A comet appears.

Nero alarmed.

He adviſes Rubellius Plautus to retire to Aſia.

[n] TACIT. c. 15.

to *Aſia*. This year, *Nero* appointed *Tigranes* (F) king of *Armenia*, which the brave *Corbulo* had reduced, and beſtowed upon him a body of guards, *viz.* a thouſand legionaries, three cohorts of confederates, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new realm. *Corbulo*, having thus completed the reduction of *Armenia*, left that country, and withdrew into *Syria*, a province aſſigned him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor °. In the cloſe of the year, *Vibius Secundus*, a *Roman* knight, was, upon the accuſation of the *Moors*, condemned for extortion and expelled *Italy*.

The ſtate of affairs in Britain.

THE following year, *Cæſonius Pætus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* being conſuls, the *Romans* ſuffered a dreadful ſlaughter in *Britain*. *A. Didius*, who ſucceeded *Oſtorius*, as we have related above, did no more than juſt maintain what his predeceſſors had conquered. His ſucceſſor *Veranius*, having only in ſome incurſions ravaged the territories of the *Silures*, was prevented by death from any further proſecution of the war. He was highly eſteemed in his life-time for the ſeverity of his manners; but in his laſt-will he betrayed a ſervile ambition and court to power: for after many expreſſions of flattery beſtowed upon *Nero*, he added, that to his obedience he would have ſubjected all *Britain*, had he lived but two years longer. He was

Suetonius Paulinus *ſent into* Britain.

ſucceeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Corbulo*'s competitor in the ſcience of war, and univerſally eſteemed in all reſpects equal to that great commander. *Paulinus* therefore, hoping to reap as much renown from the intire reduction of *Britain*, as *Corbulo* had done from that of *Armenia*, bent his mind upon that enterpriſe, though *Nero* had then, as we are told, ſome thoughts of withdrawing the *Roman* forces and abandoning the iſland.

° Idem, c. 26.

(F) *Tigranes* was grandſon, or rather great-grandſon to *Archelaus*, formerly king of *Cappadocia*; for he was the grandſon of *Alexander*, who was put to death by his own father *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and of *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*. His father was likewiſe named *Alexander*. He was nephew to another *Tigranes*, likewiſe king of *Armenia*, who was put to death under *Tiberius*, in the twenty-ſecond year of that prince's reign, and thirty-ſixth of the chriſtian æra (42). *Tacitus* tells us, that as this prince had paſſed many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hoſtage, his ſpirit was miſerably debaſed, even to a degree of abjectedneſs and ſervitude (43).

(42) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 7. (43) *Tacit. annal. l.* xiv. *c.* 26.

During

During the firſt two years of his government, the *Roman* general commanded with no leſs ſucceſs than he had done formerly in *Africa*, ſubdued freſh nations, reduced with indefatigable pains ſeveral caſtles, and eſtabliſhed gariſons to keep in awe the countries which he had brought under ſubjection. Truſting to theſe gariſons, he left the country behind him expoſed to the enemy, and went to attack the iſland *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, which ſupplied the revolters with ſuccours, and was a common place of retreat to the fugitives. He built a great number of boats with broad and flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows. Upon theſe the foot were waſted over, and the horſe followed, partly by fording, partly by ſwimming. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood numerous bodies of men well armed, and amongſt them appeared troops of women, running, like furies, to and fro, diſmally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair flying about their ſhoulders, and torches in their hands. Round them were ſeen their prieſts, the *Druids*, uttering, with their hands lifted up to heaven, dreadful imprecations, and invoking vengeance. The amazing novelty of the ſcene ſtruck the *Roman* ſoldiers with diſmay; they ſtood motionleſs with their bodies expoſed, like ſo many marks, to the darts of the enemy, till encouraged by the repeated exhortations of the general to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpired by a band of raving women and fanatic prieſts, they advanced the enſigns, put to the rout the diſorderly rabble, and drove them into the fires they had kindled. The iſland being thus eaſily reduced, a gariſon was eſtabliſhed to bridle the vanquiſhed, and the groves, dedicated to their bloody ſuperſtitions, cut down; for in them they ſacrificed the captives taken in war, and conſulted their intrails, in order to diſcover the will of the gods [p].

He reduces the iſland of Angleſey.

WHILE *Suetonius* was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the ſudden revolt of the province, the occaſion of which is thus related by *Tacitus*, who lived near thoſe times: *Praſutagus*, the late king of the *Icenians*, a prince renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by his laſt will left the emperor join their with his own two daughters, hoping by that ſignal inſtance of loyalty to ſecure his kingdom and family from all injury and violence. But this ſcheme produced a quite contrary effect; for, under colour of taking poſſeſſion of the emperor's new inheritance, the kingdom became a prey to the centurions; the deceaſed prince's houſe was plundered by rapacious officers; his wife *Boadicia*, or *Boudicea*, ignominiouſly violated with ſtripes; his daughters diſhonoured; all the principal *Icenians* ſtripped of their hereditary poſſeſſions, and the relations of the late king kept in bonds

The occaſion of the revolt of the Britons.

[p] Idem, c. 29. & vit. Agr. c. 14.

and treated like ſlaves. Inraged by theſe indignities and dreading oppreſſions ſtill more ſevere, they took advantage of the abſence of *Paulinus*, and began to deliberate about ſhaking off the yoke, which they could no longer bear. In their private aſſemblies they ſtrove to inflame one another, by recounting their ſeveral grievances, exaggerating the miſeries of bondage, and heightening the injuries they muſt expect, when reduced to a province. "Our patience, ſaid they, avails us nothing, fur-

Their grievances.

"ther than to encourage our tyrants to lay heavier burdens upon a people, who thus tamely bear any. To ſuch height is our oppreſſion grown, that nothing whatever is exempt from their avarice, nothing from their luſt. They ſeize our houſes, inſult our wives, force away our children, and oblige our youth to liſt; and to all this we tamely ſubmit, tho' it be in our power to redeem ourſelves from ſuch contumelious tyranny; for what a ſmall force would all the ſoldiers arrived in the iſland appear, would the *Britons* but compute their own numbers? It was from this conſideration that *Germany* threw off the yoke, tho' defended only by a river, and not, like this, by the ocean. Our country, our wives, our parents and children, animate us to take arms, and behave like men; whereas our oppreſſors are only prompted by their ſordid avarice and brutal ſenſuality. Let us but imitate the bravery of our forefathers, and not be diſmayed with the iſſue of an encounter or two, and we ſhall ſee theſe robbers withdraw from the iſland, as their deified *Julius* did formerly." With theſe and the like ſpeeches, they eaſily prevailed upon the *Trinobantes*, and ſeveral other nations, to join their forces, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, as the only means to redeem themſelves from the oppreſſions they groaned under; for the *Britons*, even in thoſe days, chearfully complied, as *Tacitus* obſerves, with the impoſition of taxes and all duties enjoined by their governors, provided they received no illegal treatment. This they could not brook, nor did the *Romans*, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, any further ſubdue them, than to bring them to obey juſt laws: they abhorred unjuſt encroachments, and would never ſubmit to be ſlaves [q]. The *Trinobantes* were moreover animated to take arms by their implacable hatred towards the veterans lately planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, who, encroaching upon the inhabitants, thruſt them out of their houſes, ſpoiled them of their hereditary lands, and, adding ſcorn to oppreſſion, treated them with the vile titles of captives and ſlaves. Another alarming grievance was a temple built and dedicated to the late emperor *Claudius*,

[q] Tacit. annal. c. 31. & vit. Agr. c. 15, 16.

which

which was a great eye-ſore to them, and looked upon by all as a badge and bulwark of eternal ſlavery. Beſides, the prieſts appointed to miniſter in the temple, under the cloak of religion, devoured the whole ſubſtance of the inhabitants, and reduced the moſt wealthy amongſt them to beggary. Neither did it appear an ardous undertaking to deſtroy a colony no-wiſe ſecured by fortifications; for the *Romans*, not yet well acquainted with the temper of the *Britons*, had conſulted only their accommodation and pleaſure. To theſe grievances *Dion Caſſius* adds, that *Catus Decianus*, the imperial procurator, exerciſed a tyranny no leſs cruel over their ſubſtance and fortunes, than the governor did over their bodies and lives: and that *Seneca*, having with fair promiſes inveigled the *Britons* to borrow vaſt ſums of him, telling them, that for repayment they ſhould take their own time, all on a ſudden demanded both principal and intereſt, which iniquitous demand reduced the injured *Britons* to deſpair[r]. Thus provoked by the heavieſt ſufferings, and invited by the opportunity of the abſence of *Paulinus*, the *Iceni*ans and *Trinobantes*, the former inhabiting the preſent counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, and the latter thoſe of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and all thoſe who hated ſervitude, unanimouſly took arms under the conduct of *Boudicea*, a princeſs of royal deſcent. *Tacitus* tells us, that the enſuing troubles were foretold ſome time before by ſeveral ſigns and prodigies. At *Camalodunum* the ſtatue of *Victory* fell down of itſelf with her face turned towards the enemy; certain women, tranſported with prophetical fury, terrified the people with denunciations of impending calamities; in the place, where the colony aſſembled for the buſineſs of the public, was heard a tumultuous noiſe and the accent of ſtrangers; the theatre echoed with diſmal howlings; in the river *Thames* dreadful appearances were ſeen; the ocean appeared all dyed with blood; and at the departure of the tide ſhapes of human bodies were left imprinted on the ſtrand. The veterans, in the colony, alarmed at theſe omens, ſent to *Catus Decianus*, procurator of the province, for ſuccours, *Suetonius* being then at a great diſtance; but he could ſpare them only two hundred men, and thoſe not completely armed; and in the colony itſelf was but a handful of ſoldiers. The veterans indeed were for ſecuring themſelves by a ditch and paliſade againſt any ſudden aſſault, and removing out of the colony their women and old men; but were diverted from theſe and all other meaſures tending to their ſafety by ſome *Britons*, in whoſe fidelity they repoſed too much confidence. So that, while they were utterly unprepared, and as void of cir-

They riſe under the conduct of queen Boudicea.

[r] Dio. l. lxii. p. 701.

cumſpection

cumſpection as if full peace had reigned, the *Britons*, to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, flew unanimouſly to arms, aſſailed on every ſide the ſoldiers diſperſed in the forts, and having ſtormed and ſacked the ſeveral gariſons, fell upon the colony itſelf as the ſeat and centre of public ſervitude, took it at the firſt aſſault, and after two days ſiege the temple, whither the *Romans* were retired in a body. The colony, with the temple, they razed, and put every *Roman* to the ſword. After this, upon intelligence that *Petilius Cerealis*, commander of the ninth legion, was advancing to relieve his friends, they haſtened to meet him, routed his legion, and cut the infantry, all to a man, in pieces; but *Cerealis* eſcaped with the horſe to the camp, and there defended himſelf in his intrenchments. *Catus Decianus*, the procurator, who had by his rapacious avarice driven the province into deſpair, and was univerſally hated, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fled, like a coward, over into *Gaul*[s].

Great ſlaughter of the Romans.

Suetonius marches againſt them.

Suetonius, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, left the iſland of *Angleſey*, and with undaunted bravery marched through the heart of the enemy's country quite to *London*, a city not honoured indeed with the title of colony, but full of *Roman* inhabitants, and even then highly famed for the vaſt conflux of traders, and plenty of all commodities and proviſions. Here he deſigned at firſt to ſettle his head quarters, and make this place the ſeat and centre of the war; but afterwards reflecting on the ſmall number of his men, he reſolved to abandon it, and retire to ſome more advantageous poſt. This reſolution threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation; but *Suetonius*, hoping by the loſs of one town to ſave the whole province, was not, by the tears and wailing of multitudes imploring his protection, diverted from ordering the ſignal for departure to be given, taking with him all thoſe who were able or willing to accompany him. He was no ſooner gone, than the enemy made themſelves maſters of the place, and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all who had ſtaid behind. The like ſlaughter befel the municipal or free city of *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, and ſeveral other towns, in which ſeventy thouſand ſouls periſhed, all *Romans*, or the confederates of *Rome*. For the provoked *Britons* gave no quarter, and neither took, nor ſold, nor exchanged priſoners, nor obſerved any other law of war, but killed, burnt, or crucified all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being more inflamed with a deſire of revenge, than of victory or booty. In ſhort, no kind of cruelty was omitted, with which rage and victory could poſſibly inſpire

He abandons London, *which is taken and plundered.*

[s] Tacit. c. 32, 33.

the

the hearts of an injured people. *Suetonius*, having in the mean time drawn together an army of about ten thouſand men, *viz.* the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the various gariſons, reſolved without further delay to put the whole, as he was diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, to the iſſue of a battle. With this view he choſe a place acceſſible only by a narrow vale, and defended behind by a wood, being well appriſed that the enemy would attack him only in front, and that in the open vale no ſtratagems or ambuſhes were to be dreaded. He drew up the legionaries in thick ranks, placing round them the light-armed ſoldiers, and the cavalry on each wing. The *Britiſh* army, which was drawn up in great ſeparate bands, ſome of foot, ſome of horſe, appeared an immenſe multitude. They amounted, according to *Dion Caſſius*, to 230,000 men, and, according to *Tacitus*, exhibited the greateſt multitude, that till then had been ſeen in arms, and withal, ſo confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them to be ſpectators of it from their waggons, which they had placed round the borders of the field. *Boudicea*, who had chiefly ſtirred up the *Britons* to this war, was carried about in a chariot with her two daughters ſitting before her. As ſhe traverſed the field from nation to nation, ſhe declared to all, that though it was uſual for the *Britons* to war under the conduct of a woman, yet upon this occaſion ſhe aſſumed not the authority of one deſcended from ſuch illuſtrious anceſtors, but appeared upon the ſame foot with one of the vulgar, ſeeking vengeance, not for the loſs of her kingdom, but for the extirpation of public liberty, for the ſtripes inflicted upon her perſon, and the brutiſh affronts offered to her virgin daughters, ſince the *Romans* were arrived at ſuch a pitch of unbridled violence, that no age nor ſex could eſcape their fury and contamination: ſhe inlarged on the evils of tyranny and ſervitude, and concluded, that in the impending battle the *Britons* muſt either remain utterly victorious, or utterly periſh; that to do one of theſe was the firm purpoſe of her, who was a woman; for the men, they might, if they pleaſed, ſtill live, and be doomed to ſlavery. *Suetonius* though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he failed not to join to it exhortations mixed with intreaties, that they would deſpiſe the ſavage clamours of the barbarians with all their impotent menaces, keep their ranks, and after having diſcharged their darts, cloſe in with the enemy, and purſue the ſlaughter with their ſpears and ſwords, without any thought of the ſpoil, as well knowing, that after victory all muſt fall to their ſhare. The general's ſpeech was followed by ſuch ardor in his men, long inured to all the arts and events of battles, that *Suetonius*, not doubting of the iſſue, gave the ſignal for the onſet. The legion

Suetonius reſolves to give the Britons battle.

Boudicea's ſpeech to her army.

gion kept their ground immoveable, ſheltering themſelves within the ſtraights of the place, till the enemy, advancing within arrow-ſhot, had ſpent all their darts: upon this advantage they ruſhed out upon them all at once in the form of a wedge, and being ſupported by the cavalry and auxiliaries, overthrew all who ſtood next to them: hereupon the reſt turned their backs and fled, but found it difficult to eſcape, the incloſure, made by their own carriages, obſtructing their retreat. The *Romans* gave no quarter, but put all to the ſword, not ſparing even the lives of women, nay they pierced with their darts the very beaſts of burden, which helped to ſwell the mighty heaps of the dead: for we are told, that of the *Britons* were ſlain near eighty thouſand; whereas the *Romans* loſt only four hundred men. *Boudicea*, reſolved not to outlive that fatal day, is ſaid by ſome to have ended her life by poiſon; but others write, that ſhe died a few days after the battle of a natural death. *Poenius Poſthumius*, prefect of the camp to the ſecond legion, upon tidings of the exploits and ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth legions ſtruck with remorſe for having defrauded his own of equal honour, and diſobeyed, contrary to the laws of military duty, the orders of his general, ran himſelf through with his ſword [t]. *Dion Caſſius* differs from *Tacitus*, whom we have followed in his account of this battle; for he tells us, that the victory continued long doubtful, that the *Britons*, though only a diſorderly rabble, led on by a woman, ſtood their ground againſt the embattled legions with great intrepidity, and would have tried the fortune of a ſecond battle, had they not in the mean time been diſheartened by the unexpected death of *Boudicea* [u]. The *Roman* army, after a general review, kept the field under tents, to put an end to the war. Their forces were moreover increaſed by *Nero*, who ordered two thouſand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe, to paſs from *Germany* over into *Britain*. By their arrival the ninth legion was recruited, and thereupon the auxiliaries ſent into different parts to deſtroy with fire and ſword ſuch nations as continued in arms, or appeared ſuſpicious. But nothing afflicted the unhappy *Britons* ſo much as famine; for all their hands being employed in the war, they had utterly neglected to cultivate and ſow the ground, reckoning upon the ſtores and proviſions of the *Romans* as their own. However, they continued ſtill in arms, and became daily more backward in their inclinations to peace from the behaviour of *Julius Claſſicianus*, who ſucceeding *Catus Decianus* as procurator of the province, and being at variance with *Suetonius*, obſtructed the public good to gratify his private pique, giving out, that a new governor would

The Britons *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

The Britons *though afflicted with famine, continue in arms.*

[t] Tacit. c. 36, 37. Dio. p. 701. [u] Dio. ibid.

would be ſent, who, free from the arrogance of a conqueror and unacquainted with the preceding conduct of the enemy, would treat ſuch as ſubmitted with more gentleneſs and mercy. And truly *Suetonius*, as *Tacitus* obſerves, though in other reſpects a ſignal commander, yet treated ſuch as ſurrendered themſelves in a very imperious manner, as one who likewiſe avenged his private injuries. At the ſame time, *Claſſicianus* wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of war and bloodſhed, unleſs *Suetonius* was removed, aſcribing all the diſaſters to his ill conduct, and the happy ſucceſs to the auſpicious fortune of the republic. Hereupon *Polycletus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, was diſpatched to inſpect the ſtate of *Britain*, *Nero* conceiving great hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtic, not only a reconciliation would be brought about between the governor and procurator, but the minds of the diſcontented *Britons* would be calmed, and inclined to peace. *Polycletus* was not backward to aſſume the employment, but immediately ſet out with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden, as *Tacitus* tells us, even to the wealthy nations of *Italy* and *Gaul*, through which he paſſed: thence he croſſed the channel, and travelled in *Britain* with ſuch awful ſtate and attendance, as ſtruck even the *Roman* ſoldiers, accuſtomed to the grandeur of *Rome*, with amazement. But to the *Britons*, among whom reigned popular liberty, he proved an object of deriſion; as they were utter ſtrangers to the power of the imperial freedmen, they were amazed, that a victorious general and army, who had fought ſuch battles, ſhould obey a manumiſed ſlave; his authority was therefore of no weight with men, who, being brought up in the noble principles of liberty, ſcorned to pay any deference or reſpect to ſuch ſons of earth, however diſtinguiſhed and exalted by the favours of a court. Hereupon *Polycletus*, finding the *Britons* were not to be dazzled with outward appearances, returned to *Rome*, where he repreſented to the emperor the tranſactions and conduct of *Suetonius* in ſo favourable a light, that he was continued in the government. However, having ſome time after loſt a few gallies on the ſhore with the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof, that the war ſtill continued, he was ordered to reſign the government to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had juſt ended his conſulſhip. As this new governor neither provoked the *Britons* by any act of hoſtility, nor was provoked by them, he beſtowed on this cowardly inaction the ſpecious name of peace. This tranquillity continued till the time of *Veſpaſian*, the governors, who ſucceeded *Turpilianus*, following his example, and carefully avoiding to give any juſt cauſe of complaint to the *Britons*; nay, they did not even attemnt to recover the iſland of *Angleſey*, which about this

Polycletus *ſent into* Britain.

Suetonius *recalled.*

time ſhook off the yoke [w]. We ſhall reſume the detail of the *Britiſh* affairs in the hiſtory of the above-mentioned emperor's reign, when we ſhall ſee the *Britons* enter the liſts with noble armies ſent againſt them from *Gaul* and *Italy*, and conducted by generals of great renown.

Several perſons condemned at Rome, *for forging a will.*

During theſe tranſactions in *Britain*, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction at *Rome* were either degraded or baniſhed for forging a will. Among theſe was *Antonius Primus*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Veſpaſian* and *Aſinius Marcellus*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the great grandſon of the celebrated *Aſinius Pollio*, and himſelf without any other blemiſh in his conduct and manners, ſave that he believed poverty to be the greateſt of evils. The illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, and the intreaties of the emperor, procured him an exemption from the puniſhment due to his crime. With the others privy to theſe deteſtable practices was condemned and interdicted *Italy* one *Valerius Ponticus*, a pleader or lawyer, for endeavouring to ſave the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and it was decreed, that whoever ſhould take a fee for ſuch vile employment, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as one publicly condemned for calumny. Not long after the death of *Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, murdered by a ſlave of his own, occaſioned no ſmall diſturbances in the city. According to the antient laws of *Rome*, all the ſlaves, who lived under the ſame roof, were to be involved in the ſame penalty with the criminal; but ſuch was on this occaſion the uproar of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition. The ſenate too was rent into parties, ſome rejecting with great warmth ſuch exceſſive rigor, while others voted againſt any innovation. After a long and warm debate, it was carried, that, without compaſſion for the number of ſlaves, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt, they ſhould be all condemned to death and executed. As they were no fewer than four hundred, the populace flocked tumultuouſly together to prevent the execution of ſo many innocent perſons. But *Nero* reprimanded them by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecured the way, thro' which they were led to the place of execution.

The governor of Rome *murdered by one of his ſlaves.*

All his ſlaves are executed.

Cingonius Varro moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof, ſhould be for ever expelled *Italy*; but *Nero* oppoſed that motion, urging, that ſince the rigor of the antient cuſtom had not been ſoftened by mercy, it ought not to be heightened by cruelty [x].

[w] Tacit. c. 38, 39. & vit. Agr. 16, 17. Suet. c. 18. Dio p. 702. [x] Tacit. c. 42—44.

The

THE following year, *P. Marius* and *L. Aſinius* were conſuls; but reſigned the faſces, according to *Onuphrius*, *Goltzius*, and others, in the month of *July* to *Trebellius Maximus* and *Seneca*. A decree in the digeſts, dated the 25th of *Auguſt*, ſeems to favour this opinion. However, ſome writers, and among the reſt *Auſonius*, maintain, that *Seneca* never attained the dignity of conſul. During the adminiſtration of theſe conſuls, the prætor *Antiſtius*, having compoſed a poem full of contumelious invectives againſt the prince, and read it to a numerous aſſembly at a banquet in the houſe of *Oſtorius Scapula*, was arraigned upon the law of majeſty by *Coſſutianus Capito*, a law, which after long diſuſe was upon this occaſion firſt revived. *Oſtorius* declared before the ſenate, when he was called upon to give his evidence, that he knew nothing of the imputed crime; but the contrary teſtimony of the other witneſſes being credited, *Julius Marullus*, conſul elect, voted, that the accuſed ſhould be diveſted of his prætorſhip and put to death. But *Thraſea Pætus*, after high encomiums upon *Nero*, and many bitter invectives againſt *Antiſtius*, argued, that ſince under ſuch an excellent prince the ſenate was in its deciſions influenced by no biaſs or compulſion, and halters and executioners were long ſince baniſhed, the only puniſhment they could inflict, without bringing themſelves under the imputation of cruelty, and the times under that of infamy, was, to confiſcate the eſtate of the criminal, and confine him to a ſolitary iſland. The generous freedom of *Thraſea* animated the other ſenators, ſo that they all went readily into his motion, except a ſmall number of abandoned flatterers, among whom was the famous ſycophant *Vitellius*. The conſuls, however, before they gave the leaſt ſanction to the decree, thought it adviſeable to acquaint the emperor with their unanimity, who, after having long ſtruggled between ſhame and reſentment, at laſt anſwered, that ſince *Antiſtius* had, without any provocation, uttered ſo many black invectives againſt the prince, it was the duty of the ſenate to decree a puniſhment ſuitable to the crime. However, as he would certainly have oppoſed any rigorous ſentence, ſo he would now by no means defeat their mercy; they might therefore determine as they thought beſt, nay, from him they had full leave to diſcharge the criminal. From this anſwer it plainly appeared, that the emperor was piqued; but, notwithſtanding his diſpleaſure, neither *Thraſea* nor the others departed from the meaſures which they had approved. At the ſame time, *Fabricius Veiento* was expelled *Italy* for writing a ſatire againſt the ſenate, and making traffic of the prince's favour by ſelling the great offices of the ſtate. His writings being doomed to the flames, were, as *Tacitus* obſerves, univerſally ſought and read,

Antiſtius writes a ſatire againſt Nero.

The generous freedom of Thraſea Pætus.

Antiſtius *is only baniſhed.*

while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; but when every one was free to poſſeſs and peruſe them, they ſunk into contempt and oblivion [y]. This year died, to the unſpeakable grief of all good men, the celebrated *Burrhus*, one of the chief friends and ſupports of the public; but whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe, is not certainly known: the latter was imagined, becauſe a ſwelling in his throat gradually increaſed, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. *Suetonius* [z] and *Dion Caſſius* [a] tell us, that *Nero*, having promiſed him a remedy againſt his diſtemper, ſent him a venomous medicine. This, ſays *Tacitus*, was aſſerted by many; and it was likewiſe a common report, that *Burrhus*, being well appriſed of it, when the prince came to viſit him, turned his face another way, and to his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other anſwer than this, *I am well.* The loſs of ſo great and worthy a man was long regretted in *Rome*, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint ſucceſſors; for *Nero* appointed two captains of the prætorian guards, *Fenius Rufus* and *Sofonius Tigellinus*. The former was a man of great integrity, but indolent, and an utter enemy to all trouble; the other infamous for lewdneſs, cruelty, avarice, and all the moſt flagrant iniquities; but in high favour with *Nero*, and by him aſſumed into power from a fellowſhip in all his ſecret debauches and revels [b].

The death of Burrhus.

The character of Tigellinus.

And now, one of the champions of virtue being removed, the many wicked and evil counſellors, who abounded in the emperor's court, attacked the other, *viz. Seneca*, with many criminal imputations; namely, that he had already accumulated wealth far above the condition of a citizen, and was infatiably accumulating more; that ſuch was the magnificence of his gardens, ſuch the ſplendor of his ſeats, that in theſe inſtances of grandeur he excelled even the emperor; that he was labouring to attach to his own perſon the veneration of the *Roman* people; that he diſparaged his ſkill in managing horſes, turned his voice into mockery whenever he ſung, and to himſelf alone arrogated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence: they added, that *Nero* was no longer a child, and therefore ought now to begin to reign, to diſmiſs his pedagogue, and to be governed by more famous tutors, his glorious anceſtors. *Seneca* was not unappriſed of the efforts of his enemies, and therefore finding the emperor had withdrawn his uſual affability, and ſhewed himſelf daily more and more reſerved towards him, he begged an audience; and having obtained it, he beſought the emperor to

Several charges brought againſt Seneca.

He begs leave to retire.

[y] Idem, c. 48—50. [z] Suet. c. 35. [a] Dio. l. lx. p. 706.
[b] Tacit. c. 52.

give

give him leave to retire, and apply himſelf wholly to the cultivation of his mind and the ſtudy of philoſophy, intreating him at the ſame time to accept of his immenſe wealth, his ſtately ſeats and gardens, his ample poſſeſſions, *&c.* which were too great rewards for the ſmall ſervice he had rendered him, and adminiſtered freſh fuel to the raging envy of his enemies. *Nero* replied, that he ſtill ſtood in great need of the wiſe rules, wholſome counſels, and uſeful precepts, with which he had cheriſhed his infancy and youth, and therefore could not by any means grant him his requeſt. "As to your gardens, ſeats, and wealth, "ſaid he, there are many favourites, no-wiſe equal to you in "worthy accompliſhments, diſtinguiſhed with larger poſſeſ- "ſions. I bluſh to quote freedmen, who are eſteemed more "wealthy than you; and am aſhamed, that one, who is dear "to me above all others, does not yet ſurpaſs all others in for- "tune. If you forſake your prince, and to him ſurrender "your wealth, the treaſure returned will be aſcribed, not to "your moderation, but my rapaciouſneſs, and your retreat to "the dread of my cruelty. But ſuppoſe this diſintereſtedneſs "of yours, this contempt of riches, be generally applauded, "yet ſurely it will reflect no honour upon a wiſe man to ſeek "glory from a proceeding, which muſt unavoidably bring in- "famy upon his friend." To theſe words he added kiſſes and embraces, ſwearing ſeveral times in a moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather periſh himſelf a thouſand times, than ſuffer him to be any-ways injured. *Seneca* returned him thanks for his kindneſs and generoſity; but nevertheleſs altered his former conduct, received few viſits at home, avoided any train of attendance abroad, and appeared ſeldom in public, as if he were confined to his houſe by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy. The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who diving curiouſly into the ſecret fears of the prince, and finding, that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the one removed lately into the eaſt, the other into *Gaul*, perſuaded him to put them both to death, hoping to bear a ſtill greater ſway with the emperor, by thus ſeeming to conſult his defence and ſecurity. *Sylla* was diſpatched while he was at table, without any apprehenſion of danger, by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arrived expreſs at *Marſeilles*, to which city he had been confined. When his head was preſented to *Nero*, its untimely hoarineſs is ſaid to have moved him to unbecoming jeſts and deriſion. The ſentence awarded againſt *Plautus* was not ſo ſucceſsfully concealed. *Lucius Antiſtius*, his father-in-law, receiving private notice of it, diſpatched to him a freedman of his own, who, outſailing the fatal centurion, brought him from his maſter the following advice; that he ſhould be ſure to ſhun a cowardly death; that he

Nero's *deceitful ſpeech to him.*

He avoids the court.

Sylla *put to death.*

he had yet leiſure to eſcape, and could not fail of finding compaſſion from all worthy and generous men; that if he had once repulſed the ſixty ſoldiers, for ſo many were ſent to diſpatch him, he might then, while the tidings were tranſmitting to *Nero*, proſecute many ſchemes, and lay the foundation of a war; at leaſt he had nothing more dreadful to ſuffer after a brave reſiſtance, than what he muſt ſuffer by a cowardly acquieſcence. But *Plautus*, not moved by theſe conſiderations, choſe rather to die, than to preſerve his life by kindling a civil war (G); ſo that the aſſaſſins, finding him quite unprepared for any reſiſtance, murdered him in the middle of the day before *Pelago* the eunuch, who was by *Nero* ſet over the centurion and his band. When the head of the ſlain was carried to *Rome*, and ſhewn to the emperor, *I knew not before*, ſaid he, by way of raillery, *that* Rubellius *had ſo great a noſe*. Then turning to the confidents of his debauches, What can prevent me now, cried he, from inſtantly ſolemnizing my nuptials with *Poppæa*, a ſolemnity hitherto deferred through fear of ſuch men as this? Afterwards he wrote letters to the ſenate, in which he inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but took no notice of their death. However, the ſenate, well appriſed of what had happened, decreed proceſſions, appointed thanks to be publicly returned to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of ſenators. *Nero*, perceiving from the decree of the ſenate that his moſt flagrant iniquities paſſed for commendable actions, divorced *Octavia* without further delay, alledging that ſhe was barren (H); and married

Plautus *murdered.*

Nero *marries* **Poppæa.**

(G) He was perhaps chiefly influenced, ſays *Tacitus*, by tenderneſs for his wife and children, whom he imagined the prince would treat with more mildneſs, were he not incenſed by any inſurrection or alarms. Some write, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a quite different nature, importing, that his life was in no danger. Others tell us, that two philoſophers, *Ceranus* a *Greek* and *Muſonius* a *Tuſcan*, encouraged him to wait for death with unſhaken intrepidity, ſince it would deliver him from a life ſubject to eternal anxieties and fears.

(H) *Octavia* was, as *Nero* himſelf owned, an eaſy wife, modeſt in her conduct, of an unblemiſhed character, &c. but ſtill an eyeſore to him from the affection which the people ſhewed her; hence he would have divorced her ſoon after the death of her father *Claudius*, had not *Burrhus* oppoſed his deſign, telling him freely, that if he parted with *Octavia*, he muſt likewiſe part with what ſhe had brought him, the empire (44). He ſeldom admitted her to his bed, anſwering his friends, who blamed him for thus neglecting a woman

(44) *Dio. l.* lxii. *p.* 706.

of

ried *Poppæa*, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, ſuborned one of *Octavia*'s domeſtics to accuſe her, of a criminal amour with a ſlave, named *Eucerus*, a native of *Alexandria*, and one who was famous for playing upon the flute. The maids of *Octavia* were all examined upon the rack, and, though ſome, overcome by the exquiſite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet moſt of them maintained, and with great firmneſs vindicated, the unſpotted character of their lady (I). However, ſhe was firſt removed from the palace, and afterwards baniſhed into *Campania*, where a guard of ſoldiers was placed over her. But as the populace openly complained of this cruel treatment, *Nero* dreading the reſentment of the provoked multitude, recalled her ſoon after to the infinite ſatisfaction of the *Roman* people, who in tranſports of joy crouded to the temples with thankſgiving, overthrew the ſtatues of *Poppæa*, crowned with flowers thoſe of *Octavia*, and carrying her images, as it were, in triumph, placed them in the great forum and in the ſeveral temples. Hereupon *Poppæa*, fearing *Nero* might change his mind, and, to gratify the populace, recal *Octavia* to his bed, prevailed upon him, by a ſpeech artfully framed to produce both terror and wrath, to reſolve upon the ruin of the innocent *Octavia*. As the fiction of the unhappy princeſs's intrigue with *Eucerus* had been quite defeated by the teſtimony of her maids upon the rack, it was agreed to procure ſome one, who ſhould own himſelf guilty with her, and againſt whom might be alſo feigned a plauſible charge of meditating a revolution in the ſtate. *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this vile purpoſe. To him therefore *Nero* addreſſed himſelf, and what by promiſes, what by menaces, induced him to acknowledge that he had maintained a criminal converſation with *Octavia*; which he had no ſooner done, than *Nero* iſſued an edict, declaring, that *Octavia*, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conſpiracy, had corrupted *Anicetus* the admiral: and forgetting that he had juſt before accuſed her of barrenneſs, he added, that ſhe had concealed her ſecret luſts, and always defeated her pregnancy by abortion, and that theſe her crimes of her merit, that the jewels, ornaments, and title of empreſs were ſufficient for her. *Suetonius* tells us, that he often attempted to ſtrangle her (45).

The affection of the people to Octavia.

(I) While *Tigellinus* was earneſtly preſſing *Octavia*'s maids upon the rack to deliver themſelves from their torments, by owning their lady's guilt, one of them, by name *Pythias*, returned him this anſwer; *Caſtiora ſunt muliebria Octaviæ, quam os tuum.*

(45) *Suet.* c. 35.

were

She is banished, and afterwards murdered.

were by him fully detected. Hereupon the unfortunate princeſs was baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, and after a few days doomed to die. Thoſe who were charged with the execution of this cruel and unjuſt ſentence, having tied her down with bonds, opened all the veins of her body; but as her blood was chilled through fear and iſſued ſlowly, they haſtened her doom, by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. After her death her head was cut off by a centurion, and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppæa* might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it, and diverting herſelf with ſo tragical a ſpectacle. *Tacitus* obſerves, that nothing ever filled the hearts of the people with more affecting compaſſion, than the cruel ſufferings and untimely end of this innocent princeſs, inhumanly maſſacred in the twenty-ſecond year of her age, under the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than death itſelf, without having ever taſted any ſhare of happineſs or delight. But the ſenate, at this time under the emperors, an aſſembly of mean-ſpirited wretches, intirely devoted to corruption and ſervitude, for this execution, as for ſome notable deliverance, pompouſly decreed gifts and oblations to the gods. Such was the debaſement of the once great and venerable *Roman* ſenate. Fear had ſtopped their mouths, or opened them only to the moſt ſcandalous ſtrains of flattery. Our hiſtorian obſerves, here to their eternal infamy, that as often as any cruel ſentence was pronounced by the prince, as often as murders or baniſhments were by him commanded, ſo often were acknowledgments and thankſgivings, by the authority of the ſenate, paid to the deities [c]. *Octavia* had been honoured, as appears from ſome medals [d], with the title of *Auguſta*. *Nero* killed himſelf ſix years after on the ſame day, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, on which *Octavia* was by his orders aſſaſſinated [e], that is, on the eleventh of *June*. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confeſſion, was baniſhed into *Sardinia*, where he lived in great plenty, and died at length by courſe of nature.

Pallas *dies.*

This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poiſoned by *Nero*'s orders; *Doryphorus*, becauſe he endeavoured to thwart the marriage with *Poppæa*; *Pallas*, becauſe he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immenſe wealth; and *Romanus*, becauſe he brought a charge of treaſon againſt *Seneca*, which the accuſed retorted upon him [f].

The following year, when *L. Virginius Rufus* and *C. Memmius Regulus* were conſuls, the city of *Pompeii*, which took

[c] Tacit. c. 60.—63. [d] Spanh. p. 619. [e] Suet. c. 57.
[f] Tacit. c. 65. Dio. l. lxii. p. 707. Suet. c 35

its

its name from *Pompey the Great*, was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake, which highly damaged many other cities of *Campania*. That province had been alarmed before by frequent ſhocks; but this, which happened on the fifth of *February*, was ſo dreadful, that great numbers of the inhabitants abandoned their native country, and ſettled elſewhere, through fear of being one day ſwallowed up by the earth, a misfortune, which fifteen years after, that is, in the firſt year of the reign of *Titus* and ſeventy-ninth of the chriſtian æra, befel thoſe who remained, and likewiſe the inhabitants of *Herculanum* or *Herculaneum*, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. This year *Poppæa* was delivered of a daughter, which filled *Nero* with unſpeakable joy: ſhe was honoured with the name of *Auguſta*, and upon *Poppæa* was conferred the ſame title. The ſenate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled, days for ſolemn proceſſions were appointed, a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*, golden images of the *Fortunes* at *Antium*, where the child was born, were ordered to be made and placed in the throne of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, &c. But ſhort-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, which gave occaſion to new ſallies of flattery, ſince ſhe was placed among the gods, and divine worſhip with a prieſt, altars, and ſacrifices were voted to her. As for the emperor, as he had rejoiced, ſo he grieved beyond all meaſure [g]. To allay his grief, he exhibited various ſhows, among the reſt a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred ſenators, ſix hundred knights, and, what was a ſight altogether new, many ladies of great diſtinction entered the liſts, and infamouſly contaminated themſelves and families, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, by appearing among the common gladiators. In one of theſe ſhows a knight, of illuſtrious quality, rid full ſpeed down a ſteep deſcent upon an elephant; another perſonated *Icarus*, but in attempting to fly, fell down ſo near the emperor, that he was beſprinkled with his blood. A comedy was alſo acted, compoſed by *Afranius*, and intitled *incendium*, or the *burning*, in which a houſe richly furniſhed was ſet on fire, and permiſſion granted to the actors to rifle it. During theſe ſhows, he did not, like other emperors, ſcatter money among the populace, but tickets for vaſt ſums, for fine houſes, gardens, and eſtates, which he faithfully conſigned to thoſe who produced the ſaid tickets. For he believed, as *Suetonius* obſerves, that all the pleaſure and advantage of riches conſiſted in profuſion and prodigality, reckoned thoſe ſordid and mean-ſpirited, who kept any account of their ex-

Poppæa *is delivered of a daughter.*

Senators, knights, and ladies enter the liſts among the gladiators.

Nero's *prodigality.*

[g] TACIT. annal. l. xv. c. 13. SUET. c. 35.

pences, and cried up ſuch as ſquandered away and conſumed their fortunes. Hence he never mentioned his uncle *Caligula*, but with the higheſt elogiums, becauſe in leſs than a year's time he had conſumed, beſides his ordinary revenues, the vaſt ſums, (eighteen millions of our money), which *Tiberius* had left him [h].

In the next conſulſhip of *Caius Lecanius Baſſus* and *M. Licinius Craſſus Frugi*, *Nero* becoming every day more tranſported with a paſſion for ſinging and playing on the public ſtage, for he had hitherto exerted his ſkill only in the aſſemblies called *Juvenalia*, which were reſtrained to particular houſes and gardens, and not daring to begin at *Rome*, reſolved to repair to *Naples* to make his firſt eſſay and appearance there, and from thence paſs over into *Greece*, and contend for the prize in muſic at the *Olympic* games. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Rome* with his uſual attendance and equipage, that is, with a thouſand chariots, his horſes and mules all ſhod with ſilver, his grooms and muletiers clad in the richeſt cloth of *Canuſium*, and attended by a band of prætorian guards and a body of *African* horſe, moſt pompouſly attired. Soon after his arrival at *Naples*, he mounted the ſtage, and ſang for ſeveral days together to an immenſe multitude, all the rabble of *Naples*, and incredible numbers flocking from the neighbouring cities and colonies, to ſuch an extraordinary ſpectacle, an emperor ſinging on the public ſtage. In this exerciſe he paſſed his whole time at *Naples*, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himſelf now and then a ſmall reſpite to take breath and refreſh himſelf, which he did publicly in the preſence of the multitude, telling them, that when he had waſhed his throat, he would entertain them with a finer air than any they had yet heard. We are told, that though the theatre was one day, while he was ſinging, ſhaken all on a ſudden with a violent earthquake and in great danger of falling, yet he would not give over till he had ended his ſong. When he had done, he gave the numerous audience leave to retire; and the theatre, as ſoon as it was empty, fell to the ground. This accident *Nero* looked upon as a providential event, betokening the immediate protection of his guardian deities, and celebrated the benignity of the gods in ſongs of thankſgiving compoſed by himſelf. Being much delighted with the praiſes which ſome *Alexandrians*, lately arrived at *Naples*, beſtowed on his heavenly and auguſt voice, he ſent for more of them over in great haſte, and was ever after attended by ſome of them on the ſtage, richly attired with a ring of great value on their left hand: as they were for

He ſings upon the ſtage of Naples.

[h] Suet. c. 11. & 30.

the

the moſt part youths, he appointed them governors to take care of their education, and allowed them an annual penſion of four hundred thouſand ſeſterces [i]. The emperor left *Naples* with a deſign to paſs over into *Greece*, and diſplay his abilities there. In his rout to the *Adriatic*, he reſted a while at *Beneventum*, where by *Vatinius* was exhibited a pompous ſhow of gladiators. *Vatinius* was one of the moſt baneful monſters that haunted the court, originally bred in a cobler's ſtall, hideous and diſtorted in his perſon, at firſt taken to court as a buffoon, and afterwards by calumny, by lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, and a ſarcaſtical turn, raiſed to ſuch a height, that in wealth, and favour, and in power to do miſchief, he ſurpaſſed all the other miniſters of iniquity in *Nero*'s court [k] (K). During the ſolemnity of theſe ſports, *Nero* forbore not acts of tyranny and blood, but forced *Torquatus Silanus*, the great-grandſon of *Auguſtus*, to die, for no other crime, but becauſe he lived with greater ſplendor and magnificence than became a private perſon, and therefore was ſuppoſed to aſpire at the ſovereign power. *Torquatus* opened the veins of both his arms and bled to death. After this *Nero*, for reaſons that were not known, put off his voyage to *Greece* and returned to *Rome*, with a deſign to ſhew himſelf to the provinces of the eaſt, eſpecially to *Egypt*, which project he declared by a public edict, and then went to pay his oblations for the ſucceſs of that journey to the ſeveral deities in the city. But as he entered the temple of *Veſta*, he was ſeized with a ſudden dread, which ſhook him in every joint, and is aſcribed by ſome writers to the awful aſpect of the goddeſs, by others to the remembrance of his enormous crimes, with which he was ſo eternally haunted, that he was never a moment free from pangs and agonies. Be that as it will, he dropped his project, giving out, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to deprive the *Roman* citizens for ſo long a time of the joyful ſight of their prince. This declaration was pleaſing to the populace, from their inclination to diverſions, which by his reſidence at

He is entertained at Beneventum *by* Vatinius *with a ſhow of gladiators.*

Why he dropt his deſign of going into Egypt.

[i] SUET. c. 20. TACIT. c. 34. [k] Idem ibid.

(K) *Vatinius* is mentioned by *Martial* and *Juvenal* as the contriver of certain cups with four long ſpouts, called by the *Latins* noſes:

Vilia ſutoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, ſed naſus longior ille fuit:

Says *Martial* and *Juvenal*;

Tu Beneventani ſutoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem naſorum quatuor, &c.

Rome they enjoyed, and from the apprehenſion of ſcarcity of proviſions in his abſence [l].

His banquets.

Nero banquetted frequently in the public places and great ſquares, uſing the whole city as his own houſe. Theſe banquets were expenſive and magnificent almoſt beyond belief, and no leſs infamous for the monſtrous ſcenes of lewdneſs practiſed at them; for he was generally attended at ſuch entertainments, whether given by himſelf or his friends, by the moſt debauched and abandoned women of the whole city. *Tacitus* deſcribes here the feaſt prepared for him this year by *Tigellinus*, as a pattern of all the reſt. In the lake of *Agrippa* he built a large veſſel, which contained the banquet, and was towed by other veſſels embelliſhed with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by profeſſed catamites, ranged according to their different age and ſkill in their abominable profeſſion. The banquet conſiſted of great variety of wild fowl and wild beaſts from remote countries, and fiſh from the ocean. On the banks of the lake on one ſide ſtood brothels filled with ladies of great rank, and on the other common harlots, quite naked. When night came, the neighbouring groves and houſes reſounded with the joyful ſymphony of muſical inſtruments and ſongs, and appeared illuminated with a huge blaze of lights, which turned night into day. It was a few days after this memorable banquet, that *Nero*, who had already ſurpaſſed all men, as *Tacitus* obſ. rves, in every kind of abomination, was prompted by his extravagant lewdneſs and folly to ſuch exceſſes, as would ſeem altogether incredible, were they not atteſted by hiſtorians, who lived near thoſe times, and whoſe veracity cannot be queſtioned. He attired himſelf in the habit of a woman, and as ſuch was publicly with the uſual forms and ſolemnity married to a pathic of his contaminated crew, named *Pythagoras*. Not ſatisfied with ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of impiety and pollutions, as he was the wife of one pathic, ſo he became the huſband of another, named *Sporus*, whom he married with the ſame ſolemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over *Italy* and *Greece* in the ſame litter, and in the attire of an empreſs; on which occaſion it was ſaid, that the world would have been happy, had *Nero*'s father had ſuch a wife [m]. His other abominable pollutions, unknown before to the moſt abandoned debauchees, we ſhall paſs over in ſilence, being well appriſed, that a detail of ſuch monſtrous obſcenities would prove no leſs ſhocking to our readers, than that which we read in *Suetonius* has proved ſhocking to us. We ſhall only only obſerve out of that writer, that *Nero* was firmly

One prepared for him by Tigellinus.

His acquaintances.

[l] Idem, c. 37. [m] Tacit. c. 37. Suet. c. 28.

perſuaded

perſuaded all men were as wicked as himſelf; and therefore freely forgave thoſe, who made an open profeſſion of obſcenity, all other crimes; but puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, as hypocrites and impoſtors, ſuch as ſeemed to be offended with the moſt unnatural impurities [n].

THIS year, the eleventh of *Nero*'s reign and ſixty-fourth of the chriſtian æra, happened the famous burning of *Rome*; but whether by chance, or the contrivance of the prince, is not determined, both being aſſerted by authors. The fire began amongſt certain ſhops, in which were kept ſuch goods as were proper to feed it, and ſpread every way with ſuch amazing rapidity, that its havoc was felt in diſtant ſtreets before any meaſures to ſtop it could be tried. Beſides an infinite number of common houſes, all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the ſtately palaces, temples, portico's, with goods, riches, furniture, and merchandiſe to an immenſe value, were devoured by the flame, which raged firſt in the low regions of the city, and then mounted to the higher, with ſuch terrible violence and impetuoſity, as to fruſtrate all relief. The ſhrieks of the women, the various efforts of ſome endeavouring to ſave the young and tender, of others attempting to aſſiſt the aged and infirm, and the hurry of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, occaſioned a mutual interruption and univerſal confuſion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſued them behind, found themſelves ſuddenly involved in the flame before and on every ſide: if they eſcaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At laſt, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to ſeek ſanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some out of deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, others through tenderneſs for their children and relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames, ſuffered themſelves to periſh in them, though they had eaſy means to eſcape. No man durſt offer to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, there being many, who had no other buſineſs, but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay, ſome were in the face of the public ſeen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houſes, loudly declaring, that they were authorized ſo to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had ſuch orders, was never certainly known. *Nero*, who was then at *Antium*, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard, that the flame was advancing to his palace, which after his arrival was, in ſpite of all oppoſition, burnt down to the ground, with all the

The burning of Rome.

The deſpair and miſerable condition of the inhabitants.

[n] Idem, c. 29.

houſes

houſes adjoining to it. However, *Nero*, affecting compaſſion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, laid open the field of *Mars*, and all the great edifices erected there by *Agrippa*, and even his own gardens. He likewiſe cauſed tabernacles to be reared in haſte for the reception of the forlorn populace; from *Oſtia* too and the neighbouring cities were brought by his order all ſorts of furniture and neceſſaries, and the price of corn conſiderably leſſened. But theſe bounties, however generous and popular, were beſtowed in vain, becauſe a report was ſpread abroad, that, during the time of this general conflagration, he mounted his domeſtic ſtage, and ſang the deſtruction of *Troy*, comparing the preſent deſolation to the celebrated calamities of antiquity. At length, on the ſixth day (M), the fury of the flames was ſtopt at the foot of mount *Eſquiline*, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, ſo that it found nothing to encounter but the open fields and empty air. But ſcarce had the late alarm ceaſed, when the fire broke out anew with freſh rage; but in places more wide and ſpacious; whence fewer perſons were deſtroyed, but more temples overthrown and portico's appropriated to public diverſion. As this ſecond conflagration broke out in certain buildings belonging to *Tigellinus*, they were both generally aſcribed to *Nero*; and it was conjectured, that by deſtroying the old city, he aimed at the glory of building a new one, and calling it by his name. Of the fourteen quarters, into which *Rome* was divided, four remained intire, three were laid in aſhes, and in the ſeven others there remained only here and there a few houſes, miſerably ſhattered and half conſumed [p]. Such is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of this dreadful calamity. But *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius* are poſitive in their relations, that it was occaſioned by *Nero*. The former author writes, that one happening in a private converſation with the

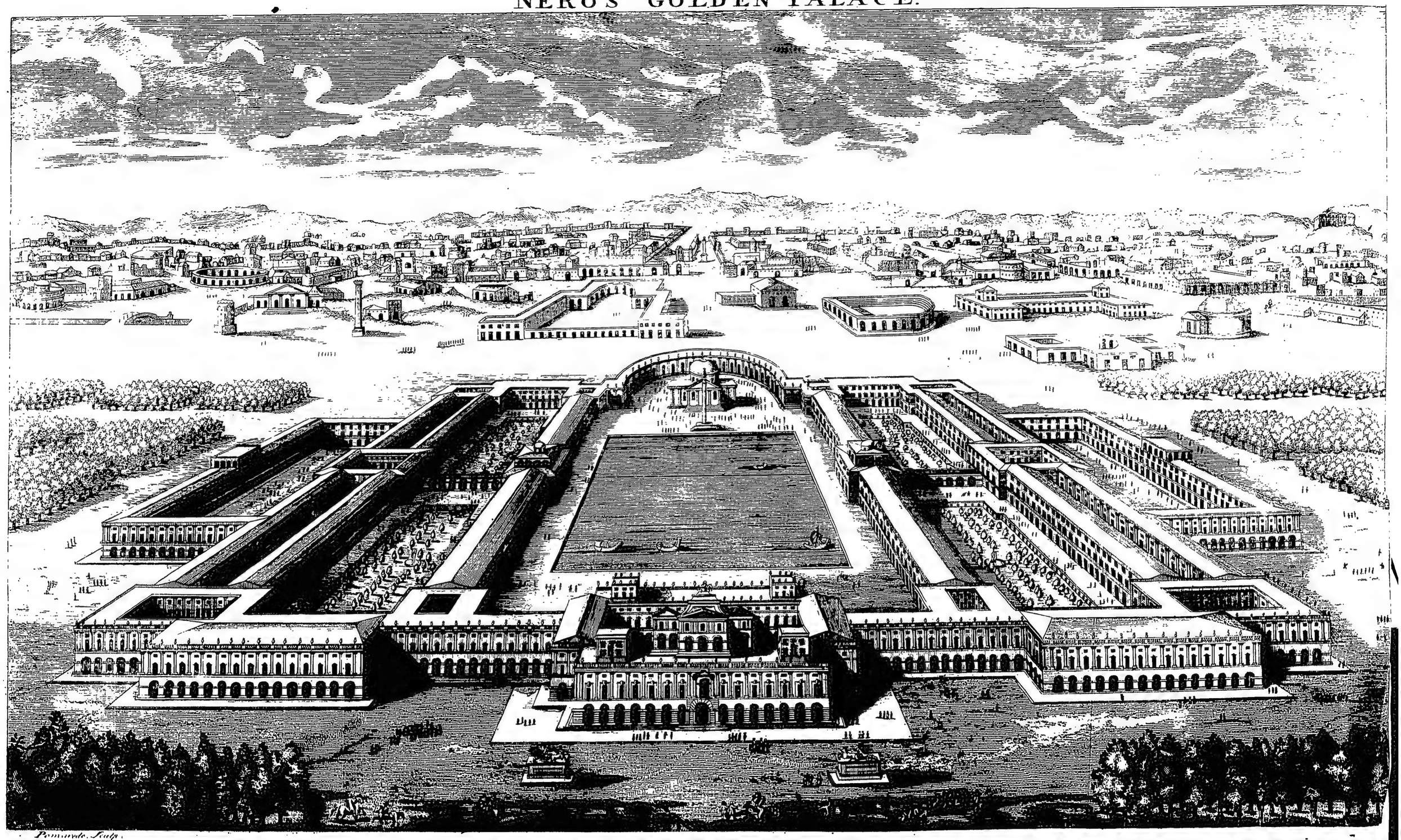
The fire extinguiſhed, but breaks out anew.

[p] Tacit. c. 38—40.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that it laſted ſix days and ſeven nights; wherein he diſagrees with an antient inſcription, ſtill to be ſeen near St. *Peter*'s church in *Rome*, according to which it continued nine days. The words of the inſcription are; Ex. Voto. Suſcepto. Quod. Diu. Erat. Neglectum. Nec. Redditum. Incendior. Arcendorum. Cauſa. Quando. Urbs. Per. Novem. Dies Arſit. Neronianis. Temporibus. Et. Hac. Lege. Dedicata. Eſt. Ne. Cui. Liceat. Intra. Hos. Terminos. Ædificium. Extruere. *Suetonius*'s account cannot be reconciled with this inſcription; but that of *Tacitus* may; for he tells us, that the fire, which was ſtopt on the ſixth day, broke out anew; ſo that the firſt conflagration may be ſaid to have laſted ſix days, and the ſecond three.

emperor,

NERO'S GOLDEN PALACE.



Pomarede. Sculp.

emperor, to ſay in *Greek*, *When I am dead, let the world be burnt*; *Nay*, replied he, *let it be burnt while I am alive*; and not long after, being diſpleaſed with the old buildings of the city, with its narrow alleys and irregular ſtreets, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire ſo publicly, that ſeveral of his officers were found in the houſes of the great men with fire and flax in their hands, and nevertheleſs diſmiſſed, becauſe they openly declared, that they had one to authorize them. There being certain ſtore-houſes near his palace, which ground he deſired to have, that with their walls of ſtone withſtood the violence of the flames, he cauſed them to be battered down with engines of war. Tho' in this barbarous conflagration, continues the ſame writer, the palaces of our antient commanders, adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, the temples formerly conſecrated by our kings, thoſe which the piety of our anceſtors raiſed in the *Punic* and *Gauliſh* wars, and in ſhort all the noble and ſtately monuments of antiquity, were conſumed by the devouring flames, yet *Nero* was ſo far from being touched with ſorrow or compaſſion, that he beheld the fire the whole time from the tower of *Mæcenas*, and being highly pleaſed with the ſight, he chanted a poem on the deſtruction of *Troy*, in the ſame habit which he uſed when he ſung on the ſtage. He would not allow any one to attempt the ſtopping or extinguiſhing of the fire, promiſing to remove at his own charge the rubbiſh and dead bodies [q]. Among the many antient and ſtately edifices which the rage of the flames utterly conſumed, *Tacitus* reckons the temple dedicated by *Servius Tullius* to the moon; the temple and great altar conſecrated by *Evander* to *Hercules*, the chapel vowed by *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator*, the court of *Numa* with the temple of *Veſta*, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the *Romans*. In the ſame fate were involved the ineſtimable treaſures acquired by ſo many victories, the wonderful works of the beſt painters and ſculptors of *Greece*, and what is ſtill more to be lamented, the antient writings of celebrated authors, till then preſerved perfectly intire. It was obſerved, that the fire began the ſame day on which the *Gauls*, having formerly taken the city, burnt it to the ground [r]. Upon the ruins of the demoliſhed city *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden houſe*, though it was not ſo much admired on account of an immenſe profuſion of gold, precious ſtones, and other ineſtimable ornaments, as for its immenſe extent, containing ſpacious fields, vaſt wilderneſſes, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vineyards, hills, groves, &c. The entrance of this ſtately edifice was ſpacious enough to receive a coloſſus, repreſenting *Nero*, a hundred and twenty

Many noble buildings utterly conſumed.

Nero's golden palace.

[q] SUET. c. 38. [r] TACIT. c. 41.

foot

foot high; the galleries conſiſted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length; the lakes were encompaſſed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods ſtocked with all ſorts of wild beaſts. The houſe itſelf was tiled with gold, and the walls covered with the ſame metal, and richly adorned with precious ſtones and mother of pearl, which in thoſe days was valued above gold; the timber-work and cielings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory; the roof of one of the banquetting rooms reſembled the firmament both in its figure and motion, turning inceſſantly about night and day, and ſhowering all ſorts of ſweet waters. When this magnificent ſtructure was finiſhed, *Nero* approved of it only ſo far as to ſay, that *at length he began to lodge like a man* (N). *Pliny* tells us[s], that this palace extended quite round the city. *Nero*, it ſeems, did not quite finiſh it; for the firſt order *Otho* ſigned was, as we read in *Suetonius*, for fifty millions of ſeſterces to be employed in perfecting the *golden palace*, which *Nero* had begun[t]. The projectors of this plan were *Severus* and *Celer*, two bold and enterpriſing men, who ſoon after put the emperor upon a ſtill more expenſive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting a canal through hard rocks and ſteep mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, a hundred and ſixty miles in length, and of ſuch breadth, that two galleys of five ranks of oars might eaſily paſs abreaſt. His view in this was to open a communication between *Rome* and *Campania*, free from the troubles and dangers of the ſea; for this very year a great number of veſſels laden with corn were

Undertakes things impoſſible.

[s] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. iii. [t] Suet. c. 31. & in Oth. c. 7.

(N) *Martial* deſcribes the immenſe tract of ground on which this palace ſtood (46). Several lampoons were handed about upon the ſame ſubject; among the reſt the following, which likewiſe reflected on the murder of his mother and his ſhameful paſſion for playing upon the harp:

Quis neget Æneæ *natum de ſtirpe* Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit cytharam noſter, *dum cornua* Parthus,
Noſter erit Pæan, *ille Hecatebeletes*
Roma *domus fiet*; Veios *migrate*, Quirites,
Si non & Veios *occupat iſta domus.*

But *Nero*, whether he really deſpiſed ſuch reflections, or wiſely ſmothered his reſentment, never ſo much as inquired after the author of theſe ſatires; nay, ſome of them being diſcovered, he would not ſuffer the ſenate to puniſh them with any ſeverity.

(46) *Mart. lib. de ſpect. epig.* 2.

ſhipwrecked

ſhipwrecked at cape *Miſenum*, the pilots chuſing rather to venture out in a violent ſtorm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by *Nero* [u]. For the perfecting of this great undertaking, the emperor ordered the priſoners from all parts to be tranſported into *Italy*, and ſuch as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to his works. We are told, that to this bold and extravagant attempt he was likewiſe encouraged by a *Roman* knight, who aſſured him, that he could help him to the immenſe treaſures, which queen *Dido* had carried along with her from *Tyre*, and buried in vaſt caves under-ground in *Africa*, whence they might without much trouble be recovered [w]. *Nero*, who undertook nothing with more ardour and readineſs, than what was deemed impoſſible, expended incredible ſums in this raſh undertaking, and exerted all his might to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake *Avernus*; but not being able to remove by art the obſtacles of nature, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterpriſe [x].

Rome rebuilt.

THE ground, which was not taken up by the foundations of *Nero*'s own palace, he aſſigned for houſes, which were not placed, as after the burning of the city by the *Gauls*, at random and without order; but the ſtreets were laid out regularly, ſpacious and ſtrait; the edifices reſtrained to a certain height, perhaps of ſeventy foot, according to the plan of *Auguſtus*; the courts were widened, and to all the great houſes, which ſtood by themſelves and were called iſles, large porticoes were added, which *Nero* engaged to raiſe at his own expence, and to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them clear from all rubbiſh. He likewiſe promiſed rewards according to every man's rank and ſubſtance, and fixed a day for the diſcharge of his promiſe, on condition that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes and palaces were finiſhed. He moreover made the following wiſe regulations to obviate ſuch a dreadful calamity for the future, *viz.* that the new buildings ſhould be raiſed to a certain height without timber; that they ſhould be arched with ſtone from the quarries of *Gabii* and *Alba*, which were proof againſt fire; that over the common ſprings, which were diverted by private men for their own uſes, overſeers ſhould be placed to prevent that abuſe; that every citizen ſhould have ready in his houſe, ſome machine proper to extinguiſh fire; that no wall ſhould be common to two houſes, but every houſe be incloſed within its own peculiar walls, *&c.* Thus the city in a ſhort time roſe out of its aſhes with new luſtre, and more beautiful than ever. However, ſome believed that the antient form was more conducing to health,

Precautions to prevent the like diſaſter.

[u] SUET. ibid. TACIT. c. 46. [w] SUET. ibid. [x] TACIT. c. 42.

the rays of the ſun being hardly felt, on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and the height of the buildings, whereas now there was no ſhelter againſt the ſcorching heat [y]. We are told that *Nero* deſigned to extend the walls to *Oſtia*, and to bring from thence, by a canal, the ſea into the city [z]. As *Nero*, notwithſtanding all his bounties, was ſtill univerſally believed to have been the author of the conflagration, in order to wipe off this aſperſion, he transferred the guilt upon the *Chriſtians*, who were already very numerous in the city, and raiſed the firſt general perſecution. We ſhall deliver, in our hiſtorian's own words, what he writes upon this ſubject, miſled, no doubt, by the accounts that were current among the *Romans*, and crediting, as he wanted an opportunity of being better informed, the calumnies, with which the enemies of truth laboured to diſcredit ſuch as profeſſed it. *Nero*, ſays he, to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon ſuppoſed criminals, ſubjecting to moſt exquiſite torments thoſe people, who for their enormous crimes were already univerſally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Chriſtians* (O). The author of this name was *Chriſt*,

Nero *transfers upon the* Chriſtians *the guilt of burning the city.*

Tacitus's *account of them.*

[y] Idem. c. 43. [z] Suet. c. 16.

(O) *Tacitus* ſeems in this particular to confound the *Chriſtians* with the *Jews*; for ſpeaking of the latter in his hiſtory (28), They are immoveable, ſays he, in their adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compaſſion; but towards the whole human race beſides, they maintain a mortal and implacable hatred. With all others they refuſe to eat; with all others they refuſe to lodge; nay, though they are a people abandoned to ſenſuality, they avoid the embraces of all foreign women. This cenſure they deſerved in the time of *Tacitus*, as they ſtill do in ours, ſaving the laſt particular mentioned by our hiſtorian; for now they condeſcend to the embraces of foreign harlots. They had not common mercy towards the *Gentils* and uncircumciſed; and being perſuaded, that the Almighty loved only their nation, they fanſied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race beſides; ſo that it was ſaid of them by *Tacitus* too truly, *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*. But ſurely the *Chriſtians* did not, at leaſt in *Tacitus*'s time, deſerve this cenſure: an univerſal and unbounded charity is the main baſis and characteriſtic of our religion; and it is not probable, that the *Chriſtians* were then ſo degenerated as to diſgrace their profeſſion, by neglecting the moſt eſſential duty of it. They avoided indeed the profane meetings of the *Gentiles*, their lewd revels, their ſhows and ſpectacles; and thence were thought, as *Arnobius* obſerves, by men not acquainted with their principles, to hate the *Gentiles* themſelves.

(28) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* v.

who

who in the reign of *Tiberius*, was executed under *Pontius Pilate*, procurator of *Judæa*. The peſtilent ſuperſtition was for a while ſuppreſſed; but it revived again, and ſpread, not only over *Judæa*, where this evil was firſt broached, but reached *Rome*, whither from every quarter of the earth is conſtantly flowing whatever is hideous and abominable amongſt men, and is there readily embraced and practiſed. Firſt therefore were apprehended ſuch as openly owned themſelves to be of that ſect; then by them was diſcovered an immenſe multitude; and all were convicted, not of the crime of burning *Rome*, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture was aggravated with cruel deriſion and ſport; for they were either covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or faſtened to croſſes, or wrapt up in combuſtible garments, that when the daylight failed, they might, like torches, ſerve to diſpel the darkneſs of the night. For this tragical ſpectacle *Nero* lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the ſame time the public diverſion of the circus, ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and ſometimes ſtanding as a ſpectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and deſerving the moſt exemplary puniſhment, compaſſion aroſe, ſeeing they were doomed to periſh, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man [i]. Thus far *Tacitus*, who, 'tis manifeſt, was quite unacquainted with the ſacred myſteries and ſound morals of our religion. He was himſelf a man of ſtrict morality, and diſplays, throughout all his writings, a ſpirit truly virtuous and humane; no wonder therefore, if conſidering the *Chriſtians* as enemies to mankind, according to the prevailing notion, and their religion as a new ſect inconſiſtent with the laws of *Rome*, and threatening civil tumults, he painted them in ſuch ugly colours. But, after all, he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the aſperſions of *Nero*, and expoſes the barbarous treatment they met with from that tyrant.

IN the mean time, *Nero* having, with the immenſe ſums, he had expended in building his *golden houſe*, and embelliſhing the city, quite drained his exchequer, to ſupply his prodigality betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion. Not *Italy* alone, but the provinces, the ſeveral confederate nations, and all thoſe cities, that had the title of *free*, were pillaged and laid waſte. In this general ſpoil were involved the temples of the gods, being ſtript of all their rich ornaments, of all the treaſures, which the *Roman* people in every age of their ſtate had conſecrated, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or vows fulfilled,

Nero *betakes himſelf to all manner of rapine.*

[i] TACIT. c. 44.

Plunders Italy *and the provinces.*

Through *Greece* and *Aſia* the ſame ravages were committed, *Acratus* an imperial freedman, and *Secundus Carinas*, two prompt inſtruments, as *Tacitus* ſtyles them, to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant, being ſent into thoſe provinces with a commiſſion to ſtrip every-where the temples of all their ornaments, gifts, oblations, *&c.* and convey them together with the ſtatues and images of the gods themſelves to *Rome* [k], where they were melted down, and turned into money [l]. *Suetonius* aſſures us, that from this time forward he never raiſed any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want; let us make it our buſineſs, that no one may have any thing, which he can call his own* [m]. *Seneca*, fearing theſe ſacrileges and iniquitous extortions might be imputed to him,

Seneca *is refuſed leave to retire.*

begged leave to retire to a ſeat of his own remote from *Rome*; but that being refuſed him, he confined himſelf to his chamber, pretending an indiſpoſition in his nerves. Some writers tell us, that one of his freedmen, named *Cleonicus*, had, by the command of *Nero*, prepared poiſon for him; but that he eſcaped it, either by the diſcovery made by the freedman, or by his own caution; for being appriſed of the danger he was in, he led a moſt abſtemious life, ſatisfying his hunger with wild fruit from the woods, and quenching his thirſt with a draught from the common fountain [n]. Of this wonderful temperance and ſobriety, he ſpeaks himſelf in one of his letters [o]: I banquet, ſays he, upon dry bread, and dine without a table, my dinner is ſuch that after it I have no occaſion to waſh my hands: and elſewhere [p]; I ſleep little, and watch much; I abſtain from all wine, avoid batheing, and uſe no ointments, being perſuaded, that with reſpect to our bodies, of all ſmells, no ſmell is the beſt. In the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies (P), ſaid to have happened, and always looked upon as the fore-runners of ſome dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared, an omen ever ſuppoſed to portend misfortunes threatening ſome ſovereign power. *Nero* was

[k] Idem, c. 45. [l] Suet. c. 32. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Tacit. c 45. [o] Senec. ep. 84. [p] Idem, ep. 109.

(P) In the ſtreets and roads were found expoſed ſeveral monſters with double heads, ſome brutes, and ſome of the human ſpecies: ſome were alſo taken from the bellies of victims: in the territory of *Placentia* was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg; a prodigy, which, according to the interpretation of the ſoothſayers, foreboded, that for human kind another head was preparing, that would not remain long concealed (29).

(29) *Idem*, c. 42.

therefore

therefore under no ſmall apprehenſion; but an aſtrologer, by name *Babilus*, having acquainted him, that among monarchs it was uſual upon ſuch occaſions to avert theſe omens from themſelves by ſome extraordinary maſſacre, he reſolved utterly to exterminate the whole ſenatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freedmen.

Piſo's conſpiracy.

THIS bloody deſign he began to put in execution the following year, when *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus* and *M. Veſtinus Atticus* were conſuls, a conſpiracy, which was then diſcovered, affording him a plauſible pretence for the mighty carnage. In this memorable conſpiracy were engaged, we may ſay, the whole nobility of *Rome*; ſenators, knights, ſoldiers, and even women, entering into it with great eagerneſs and competition, partly from their deteſtation of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piſo*, who was at the head of it.

His character.

He was allied to moſt of the illuſtrious families in *Rome*, and for his own virtues, or qualities, as *Tacitus* obſerves, that reſembled virtues, highly favoured by the populace; for he was a great orator, and employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; was generous to his friends and acquaintance, and even to ſuch as were unknown to him, affable and complaiſant: he was of a tall ſtature, of a graceful countenance, and extremely popular in his language and addreſs; but ſo far from being ſtrict and auſtere in his life and manners, that he obſerved no reſtraint in his pleaſures, abandoning himſelf to all manner of debauchery and luxury, a conduct, ſays our hiſtorian, not diſapproved of by thoſe who deſigned to raiſe him to the empire; for they did not care that the ſupreme head of the empire ſhould be in his morals over ſevere. However, he was not the firſt author of the conſpiracy; nay, our hiſtorian tells us, that it was never known by whom the deſign was firſt concerted, though *Subrius Flavius*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and *Sulpitius Aſper*, a centurion, ſeem to have been the moſt forward champions in it.

Many perſons of diſtinction concerned in it.

Among the firſt who entered into it, our hiſtorian names *Lucan* the celebrated poet, *Plautius Lateranus*, conſul elect, *Flavius Scevinus*, and *Afranius Quinctilianus*. *Lucan* was inſtigated by perſonal provocations, *Nero*, who was poſſeſſed with an ardent ambition of excelling in poetry, having from a ridiculous emulation forbid the publication of his poems: *Lateranus*, from whom the famous baſilic at *Rome* took its name, was piqued by no injury done to himſelf, but engaged in a plot from a ſincere affection to the republic. The other two had ſouls drowned in ſenſuality, and had till that time lived in ſloth and debauchery: what prompted *Scevinus* to conſpire, we are not told; but *Quinctilianus* became an accomplice in order to be

be revenged on *Nero*, for having in a virulent ſatire publiſhed his ſcandalous and unnatural lewdneſs. *Rome* was ſurpriſed, that two men of ſuch characters ſhould engage in an enterpriſe ſo great and daring. Theſe we have mentioned drew ſoon into the combination *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatus Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, and *Martius Feſtus*, all *Roman* knights. Out of the troops, beſides the two officers already mentioned, were aſſumed as accomplices, *Granius Silvanus*, *Statius Proximus*, both tribunes of the prætorian bands, *Maximus Scaurus*, *Venetus Paulus*, two centurions, and, as their main ſtrength and dependence, *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the imperial guards, a man greatly eſteemed by the people, and on that account hated both by his collegue *Tigellinus* and the emperor. The conſpirators were no ſooner aſſured, that *Rufus* had embraced their party, than they began more reſolutely to debate about the time and place of the intended aſſaſſination. *Subrius Flavius* undertook to aſſail *Nero*, while he was ſinging on the ſtage, or ſcouring the ſtreets in his drunken revels by night, unattended by his guards; but a too great anxiety to eſcape with impunity, ever unſeaſonable in great enterpriſes, reſtrained him [q].

Epicharis, a freedwoman, animates the conſpirators.

In the mean time, the conſpirators putting off from day to day the execution of their deſign, a woman, named *Epicharis*, took upon her to rouſe them. It was utterly unknown by what means ſhe came at all to be appriſed of the plot; for till that time ſhe had never ſhewn the leaſt regard to honour, virtue, or honeſty. When ſhe found that all her reproaches and exhortations were to no effect, impatient of their ſlowneſs, ſhe left *Rome*, and haſtened into *Campania*, where ſhe employed all her induſtry and ſkill to eſtrange from *Nero* the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet riding at *Miſenum*, and to engage them in the deſign, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in ſailing often along the coaſts of *Miſenum* and *Puteoli*. In that fleet, *Voluſius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to diſpatch his mother, had the command of a thouſand marines. But as he did not think himſelf thereby ſufficiently rewarded for ſo meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with *Epicharis*, or a friendſhip newly contracted, he related to her his ſignal ſervices to *Nero*, adding bitter complaints, that he had not been diſtinguiſhed with promotion equal to his deſerts. In anſwer to him, *Epicharis* urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the conſpiracy; but had the precau-

[q] Idem, c. 48—50.

tion

tion to conceal from him the names of the conſpirators. The traytor was no ſooner let into the ſecret, than he flew to *Rome*, and betrayed the whole to *Nero*. But his diſcovery availed nothing; for when *Epicharis* was ſummoned and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe denied it, pretending to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldneſs of the accuſer. However, ſhe was detained in priſon, *Nero* ſuſpecting that the charge was not falſe, though not proved to be true[r]. The conſpirators being, notwithſtanding the ſilence of *Epicharis*, apprehenſive of a diſcovery, came to a reſolution to haſten the intended murder, and choſe, as the moſt convenient place for the execution of their deſign, a villa at *Baiæ* belonging to *Piſo*, whither the emperor frequently reſorted to bathe and banquet, with a ſmall number of attendants. But in this *Piſo* would by no means concur, alledging the general abhorrence, which muſt enſue, were the ſacred rights of hoſpitality violated, with the murder of a prince, however wicked. He thought it more adviſeable to diſpatch him at *Rome*, either in the deteſted houſe, which he had reared with the ſpoils of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, ſince for the benefit of the public the deſign had been undertaken. Thus he reaſoned openly among the conſpirators; but in his heart he was influenced by ſecret jealouſy, fearing leſt *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, might, as he was then at *Rome*, upon the firſt news of *Nero*'s death, ſeize the vacant ſovereignty for himſelf. He was likewiſe jealous of the conſul *Veſtinus*, not knowing but he might, as he was a man of great intrepidity, attempt the reſtoring of the ancient government, or beſtow the empire upon ſome other, as a gift of his own. The conſpirators, moved by the reaſonings of *Piſo*, unanimouſly agreed to execute their deſign, not at *Baiæ*, but at *Rome*, on the anniverſary ſacred to *Ceres*, and always ſolemniſed with *Circenſian* games, at which *Nero* never failed to aſſiſt, giving free acceſs to all, during the gaiety of the ſports. The deſign was to be executed in the following manner: *Lateranus*, who was but in ſlender circumſtances, under pretence of imploring relief, was to fall at the prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no ſuch attempt, throw him down, and keep him fixed to the ground. Then the tribunes, centurions, and the other conſpirators, were, each according to his boldneſs, to ruſh in and diſpatch him. *Scevinus* earneſtly claimed the honour and ſatisfaction of giving the firſt blow; for having formerly taken a dagger out of a temple, he carried it conſtantly about him, as conſecrated to the execution of ſome

She is accuſed to Nero, *but baffles her accuſer.*

Silanus and the conſul Veſtinus.

Scevinus *claims the honour of giving the firſt blow.*

[r] Idem, c. 51, 52.

mighty

mighty design. It was moreover agreed, that *Piso* should wait the event in the temple of *Ceres*, and be thence brought forth by *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and conducted to the camp (Q).

The day before that which was appointed for the execution of the design, *Scevinus*, upon his returning home from a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, sealed his will; then unsheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and rusty, charging *Milichus*, one of his freedmen, to have it ground and sharpened at the point: next he ordered a repast, more sumptuous and profuse than ordinary, to be got ready; after which he presented his favourite slaves with their liberty, and others with sums of money: his countenance, in the midst of an affected chearfulness, appeared clouded: in his discourse he was continually running from one subject to another, without attending to any; whence all who were present concluded, that his mind was fraught with some great design: at last he ordered the same *Milichus* to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for stopping blood. The freedman, reflecting on these orders, and concluding with himself, that a conspiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, hastened next morning by break of day to the gardens of *Servilius*, where *Nero* then was; and being refused admittance, declared that he came to discover matters of the utmost importance. Hereupon he was by the porters conducted to *Epaphroditus*, one of *Nero*'s freedmen, and by him forthwith to the emperor himself, to whom he related all the circumstances he had observed, shewed the dagger, and desired the criminal to be immediately sent for. Accordingly, *Scevinus* was by a band of soldiers hastily seized and dragged before the emperor; but defended himself with a spirit so undaunted, and inveighed against the informer as a treacherous wretch, still actuated by the base spirit of a slave, with such firmness and intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife put him in mind, that *Antonius Natalis* had held a long conference with *Scevinus*, and that both lived in close confidence with *Caius Piso*. *Natalis* was therefore immediately sent for, and both he

The conspiracy how discovered.

(Q) *Pliny* tells us, that in order to attract the affections of the people, *Antonia*, daughter of the late emperor *Claudius*, was to accompany *Piso* to the camp. But our historian thinks it incredible, that either *Antonia* should contribute her name, and risque her life, to promote a scheme, from which she could reap no advantage, or that *Piso*, who was universally known to be passionately fond of his wife, should engage to marry another (30).

(30) *Idem*, c. 44.

and

and *Scevinus* examined apart concerning the particulars of that conference. As their anſwers varied, they were thrown into irons, and threatened with the rack, the ſight of which neither of them being able to bear, they diſcovered the whole order and progreſs of the conſpiracy. *Natalis* confeſſed the firſt, and declared how far *Piſo* was concerned in the plot, and named alſo *Seneca*; but whether he had acted as an inter-agent between him and *Piſo*, or whether *Natalis* impeached him only to purchaſe the favour of *Nero*, who was daily hunting after ſome ſpecious pretence to deſtroy him, is uncertain. *Scevinus*, underſtanding that by *Natalis* a confeſſion was made, and that no advantage could be reaped from his ſilence, yielded at length, and declared all the other accomplices. Of theſe *Lucan*, *Quinctilianus*, and *Senecio*, perſiſted long in denying the charge; but at length were decoyed by a promiſe of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardneſs, they informed againſt their deareſt friends, *Lucan* againſt *Atilia*, his own mother, *Quinctilianus* again *Glicius Gallus*, and *Senecio* againſt *Annius Pollio*. In the mean time, *Nero*, recollecting that *Epicharis* was detained in priſon, and ſuppoſing, that the tender body of a woman could never endure the violence of the rack, commanded her to be rent and mangled with all ſorts of torments. But her firmneſs and magnanimity was proof againſt the fury of ſtripes, of fire, and of all the torments the executioners could invent, though they exerted their utmoſt efforts in cruelty, leſt they ſhould be at laſt ſcorned and baffled by a woman. She ſtill utterly denied every particular; and ſuch was the iſſue of the firſt day's torture. The next day, as ſhe was reconducted in a chair to ſuffer anew the ſame torments, for all her members were ſo rent and disjointed, that ſhe could not ſupport herſelf, with the girdle, that bound her breaſts, ſhe framed a nooſe for her neck, and tying it to the top of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and put an end to the poor remains of life. Thus a woman, who was once a ſlave, chearfully ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty could invent, and death itſelf, to protect perſons, whom ſhe ſcarce knew, when men born free, when *Roman* knights and ſenators, without once feeling the torture, betrayed their deareſt friends, their neareſt relations. For *Lucan*, *Senecio*, and *Quinctilianus* were daily making new diſcoveries, and ſtill naming more accomplices; which ſo terrified *Nero*, that he not only doubled his guards, but poſted bands of ſoldiers upon the walls and all round the city, lined the ſea-coaſt and the banks of the *Tiber* with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horſe to ſcour the fields night and day, to range in the public ſquares, in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houſes, &c.

Several of the conſpirators ſeized.

The firmneſs and intrepidity of Epicharis.

She hangs herſelf with her girdle.

Nero's *great conſternation.*

With the prætorian guards *Germans* were intermixt; for in them, as they were foreigners, the prince chiefly confided[s].

And now the accuſed were dragged in whole droves, numbers after numbers, to *Nero*'s tribunal, which was erected in his gardens, and lay together at the gates, expecting to be ſucceſſively admitted and examined. If upon their tryal it appeared, that they had ever been ſeen ſmiling with any of the conſpirators; that they had ever ſpoke with them, met them, however fortuitouſly, been common gueſts at the ſame table, or ſat together at ſome public ſhow; all this, or any part of it, was imputed as an unpardonable crime. The judges were *Nero* himſelf, *Tigellinus*, and his collegue *Fenius Rufus*, who, as he was not yet detected, proved more ſevere than the other two in examining his own aſſociates, in order to perſuade the prince, that he was an utter ſtranger to the plot. Nay, to him it was owing, that the deſign was not put in execution, even during the examination of the conſpirators: for the brave tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended and was not impeached or ſuſpected, having demanded by ſigns, whether he ſhould draw his ſword, and diſpatch the tyrant, was by contrary ſigns checked and forbid, when he had already graſped the hilt. When the conſpiracy was firſt diſcovered, there were ſome, who exhorted *Piſo* to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the roſtrum, and try the affections of the people and ſoldiery, ſince nothing worſe could befal him, though both the ſoldiery and people failed him, than he muſt already expect; nay, by loſing his life in ſo glorious an attempt, he would approve himſelf worthy of his anceſtors, and leave a glorious example to his poſterity; whereas, if he neglected the preſent opportunity, he would be ſoon ſeized, committed to bonds, and condemned to an ignominious death. But *Piſo*, rejecting the advice of his friends and aſſociates, the beſt that could be given him at the preſent juncture, retired, without making the leaſt attempt, to his own houſe, where, upon the arrival of a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him, he opened the veins in both his arms, and bled to death. He left a will full of fulſome flattery towards *Nero*; and this out of tenderneſs to his wife *Arria Galla*, whom he had taken from *Domitius Silius*, a friend of his own, tho' ſhe was a woman of moſt vitious inclinations, and, ſave the beauty of her perſon, deſtitute of every recommendation. Next followed the death of *Plautius Lateranus*, conſul elect, inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he was not allowed even to embrace his children; but inſtantly dragged to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there ſlaughtered by the hand of *Statius* the tribune. He died

Subrius Flavius offers to kill Nero, *but is checked by the cowardly* Fenius Rufus.

Piſo puts himſelf to death.

Plautius Lateranus dies with great intrepidity.

[s] Idem, c. 32 - 38.

with

with exemplary firmneſs and intrepidity, uttered not a ſyllable relating to the conſpiracy; but with an undaunted ſpirit anſwered *Epaphroditus*, the emperor's freedman and ſecretary, who aſked him ſome queſtions, *If I were mean enough to make any diſcoveries, it would be to your maſter, not to you.* He did not even upraid the tribune appointed to cut off his head, tho' he too was concerned with him in the conſpiracy [t]. *Arrian* tells us, that the firſt blow having only wounded him, he ſhook his head a little, and then preſented his neck again to the executioner [u].

The particulars of Seneca's death.

THE next illuſtrious perſon ſacrificed on this occaſion was *Annæus Seneca*, to the infinite joy of *Nero*, who had been long ſeeking his deſtruction. *Natalis* alone had named him, and concerning him could only diſcover thus much, that he had been ſent by *Piſo* to viſit *Seneca*, then indiſpoſed, to complain in his name, that he was debarred acceſs to him, and to repreſent, that it would be better if they maintained their friendſhip by familiar converſation; that to this *Seneca* replied, that frequent interviews and converſations by themſelves were conducing to the ſervice of neither; but that upon the ſafety of *Piſo* his own welfare depended. *Granius Silvanus*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was ſent to *Seneca*, with orders to aſk him, Whether he owned the words of *Natalis* and his own anſwers? *Seneca* was returned that very day from *Campania*, and had ſtopped at a villa of his, four miles from *Rome*. Thither arrived the tribune in the evening; and having beſet the villa with his men, he entered the houſe, and acquainted *Seneca* with his commiſſion, while he ſat at table with *Paulina* his wife, and two friends. *Seneca* anſwered, That *Natalis* had in truth been ſent to him, and had complained in *Piſo*'s name, that he was refuſed admittance; a complaint which he had anſwered by excuſing himſelf, on account of his bodily diſorder and his love of quiet. He denied to have ever declared, that his ſafety depended upon that of any private man, adding, that he was not at all addicted to flattery, as no man better knew than *Nero*. When this anſwer was by the tribune reported to the emperor, he aſked, whether *Seneca* ſeemed determined upon a voluntary death? I have not diſcovered, replied the tribune, either in his words or looks, the leaſt ſymptom of fear. Hereupon *Nero* commanded him to return directly, and acquaint him, that he muſt die. The tribune who was himſelf one of the conſpirators, took not the ſame way he came; but turning aſide, went firſt to *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and diſcloſing to him the emperor's orders, aſked, Whether he ſhould obey them? The

[t] TACIT. c. 60. [u] ARRIAN. ex. Epict. l. i. c. 1.

cowardly commander adviſed him to execute his commiſſion, and act in every reſpect as if he were an utter ſtranger to the plot. Thus *Fenius* and *Silvanus*, through a meanneſs and timidity hardly to be believed, contributed to multiply thoſe very cruelties, which they had conſpired to avenge. However, the tribune avoided ſeeing *Seneca*, and delivering in perſon the ſaid meſſage; but ſent in a centurion to appriſe him of his doom. *Seneca* heard the ſentence without betraying the leaſt diſmay or concern, and calmly called for his will; but that being denied him by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, That ſince he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life. He repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes with ſharp rebukes, aſking them, Where were now all the documents of philoſophy? where the precepts of wiſdom ſo many years premeditated againſt impending calamities? for to whom, ſaid he, is unknown the bloody nature of *Nero?* After the butchering of his mother and brother, what remained, but to add to theirs the ſlaughter of his preceptor and inſtructor? After he had diſcourſed ſome time to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object! which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſeemed to ſoften his philoſophical ſpirit. He beſought her to moderate her ſorrow, and to fortify herſelf againſt the grief ariſing from the loſs of her huſband, by the contemplation of his life ſpent in a ſteady courſe of virtue. *Paulina*, on the contrary, reſolutely declared, that ſhe was determined to die with him. This declaration ſurpriſed *Seneca*, who, unwilling to bereave her of ſo much glory, and loth to leave one, whom he tenderly loved, expoſed to inſults and injuries, after a ſhort pauſe, *Since to the delights of a ſhort life, you prefer*, ſaid he, *the everlaſting fame of a glorious death, I ſhall not envy you this honour. Let us ſhare the glory of ſo brave an end, tho' your ſhare will be by far the greater.* After this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened at the ſame inſtant. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body extenuated with a ſlender diet, his blood iſſued but ſlowly; whereupon he cauſed the veins of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees to be likewiſe cut. As he ſuffered cruel agonies, he perſuaded his wife to retire into another chamber, leſt his torments ſhould ſhake her reſolution, or he himſelf, affected with her pangs, betray weakneſs and impatience. As his eloquence did not fail him to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and dictated to them many things, which were publiſhed after his death. As *Nero* bore no perſonal enmity to *Paulina*, and was well appriſed, that her death would double the hatred of the public towards him, he

The conſtancy of his wife.

ſent

ſent orders to the ſoldiers to prevent her from dying; who thereupon commanded her domeſtic ſlaves and freedmen to bind up her arms and ſtop the blood; but whether this was done without her knowledge, or with her concurrence, is uncertain; for as men are commonly prone to believe the worſt, there were ſome who aſſerted, that while ſhe deſpaired of her pardon, ſhe aſpired at the glory of dying with her huſband; but yielded to the allurements of life, as ſoon as ſhe found the prince inclined to mercy. However that be, ſhe outlived her huſband but a few years, ever pale and in a languiſhing condition, and retained to the laſt a reverence for his memory worthy of all praiſe. *Seneca*, in the mean time, to haſten his death which advanced but ſlowly, beſought *Statius Annæus*, an intimate friend of his, and well ſkilled in medicine, to bring him a draught of poiſon, which he had prepared long before, and kept by him. This he ſwallowed; but in vain, his limbs being chilled with cold, and his juices ſtagnated. He had therefore recourſe to a hot bath, to haſten by that means the operation of the poiſon, or to make his blood flow more freely. With the water of the bath he ſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood near him, ſaying, *With this liquor I make a libation to* Jupiter *the deliverer*. This he did in imitation of the *Greeks*, who, in departing after a banquet, uſed to make libations to *Jupiter the preſerver*. As the bath had not the deſired effect, and the ſoldiers were very preſſing, he was at laſt conveyed into a ſtove, and there ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corpſe was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity, purſuant to a will which he had made, even while he was in high favour with the prince [w]. Thus died the celebrated *L. Annæus Seneca*, on the twelfth, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *April*. *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he was privy to the conſpiracy [x], from which charge *Tacitus* does not attempt to clear him. He tells us indeed, that *Nero* had no proof of his being engaged in the plot; but adds, that a rumour prevailed, that *Subrius Flavius*, in a ſecret conſultation with the centurions, not without the privicy of *Seneca*, had determined, as ſoon as *Nero* was cut off by the aid of *Piſo*, to diſpatch *Piſo* too, and transfer the empire to *Seneca*; nay, the very words, ſaid to have been uttered by *Flavius* in that conference, became current, *viz.* That it availed nothing to depoſe a minſtrel, if he were to be ſucceeded by a tragedian; for as *Nero* uſed to play upon the harp, ſo *Piſo*'s chief delight was to ſing attired like an actor in a tragedy. Of *Seneca*'s writings we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. As to his manners, we ſhall only ſay, that many things were imputed to him, perhaps not

She is prevented from dying by Nero's *orders.*

Seneca *takes poiſon in vain.*

His laſt words.

Is ſuffocated in a hot bath.

[w] TACIT. c. 62, 64. [x] DIO. l. lxii. p. 713.

undeſervedly,

undeſervedly, altogether inconſiſtent with the philoſophy which he profeſſed. He entertained a mighty opinion of his own virtue; but few have hitherto concurred with him in the ſame ſentiments.

Fenius Rufus *is accuſed and apprehended.*

Hitherto *Fenius Rufus* had proceeded with more ſeverity, than either *Tigellinus* or *Nero* himſelf, againſt the conſpirators his accomplices; but was in the end detected: for while in the examination of *Flavius Scævinus* the ſenator, he urged him with many menaces to a full confeſſion, *Scevinus* ſmiled, and told him, That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himſelf. *Fenius* attempted to refute the charge; but, faultering and perplexed in his ſpeech, he gave manifeſt tokens of his guilt and diſmay: whereupon he was by the emperor's orders immediately ſeized and dragged to priſon. At the ſame time the brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* was impeached. He at firſt defended himſelf; but being preſſed by the informers, he not only owned the charge, but gloried in it; and in anſwer to *Nero*, who aſked him, Upon what provocation he had ſlighted the obligation of his oath? for the ſoldiery, eſpecially the officers, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to protect the prince againſt all foreign and domeſtic enemies; *Becauſe I abhorred thee*, ſaid he, *though there was not in the whole army one more zealouſly attached to thee than I, ſo long as thou didſt merit affection; but I began to hate thee, when thou becameſt the murderer of thy mother, the murderer of thy brother and wife, a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary.* *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole conſpiracy afforded nothing which proved ſo bitter and pungent to *Nero* as this reproach. He ordered *Flavius* to be immediately put to death, committing the execution to *Veianus Niger*, a tribune, who led him into the next field, and there ordered in the firſt place a funeral trench to be dug, ſuch as ſerved for a grave to the ſoldiers, who died in the camp. *Flavius* found fault with it, as too ſtreight and ſhallow; and turning to the guard of ſoldiers, *This*, ſaid he, without betraying the leaſt concern, *is not even done according to the laws of diſcipline.*

Subrius Flavius *reviles* Nero *to his face.*

His laſt brave words, and contempt of death.

When the tribune deſired him to ſtretch out his neck valiantly, *I wiſh*, replied he, *thou mayeſt ſtrike as valiantly*; and truly the tribune was ſeized with ſuch a violent trembling, that he with difficulty cut off his head at two blows. However, he afterwards bragged to *Nero*, that he had deſignedly employed more blows than one. The next example of firmneſs and conſtancy was adminiſtered by *Sulpitius Aſper*, the centurion; who being aſked by *Nero*, Why he had conſpired againſt him? anſwered in a few words, *Becauſe there was no other relief againſt thy abominable enormities.* The other centurions faced death with equal bravery. But *Fenius Rufus* betrayed a meanneſs quite unbecoming

becoming a man of his rank and profeſſion; nay, he even filled his laſt will with unmanly lamentations. *Nero* hoped to find the conſul *Veſtinus* likewiſe concerned in the conſpiracy; but, as he was a man of a violent ſpirit and altogether untractable, the conſpirators had not thought fit to impart their deſign to him. He had once lived in cloſe confidence with *Nero*; but afterwards abuſing the freedom which the emperor allowed him, and utterly deſpiſing him, he uſed frequently to inſult the prince with poignant ſarcaſms, which left behind them a bitter remembrance, as they were for the moſt part founded on truth. Beſides, *Nero* dreaded the haughty and violent temper of *Veſtinus*; and therefore wiſhed for a plauſible pretence to get rid of him; but as no accuſer appeared to charge him, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour under the title of a judge, he had recourſe to the violence of a tyrant, and diſpatched *Gerelanus* the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to obviate the attempts of the conſul. He had that day diſcharged all the functions of a conſul, and was celebrating a banquet at home with great gaiety, when the ſoldiers entering, told him, That the tribune waited for him. *Veſtinus*, without delay, roſe from table, and in a trice the tragedy was begun and finiſhed; he was ſhut up in a chamber; the phyſician attended; his veins were cut, and he, while he was ſtill in full vigor, conveyed into a hot bath, and ſuffocated with the ſteam, without uttering a ſyllable that argued either grief or compaſſion for himſelf. In the mean time, the whole company that ſupped with him were beſet by a guard, and not releaſed, till the night was far ſpent, *Nero* making himſelf ſport with the fears of men, who had paſſed at once, from the mirth and joy of a feaſt, to the deadly apprehenſion of their laſt doom. At length he ordered the guards to withdraw, ſaying, that the conſul's gueſts had paid dear enough for their good cheer[y]. *Lucan* the poet was next ſentenced to die. His veins being opened, and his blood iſſuing in ſtreams, he ſoon perceived his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiff: but before his faculties were impaired, recollecting ſome lines of his own, in which he deſcribed a wounded ſoldier expiring after the ſame manner, he rehearſed them, and they were the laſt words he uttered [z] (N). *Suetonius*, or whoever elſe is the author of his life, tells

Fenius Ruſus *dies meanly.*

The quick and brave death of the conſul Veſtinus.

Lucan *dies with great intrepidity.*

[y] TACIT. c. 63—69. [z] Idem, c. 70.

(N) The verſes mentioned here, were, without all doubt, the following:

Scinditur avulſus, nec ſicut vulnere ſanguis
Emicuit lentus, rupti cadit undique venis;
Diſcurſuque animæ diverſa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis.

us,

us, that his behaviour towards *Nero*, who loved him, was such as would have provoked the beſt of princes. His informing, and indeed falſly, if the author of his life is to be credited, againſt his own mother, will reflect eternal ignominy on his memory. The emperor had promiſed him his pardon; but the only favour he granted him, was the choice of his death, which happened on the thirtieth of *April* in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age [a]. We ſhall ſpeak of his writings anon. *Senecio*, *Quinctilianus*, and *Scevinus*, ſuffered death with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy of their lives. The other conſpirators were put to death, without ſpeaking or doing any thing worthy of notice. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment of the conſpirators themſelves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome*, and cauſed them, together with their tutors, governors, and domeſtics, to be either poiſoned, or ſtarved to death [b]. Whole families, as that writer aſſures us, were cut off at one meal. During this mighty carnage, which filled *Rome* with deaths, corpſes, and funerals, no one durſt ſhew the leaſt ſympton of ſorrow for their murdered relations; nay, they muſt teſtify joy, unleſs they had a mind to be treated like traytors and enemies to the ſtate and emperor. Hence, as the city was filled with carcaſes, ſo was the capitol with victims: one had loſt a ſon; one a brother; this man a friend; that a near relation: but whatever was the loſs, every one paid his public thankſgiving to the gods; adorned, in token of joy, his houſe with laurel; fell proſtrate at the emperor's feet; kiſſed his hand, &c. *Antonius Natalis* and *Cervarius Proculus* were pardoned, in conſideration of their early confeſſion and diſcovery. *Milichus* the freedman was amply rewarded, and honoured with a *Greek* name ſignifying protector. *Granius Silvanus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, obtained his pardon; but ſoon after, ſcorning to owe his life to the tyrant, fell by his own hand. All the friends of *Seneca*, tho' rather calumniated than convicted, were condemned to baniſhment. *Carſonius Maximus* and *Cadicia*, the wife of *Scevinus*, were driven out of *Italy*, and only by their puniſhment knew that they had been charged as criminals (O). The accuſation againſt *Attilia*, *Lucan*'s mother

Nero's cruelty to the children of the conſpirators.

Rewards the inſtruments of his cruelty.

[a] Suet. in vit. Lucan. [b] Suet. c. 36.

(O) The following beautiful epigram in *Martial*, inſcribed to one *Cotilus*, an intimate friend of *Carſonius Maximus*, may give us ſome light into this matter:

Maximus ille tuus, Ovidi, Cæſonius hic eſt,
Cujus adhuc vultum vix ſibi cera tenet.
Hunc Nero damnavit; ſed tu damnare Neronem
Gaudia es, & proſtat, non tua fata, ſequi:

Æquora

mother was dropt; ſo that, without being cleared, ſhe eſcaped unpuniſhed [c].

AND now the conſpiracy being utterly ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators either ſentenced to death or baniſhment, *Nero* aſſembled the ſoldiery, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of two thouſand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth ſupplied with corn at the public expence. Upon *Petronius Turpilianus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, and *Tigellinus*, he beſtowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in proſecuting the conſpirators; nay, he cauſed triumphal ſtatues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace; a diſtinction ſeldom granted, and only to perſons of the greateſt merit. *Nymphidius* was diſtinguiſhed with the conſular ornaments. He was the ſon of a freed-woman, who, as ſhe was very beautiful, had long proſtituted herſelf to the domeſtics of the emperors, bond and free, without diſtinction. *Nymphidius* boaſted himſelf the ſon of *Caligula*, whom he reſembled both in his countenance and the tallneſs of his ſtature; and it is not improbable, ſays our hiſtorian, that the emperor, addicted as he was to all manner of lewdneſs, had deſcended to gallantries with his mother. But of him we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at length hereafter; for he too had his ſhare in the calamities and viciſſitudes of *Rome*. The emperor, having thus rewarded the

[c] TACIT. c. 73.

Æquora per Scyllæ magnus comes exulis iſti,
Qui modo noluerat conſulis ire comes.
Si victura meis mandantur nomina chartis,
Et fas eſt cineri me ſupereſſe meo;
Audiet hæc præſens, venturaque turba, fuiſſe
Illi te, Senecæ quod fuit ille ſuo (31).

From theſe verſes it is plain, that *Cæſonius* had been a conſul, and was one of *Seneca*'s moſt intimate friends; which was, without doubt, the motive that prompted *Nero* to baniſh him. As *Ovidius* accompanied him into baniſhment, ſo had *Cæſonius* in all likelihood accompanied formerly *Seneca*, when he was by *Claudius* baniſhed into the iſland of *Corſica*. The ſubject of the preſent epigram is the effigies of *Cæſonius* in wax, ſent either by *Martial* to his friend *Ovidius*, or by *Ovidius* to the poet. *Cæſonius* himſelf died, it ſeems, before this time in exile. After his conſulſhip, he was ſent into *Africa*, to govern that province, whither *Ovidius* refuſed to follow him; but, like a true friend, he attended him, when diſgraced and condemned to baniſhment; a ſignal inſtance of fidelity and friendſhip, and worthy of being by ſo great a poet tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity.

(31) *Martial. l.* vii.

inſtruments of his tyranny, aſſembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late tranſactions. To the people likewiſe he addreſſed an edict upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſhed the ſeveral evidences againſt the conſpirators, with their own confeſſions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged, and that *Nero*, merely to ſatiate his cruelty and out of baſe fear, had ſacrificed ſo many illuſtrious citizens.

The mean flattery of the ſenate.

In the ſenate, where the moſt abject flattery prevailed, every particular, the more ſenſibly he was affected with inward grief for the loſs of his friends or relations, the more outward joy and congratulations he expreſſed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thankſgivings and oblations ſhould be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the ſun, who having a chapel in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conſpirators; that the circenſian games ſhould be ſolemniſed with extraordinary pomp; that the month of *April*, in which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould thenceforth bear the name of *Nero*; that a temple ſhould be erected to the goddeſs *Salus* or *Safety*, in the place whence *Scevinus* had taken the dagger, *&c.* The dagger itſelf was by *Nero* dedicated in the capitol, with this inſcription, *To* Jupiter *the avenger* (P). Such was the iſſue of this conſpiracy, which to the ſame moment owed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, its beginning, progreſs, and perfection, and was with faithful ſilence and ſecrecy concealed in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly framed, amongſt thoſe of every condition, ſex, and age, till it was accidentally diſcovered in the manner we have related.

Nero *betakes himſelf again to his harp.*

Nero, now delivered from all fear, betook himſelf again to his harp. As the time approached for diſputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the ſenate, to prevent *Nero* from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of muſic, and alſo the crown of eloquence. But the emperor anſwered,

(P) The dagger was inſcribed to *Jupiter the avenger*, *Jovi vindici*; words, ſays our hiſtorian, which, at that time, were not minded. But, upon the revolt of *Julius Vindex*, which afterwards happened, an augury and preſage of approaching vengeance was drawn from them. *Tacitus* tells us, that he found, in the journals of the ſenate, that *Cerealis Anicius*, conſul elect, when it came to his vote, moved, that a temple ſhould in all ſpeed be raiſed at the public charge, and conſecrated to the deified *Nero*; a motion which he really meant as a compliment, to one who was intitled to divine worſhip; but from thence too was inferred an omen of his approaching fate; ſince to princes divine honours were not paid, till they finiſhed their mortal courſe (32).

(32) *Tacit. c.* 74.

That

That he needed not their partiality; ſince he himſelf was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the juſt determination of the judges, purchaſe the praiſe and recompence of his ſkill. He appeared therefore publicly upon the ſtage, and there rehearſed a poem of his own compoſing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would diſplay all his ſtudies, for theſe were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongſt the common harpers and minſtrels, contended with them for the prize, with ſuch eagerneſs and anxiety, that he never ventured to ſit down, however fatigued, that being contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the harp, nor to ſpit, nor to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent and his hands lifted up, according to the cuſtom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of *Rome* applauded him with loud ſhouts and clapping of hands, from an utter inſenſibility, ſays our hiſtorian, of the crying reproach, which diſgraced the *Roman* empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of *Italy*, who ſtill retained the ſevere manners of the antients, and ſuch as came from remote provinces, and attended then at *Rome* upon embaſſies, or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the ſovereign of *Rome* thus debaſing himſelf upon the ſtage, and much leſs join thoſe, who applauded this his ſhameful debaſement. They were therefore frequently beaten by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters among the croud to obſerve the faces of the ſpectators [d].

He appears on the public ſtage as a competitor for the prizes.

Nero, encouraged with the applauſe of the multitude, appeared thenceforth almoſt every day on the ſtage, inviting, not only the ſenators and knights, but likewiſe the populace and the whole rabble of *Rome*, to hear him, though he performed for the moſt part in the theatre, which he had built in the palace. He often kept the audience, not only the whole day, but the night too; for till he was tired and gave over, no one was allowed to depart upon any occaſion, however neceſſary and urging: inſomuch, that women are ſaid to have been delivered in the theatre, and ſeveral perſons ſo tired, that, finding the gates of the palace ſhut, they either leaped privately over the wall, or, in order to be carried out, pretended to be in a ſwoon [e]; ſome, by never ſtirring night nor day from their ſeats, were ſeized with mortal diſtempers, which, however, they dreaded leſs than the prince's reſentment, which they unavoidably incurred by their abſence: beſides the ſeveral concealed and private obſervers, employed to mark the carriage of the audience,

Appears frequently on the ſtage, and tires the audience.

[d] TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 5. [e] SUET. c. 23.

there were numbers of open ſpies, who publicly ſet down the names of ſuch as were preſent, obſerved their faces, and watched all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or diſſatisfaction in every one preſent: the vulgar were immediately puniſhed by the ſoldiery for the leaſt diſattention; towards perſons of rank the emperor's reſentment was for the preſent ſmothered, but vented at laſt in a more dreadful manner. We are told, that *Veſpaſian*, afterwards emperor, was not only bitterly reproached by *Phœbus*, *Nero*'s freedman, but charged as a criminal, for having nodded while the emperor was ſinging: this diſattention would have coſt him his life, had not his friends, men of great rank and merit, employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf. This year the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero*'s wife, filled *Rome* in appearance with grief and mourning, but in reality with much joy; for ſhe was no leſs abhorred, than her huſband, on account of her lewdneſs and cruelty. She was killed by *Nero* himſelf with a kick on the belly, while ſhe was big with child, for finding fault with him, as *Suetonius* tells us, upon his coming home late [f]; or becauſe ſhe ventured to rally him, as we read in *Dion Caſſius* [g], upon his ſkill and addreſs in chariot-driving. Her body was not burnt according to the *Roman* cuſtom; but, after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed and repoſited in the ſepulchre of the *Julian* family. Her obſequies were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp, and her panegyric pronounced from the public roſtrum by the emperor himſelf [h]. *Pliny* aſſures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral, than *Arabia Felix* produced in a year [i]. She conſtantly kept and carried about with her, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited [k], five hundred aſſes, and daily bathed in their milk for the preſervation of her beauty. Upon the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* deſigned to marry *Antonia*, the daughter of *Claudius* and his own ſiſter by adoption; but ſhe declined the match, and was on that account by his orders put to death, as if ſhe had been concerned in a conſpiracy, probably that of *Piſo* [l]. Soon after he married *Statilia Meſſalina*, the widow of the late conſul *Atticus Veſtinus*, and deſcended from *Statilius Taurus*, who had been twice conſul in the reign of *Auguſtus*. She too, as appears from ſome antient medals [m], was honoured with the title of *Auguſta*.

Veſpaſian in danger for his diſattention.

The death of Poppæa.

Not long after the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* doomed to deſtruction two of the greateſt men in *Rome*, *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*, the former for his great wealth and the exemplary gravity of his

Junius Silanus *condemned.*

[f] Suet. c. 35. [g] Dio. l. lxii. p. 71. [h] Tacit. c. 6. Suet. c. 35. Dio. p. 71. [i] Plin. l. xii. c. 18. [k] Dio. l. lxi. p. 72. [l] Suet. c. 35. [m] Goltz. p. 46.

manners;

manners; the latter, becauſe he was related to the *Cæſars*, and, for his modeſty and other eminent qualities, judged by the *Roman* people worthy of the empire. *Caſſius* was blind, very aged, and led a retired life, as did likewiſe *Silanus*, though in the prime of his youth, having from the late bloody doom of his uncle *Torquatus*, who had aſſumed the port of a prince, learnt to ſhun all outward appearance of grandeur. However, the very ſame imputations, which had been formerly objected to his uncle, were urged againſt him; viz. that he aſpired at the ſovereign power, affected more majeſty and ſtate than became a private citizen, kept about him men with the title of principal ſecretaries, procurators, auditors of the revenues, treaſurers, &c. names and offices of imperial grandeur, which he already perſonated: imputations utterly falſe and groundleſs. To *Caſſius Nero* objected, that amongſt the images of his anceſtors he preſerved in high reverence that of *Caius Caſſius*, thus inſcribed, *The leader of the party.* At the ſame time, he ſuborned certain perſons to forge an accuſation againſt *Lepida*, the wife of *Caſſius* and aunt to *Silanus*, as if ſhe had been guilty of inceſt with her nephew, and had practiſed magical rites of a miſchievous tendency. Againſt *Caſſius* and *Silanus* the ſenate pronounced ſentence of perpetual baniſhment, but referred the puniſhment of *Lepida* to the judgment of the emperor. *Caſſius* was tranſported into *Sardinia*, and, in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpared. *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the iſland of *Naxos*, was conveyed to *Oſtia*, and afterwards confined in *Barium*, a city of *Apulia*, where a centurion, commiſſioned to put him to death, laying hold of him, adviſed him to cut his veins. *Silanus* anſwered, that he was not fond of life; but that no executioner ſhould have the glory of putting him to death. Hereupon the centurion ordered his men to ſecure him; but *Silanus*, who was a young man of great ſtrength, reſolute and daring, though deſtitute of arms, made a vigorous reſiſtance, till he fell by the ſword of the centurion, under a multitude of wounds, all received before, like a brave man, who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle[n]. With no leſs intrepidity died *Lucius Vetus*, and his mother-in-law *Sextia*, with *Pellutia* his daughter. *Nero* had long hated them, as ſtanding reproaches upon him for the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, the huſband of *Pollutia* and ſon-in-law to *Vetus*. He therefore ſuborned a freedman of *Vetus* to accuſe him, and then ſent a guard of ſoldiers to ſeize him at one of his ſeats in the neighbourhood of *Formiæ*. Hereupon his daughter *Pollutia* flew to *Naples*, where the emperor then was; and being

And Caſſius Longinus.

Several other perſons of diſtinction condemned.

[n] TACIT. c. 7, 8.

denied

denied acceſs to him, watched at the gates of his houſe, till ſhe had an opportunity of beſeeching him to hear the defence of an innocent man, and not to ſacrifice, upon the depoſition of a treacherous ſlave, one who had formerly been his collegue in the conſulſhip. But in the end, being convinced, that the implacable tyrant was not to be ſoftened with ſupplications, ſhe returned to her father, and acquainted him, that he muſt baniſh all hope, and with intrepidity meet a fate, which he could not avoid. At the ſame time, tidings arrived, that the ſenate was haſtening his trial, and proceeding to a terrible and mercileſs ſentence. Hereupon he diſtributed amongſt his domeſtics whatever ſums of money were then in his poſſeſſion, and at the ſame time ordered them to remove and appropriate to themſelves the rich furniture of his villa. Then retiring, with his mother-in-law *Sextia* and his daughter *Pollutia*, into a private apartment, they all three opened their veins in one and the ſame chamber, with one and the ſame inſtrument; and being covered for decency with a ſingle garment, they were conveyed into a warm bath, where they all three bled to death, the father's eyes being the whole time fixed upon his daughter, thoſe of *Sextia* on her grand-daughter, and hers upon both: they all prayed with emulation for a ſpeedy end; each wiſhed to expire firſt, and leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, though haſtening to die: and fortune obſerved the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt expiring firſt, and the youngeſt laſt. After their death the ſervile ſenate was for pronouncing them guilty of high treaſon, and having their bodies dragged through the public ſtreets, and thrown into the *Tiber*; but *Nero* interpoſed, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the puniſhment, which they had voluntarily undergone [o]. *P. Gallus*, a *Roman* knight, formerly intimate with *Fenius Rufus* and a friend to *Vetus*, was baniſhed. To the freedman the accuſer, a place was aſſigned in the theatre among the officers of the tribunes of the people. As the name of *April* had been already changed into that of *Nero*, the name of *May* into that of *Claudius*, ſo was the name of *June* now changed into that of *Germanicus*, *Cornelius Orfitus* moving, that the name of *June* ſhould be aboliſhed, ſince two of the *Junii Torquati*, already executed for treaſon, had rendered it abominable [p]. This year the country of *Campania* was ravaged with dreadful tempeſts and violent whirl-winds; whole villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcattered, *&c.* At the ſame time, a terrible peſtilence raged at *Rome*, and ſwept away in a ſhort ſpace above thirty thouſand perſons of all ranks and conditions. The ſenators and

Campania ravaged with dreadful tempeſts.

[o] Idem, c. 10, 11. [p] Idem, c. 12.

knights

knights were leſs bewailed, as our hiſtorian obſerves, ſince by a contagion common to all, they eſcaped falling by the cruelty of the prince. *Nero*, after ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny, ſhewed this year ſome compaſſion upon the inhabitants of *Lions*, whom he preſented with a large ſum to repair the damage their city had ſuffered by accidental fire (R).

IN the following conſulſhip of *C. Suetonius Paulinus* and *C. Lucius Teleſinus*, *Soſianus*, who had been condemned, as we have related above, to perpetual baniſhment, for certain virulent verſes by him compoſed againſt *Nero*, having inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of one *Pammenes*, who was an exile in the ſame place, and celebrated for his knowledge in the myſteries of aſtrology, obſerved that meſſengers were daily arriving to conſult him, and at the ſame time learnt, that from *P. Anteius* a yearly ſtipend was allowed him. Upon this intelligence he intercepted letters from *Anteius*, and even ſtole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and a ſcheme drawn concerning the birth and fortune of *Oſtorius Scapula*; which he no ſooner had in his poſſeſſion, than he wrote to the emperor, that he had mighty diſcoveries to communicate; for *Anteius* and *Oſtorius* were meditating ſome ſudden attempt upon the ſtate, and diving into their own deſtiny, and that of *Cæſar*. Light veſſels were immediately diſpatched away, and *Soſianus* with all poſſible expedition tranſported to *Rome*; where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery, *Anteius* ſealed his laſt teſtament, being warned by *Tigellinus* to loſe no time, and then ſwallowed a draught of poiſon; but growing impatient of its ſlow operation, he haſtened his death by opening his veins. *Oſtorius* was then at an eſtate of his own on the borders of *Liguria*, whither a centurion was ſent with orders to kill him with all diſpatch. For *Oſtorius* was a man of extraordinary

The death of Anteius.

(R) The burning of *Lions* happened, according to *Seneca* (33), a hundred years after it was founded Hence *Lipſius* concludes, that this misfortune befel that flouriſhing colony in the fifty-eighth year of the *Chriſtian* æra, orders for founding it having been given in the conſulſhip of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, forty-three years before the ſaid æra. But either theſe orders were not immediately put in execution, or the burning did not happen ſo early, ſince all the letters, in which *Seneca* ſpeaks of this calamity, are by the beſt chronologers thought to have been written in the ſixty-fourth or ſixty-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra. That *Nero* ſhould defer relieving the inhabitants for the ſpace of ſeven years, as *Lipſius* pretends, is altogether improbable. This city ſhewed its gratitude to *Nero*, by ſteadily adhering to his party, after all the other cities of *Gaul* had declared for the revolters (34).

(33) *Senec. ep.* 91. (34) *Dio. l.* xlvi. *p.* 323. *Noris Cenſ.* *p.* 292.

valour,

valour, of prodigious ſtrength, great experience in war, eminently qualified for the command of an army, and had been diſtinguiſhed in *Britain*, while he ſerved there under his father, with a civic crown: hence *Nero*, who ever ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, lived under continual dread, fearing that brave officer ſhould take arms againſt him, was glad of any pretence to get rid of him. The centurion, having beſet all the avenues to the villa, acquainted *Oſtorius* with his orders from the emperor, which were no ſooner ſignified to him, than turning againſt himſelf that bravery, which he had ſo often exerted againſt the enemy, he opened all his veins without betraying the leaſt concern or diſmay; but as the blood flowed ſlowly, he diſpatched himſelf with a poinard, ordering one of his ſlaves to hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthening the ſlave's hand with his own, he ran his throat upon the fatal ſteel. Within the compaſs of a few days, *Annæus Mella*, *Cercalis Anicius*, *Rufus Criſpinus*, and *Caius Petronius*, underwent the ſame bloody doom. *Criſpinus* had been captain of the prætorian guards under *Claudius*, and diſtinguiſhed, though only a knight, with the ornaments of the conſulſhip; but lately baniſhed, as privy to the conſpiracy, into *Sardinia*, where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he ſlew himſelf. *Mella* was brother to *Gallio* and *Seneca*, and the father of *Lucan*. He was accuſed by one of *Lucan*'s intimate friends, named *Fabius Romanus*, who feigned, that the father and ſon were equally concerned in the conſpiracy; and having counterfeited letters to this purpoſe in the hand of *Lucan*, ſhewed them to *Nero*, who ordered them to be carried to the accuſed, whoſe immenſe riches were his only crime. *Mella* no ſooner ſaw them, than he opened his veins, and by a voluntary death anticipated his ſentence: in his will he bequeathed immenſe ſums to *Tigellinus* and his ſon-in-law *Coſſutianus Capito*, in order to ſecure the remainder. *Cercalis* likewiſe became his own executioner, but fell unpitied, becauſe he had formerly diſcovered a plot againſt *Caligula*. *Caius Petronius*, to whom ſome learned critics aſcribe the fragments, equally elegant and obſcene, which have reached our times, was a man intirely abandoned to all manner of voluptuouſneſs. He waſted the day in ſleep and the night in revels: as others had by induſtry acquired a name and character, *Petronius* was by his ſignal ſloth and indolence raiſed to notice and fame: he indulged himſelf in all the gaieties and delights of life; but at the ſame time had the prudence to keep within bounds, and not ſquander away, like many others, his eſtate. Neither was he a ſlave to his groſſer appetites; but exceeding curious and refined in his luxury: his behaviour was extremely obliging and polite; his wit,

Of Oſtorius, Mella, Anicius, *&c.*

The character of Petronius.

wit, in which he excelled all men of his time, natural and artleſs; and all his actions accompanied with a certain air of negligence. However, he diſcharged the proconſular government of *Bithynia*, and ſoon after the conſulſhip itſelf, with great reputation, ſhewing himſelf in both theſe employments equal to the management of the greateſt affairs. Then returning to his former vices, he was by *Nero* admitted to a great intimacy, nothing appearing to the emperor elegant and polite, but what was recommended to him by the taſte and approbation of *Petronius*. This *Tigellinus* could not bear, and therefore to get rid of one, who in credit was his rival, and in the ſcience of pleaſures his ſuperior, had recourſe to the cruelty and jealouſy of the prince, two paſſions, to which all others gave room; accuſed *Petronius* of having lived in great intimacy with the conſpirator *Scevinus*; ſuborned one of his ſlaves to confirm the charge, and precluded him from all means of defence. *Nero* happened at that time to be upon the road to *Campania*, and *Petronius*, having accompanied him as far as *Cumæ*, was there by his orders put under arreſt: whereupon without flattering himſelf with vain hopes, or condeſcending to intreaties, he reſolved to prevent his ſentence by a voluntary death, which he underwent in a manner altogether new, but well ſuited to the life he had led; for having ordered his veins to be cut, he did not ſhew any eagerneſs to put an end to his agonies, but directed them to be cloſed again, and then opened by intervals, juſt as his fancy moved him, diſcourſing the whole time with his friends, not upon ſerious ſubjects, as if he aimed at the glory of conſtancy in braving death, but upon indifferent matters, hearkening with attention to gay epigrams, love-verſes, and entertaining ſtories: ſome of his ſlaves he rewarded with bounties, others he puniſhed with ſtripes; he even diverted himſelf with walking out, even refreſhed himſelf with ſleep, that his death, though in reality violent, might appear altogether natural. In his laſt will he flattered neither *Nero* nor *Tigellinus*, nor any of the great men in power, as moſt others had done; but, under feigned names of harlots and catamites, deſcribed the ſecret abominations of the emperor, tranſmitted to him this picture of himſelf carefully ſealed, and then broke his ſignet, that it might not after his death become a ſnare to the innocent. *Nero*, greatly amazed to find all his nocturnal and moſt private impurities thus brought to light, after having long conſidered with himſelf by what means *Petronius* had come to the knowledge of them, fixed at length his ſuſpicion upon *Silia*, the wife of a ſenator, one privy to all his debaucheries, and very intimate with *Petronius*. She was therefore doomed to baniſhment, for not concealing what ſhe had ſeen

His calm and uncommon manner of dying.

and undergone in the prince's nocturnal revels. At the same time, *Numicius Thermus* was put to death, for no other crime, but because a freedman belonging to him accused *Tigellinus* of treason; which offence the informer expiated under the most exquisite torments [P].

Thrasea *and* Soranus *accused.*

After the slaughter of so many illustrious men, *Nero* at length attempted, says our historian, to extirpate virtue itself, in the persons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thrasea Pætus*, long since the objects of his hatred. *Thrasea* had withdrawn from the senate, as we have related above, when the affair of *Agrippina* came under debate there; at the sports, called *Juvenales*, he could not approve of the emperor's acting and singing upon the stage; when the senate was about to condemn to death *Antistius* the prætor, for a virulent satire by him composed against *Nero*, he proposed a mitigation of the sentence, and carried it; when divine honours were decreed to *Poppæa*, he absented himself, and declined attending her funeral; he had not now in three years once set his foot in the senate, and, tho' invested with the quindecemviral priesthood, had never made oblations for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of his heavenly voice, *&c.* These were the crimes urged against *Thrasea* by *Capito Cossutianus* and *Marcellus Epirus*, two informers of great acrimony and vehemence. *Ostorius Sabinus*, a *Roman* knight, took upon him the task of accusing *Bareas Soranus*: the crimes imputed to him were his friendship with *Plautus*, murdered by *Nero*'s orders in *Asia*, and his intrigues with the *Asiatics*, while he governed them in quality of proconsul, in order to engage them in a revolt. But his real crimes were, as *Tacitus* informs us, his having governed *Asia* with signal vigilance and justice, his opening the port of *Ephesus*, a work mightily applauded by the *Asiatics*, and his leaving the inhabitants of *Pergamus* unpunished for opposing *Acratus*, one of *Nero*'s freedmen, when he would have stripped their city of all its pictures and statues. The juncture *Nero* chose for destroying these two great men was, that of the arrival of *Tiridates* to receive the crown of *Armenia*, either because the public attention was then wholly engaged in that new sight, or because *Nero* meant on that occasion to display his greatness and power by the slaughter of the two most illustrious men in the whole empire. While the whole city flocked out to see a foreign king, *Thrasea* received orders not to attend his entry. Hereupon he composed a memorial to *Nero*, beseeching the emperor to acquaint him with the allegations against him, and offering to vindicate himself, were he but apprised of the charge.

[P] Tacit. c. 11—19.

Nor

Nero received the memorial greedily, hoping that *Thraſea*, under the apprehenſion of his impending doom, might have writ ſomething tending to the glory of the prince and his own diſcredit; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading the countenance, the great ſpirit, and free ſpeech of a man ſo generally eſteemed and revered, he ordered the ſenate to be ſummoned. In the mean time, *Thraſea*, having aſſembled his friends and relations to conſult with them, whether he ſhould attempt a defence or be ſilent, *Ruſticus Arulanus*, a young man of great ſpirit and one of the tribunes of the people, who aſſiſted at the conſultation, offered to thwart the decree of the ſenate, by interpoſing againſt it. But *Thraſea* would by no means allow him to purſue ſuch methods, as would in the end prove fatal to him. The next day, two cohorts of the prætorian guards ſurrounded the temple of *Venus*, where the ſenate was to meet; all the avenues to it were beſet with men in their gowns, the common dreſs of the city, but armed with ſwords, which they took no care to conceal; the great ſquares and ſeveral temples were filled with bands of ſoldiers under arms. Through theſe the ſenators paſſed to their aſſembly, where, after a ſpeech ſent to them by *Nero*, and read by his quæſtor, in which he ſufficiently declared what he required of them, they condemned *Thraſea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, but granted them the choice of their own deaths. The charge brought againſt *Servilia* was, that ſhe had conſulted the magicians, which ſhe owned; but declared at the ſame time, that her conſultation had been confined to the conſervation of her own family, whether the wrath of *Nero* might not be appeaſed, and whether no tragical judgment would follow the cognizance of the ſenate. Farther than this ſhe had not inquired; but neverthelefs ſhe was brought into the ſenate, and there arraigned by *Oſtorius Sabinus*, who queſtioned her, whether ſhe had not turned into money all her ornaments, and even ſtripped from her neck her jewels, to defray the expence of magic rites and ſacrifices? To this queſtion young *Servilia*, for ſhe was under twenty, embracing the altars with a flood of tears, anſwered, that the whole of her conſultation had been to know, whether the emperor, and the fathers of the ſenate, would to her dear and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors, graciouſly afford protection and ſafety. With this view, ſaid ſhe, I preſented the diviners, men till now utterly unknown to me, with my jewels, apparel, and the other ornaments peculiar to my quality, as I would have preſented my blood and life, had my blood and life been required. But whatever this my proceeding was, my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger to it; and, if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent. Theſe words

The firmneſs of Thraſea.

They are both condemned by the ſenate.

The affecting ſpeech of Servilia *in the ſenate.*

alarmed *Soranus*, who interrupted her while ſhe was yet uttering them, crying out, that as ſhe was not ſuppoſed to be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, her cauſe ought to be disjointed from his; that his own fate, whatever it ſhould prove, he was ready to undergo, but hoped, that in the danger of the father they would not involve the innocent daughter. Having thus ſpoken, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him; but the conſul's lictors ſtepped between and prevented them[q].

Thraſea's *magnanimity in death.*

Sentence was no ſooner pronounced againſt the pretended criminals, than the quæſtor was diſpatched to acquaint *Thraſea* with it, who was then in his gardens, reaſoning there with *Demetrius*, a *Cynic* philoſopher, about the nature of the ſoul, and its departure from the body. While he was intent upon this diſcourſe, *Domitius Cecilianus*, one of his moſt intimate friends, arrived, and related to him what the ſenate had decreed. *Thraſea* heard him without betraying, either in his voice or countenance, the leaſt concern; only turning to his friends, who came with *Cecilianus*, he embraced them, took his laſt leave of them, and preſſed them forthwith to retire, leſt they ſhould for their unſeaſonable compaſſion be involved in the ſame fate. His wife *Arria* was very earneſt to follow the example of her mother, who bore the ſame name, and was wife to *Cecina Pætus*, with whom ſhe died, as we have related elſewhere. But *Thraſea* would not by any means allow her to ſhare in his lot, beſeeching her to preſerve her life, and not deprive her daughter of her only remaining refuge. He then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæſtor found him, and delivered to him in form the ſentence of the ſenate, which he immediately put in execution, retiring into his chamber with *Helvidius* his ſon-in-law, *Demetrius*, and the quæſtor, in whoſe preſence he ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood ſprung, he called the quæſtor nearer, and ſprinkling the floor with it, *Let us*, ſaid he to him, *make this libation to* Jupiter the Deliverer. *Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in ſuch times as require you to fortify your mind with examples of conſtancy.* After this, falling into grievous torments, occaſioned by the ſlow approaches of death, he turned towards *Demetrius*; but of the laſt words and particulars of this great man's death we are bereſt, by a lamentable chaſm in this laſt annal of our hiſtorian, and by the ſame misfortune robbed of the detail, which that inimitable writer left of the other remarkable incidents that happened during the remainder of this, and the whole two laſt years of *Nero*'s reign.

[q] Idem, c. 20—33.

This

This loſs we ſhall ſupply in the beſt manner we can with the accounts which have been tranſmitted to us by other writers, eſpecially *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius*; but as neither of them has deſcribed the particulars of the death of *Thraſea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, we cannot therein ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers.

SOON after the death of *Thraſea*, *Nero*, to divert the attention of the public from their domeſtic calamities, received *Tiridates* with all the pomp of majeſty and grandeur imaginable, and crowned him in one of the great ſquares king of *Armenia*. This was the moſt magnificent and pompous ceremony that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*; but as we have already deſcribed it in our hiſtory of the *Greater Armenia*, we ſhall only add here, that *Nero* allowed him, during his ſtay at *Rome*, eighty thouſand nummi a day, and loaded him, upon his departure, with preſents of immenſe value. The *Armenian*, who was a good courtier, had flattered the vain prince, and pretended to be raviſhed with his harmonious voice, and the ſkill he diſplayed in chariot-driving. After the coronation of *Tiridates*, *Nero* ſhut up the temple of *Janus*, in token of an univerſal peace, as appears from a medal dated the thirteenth year of his reign, which did not begin till the month of *October*, before which time, that is, in the month of *May*, the *Jews*, grievouſly oppreſſed by their governor, eſpecially *Florus*, had taken arms[r]. *Nero* ſolicited *Vologeſes*, brother to *Tiridates*, and king of the *Parthians*, to come likewiſe to *Rome*; but in vain, *Vologeſes* returning no other anſwer, than that *Nero* might, with leſs trouble, croſs the *Mediterranean* and come into *Aſia*, where he would endeavour to meet him. The emperor, piqued with this anſwer, reſolved to make war upon the *Parthian*; and with this view made mighty preparations; ordered the flower of the armies in *Illyricum*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, to begin their march towards the kingdom of *Albania*; and raiſed a new legion of *Italians*, each man ſix foot tall, which he called *the legion of* Alexander the Great[s]. Thus was ſize firſt required in a ſoldier by a prince brought up amongſt minſtrels, ſongſters, and charioteers, who, it ſeems, had no real deſign of employing his choſen legion, or any others, in military feats: for upon intelligence, that the *Parthian* king was inflexible, and prepared on his ſide for a vigorous defence, he thought it adviſeable to leave the glory of conqueſts and warlike exploits to others, and confine his ambition to the unprincely honour of playing, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage. As the time therefore of the *Olympic* games approached, he left *Italy*, and

Tiridates *crowned king of* Armenia *by* Nero.

[r] Vide P. PAGI, an. 71. [s] DIO. l. lxiii. p. 719. SUET. c. 19.

paſſed

paſſed over into *Greece*, with no other deſign, but to gain the reputation of the beſt harper, ſinger, acter, and charioteer, in the whole *Roman* empire. The *Greeks*, who ſurpaſſed all other nations in flattery, underſtanding that the emperor piqued himſelf upon his ſkill in playing upon the harp, had diſpatched embaſſadors to him with all the crowns deſigned by their ſeveral cities for ſuch players; which was ſo acceptable to *Nero*, that he not only gave their embaſſadors audience before any others, but admitted them to an entertainment, which he had prepared for his moſt intimate friends. On this occaſion one of them having begged him to ſing them a ſong, he immediately complied with his requeſt, and was ſo taken with their extravagant flattery, that he cried out, *The* Greeks *alone have a good ear; none but they underſtand muſic!* and a few days after ſet out for *Greece*, leading with him, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, ſuch multitudes, as might have eaſily reduced the *Parthians* and all the nations of the eaſt, had they not, like their general, been deſtitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, maſques, buſkins, and ſuch-like theatrical implements. With this army he imbarqued, and landing, at *Caſſiope*, he immediately began to ſing before the altar of *Jupiter Caſſius*. Thence he advanced into the heart of *Greece*, playing, ſinging, and acting in all the cities, through which he paſſed. But he chiefly exerted his ſkill at the *Olympic* games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the head of the empire was not aſhamed to appear, as a competitor, among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of muſic, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large preſents, either the judges, or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horſes, he was thrown off, and ſo hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was conſtrained to give over before he had finiſhed the career. However, as he inſiſted with the judges upon their excluding all caſual events and misfortunes, the prize was to his unexpreſſible ſatisfaction decreed him. When the games were over, *Nero* not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens and rich preſents, but reſtored the whole province of *Achaia* to its antient liberty, taking upon himſelf the office of crier, and ſolemnly proclaiming the freedom of the *Achæans* at *Corinth* on the day of the *Iſthmian* games: ſo that from this time the *Greeks* continued free from all manner of taxes, impoſitions, and tributes, governing themſelves by their own laws, till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who revoked all the privileges and exemptions granted them by *Nero*, as *Galba* obliged the judges to refund the vaſt ſums, with which the chanting emperor had preſented them. As the province of *Achaia* belonged to the ſenate and people,

Nero paſſes over into Greece.

Sings on the public ſtage, and drives a chariot at the Olympic *games.*

people, *Nero*, when he declared it free, beſtowed upon them in its room the iſland of *Sardinia* [t]. After this he travelled all over *Greece*, not prompted by the commendable curioſity of viſiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the unprincely ambition of diſplaying his ſkill and art in ſinging and playing upon the harp. He challenged every-where the beſt performers, and never failed, as we may well imagine, being declared victor; inſomuch, that he is ſaid to have gained in this progreſs above eighteen hundred prizes. He tranſmitted a particular account of each victory to the ſenate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public proceſſions, and to take care, that the ſame devotions were practiſed throughout the whole empire [u]. That there might remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their ſtatues to be pulled down, to be dragged through the ſtreets, and to be either daſhed to pieces, or thrown into the common ſewers [w].

Sings in moſt of the cities of Greece.

The *Greeks*, notwithſtanding the favours he beſtowed upon them, longed for his departure, his numerous train occaſioning a great dearth of proviſions, and almoſt a general famine. *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that *Xerxes*, who entered *Greece* in a hoſtile manner, putting all to fire and ſword, did not ſo grievouſly afflict that unhappy country, as *Nero*, who came as a friend, and with no other view, but to divert the inhabitants. He everywhere ſtripped the cities and temples of the few pictures, ſtatues, and other ornaments, which his officers had left them. The unfortunate province felt the effects, not only of his avarice, but likewiſe of his cruelty, of which *Philoſtratus* gives us the following inſtance: An actor in a tragedy at the *Iſthmian* games having ſung, ſo as to deſerve the chief applauſe, and refuſing, as he was better ſkilled in muſic than in the courtly art of flattery, to lower his voice, which quite drowned *Nero*'s, the emperor, tranſported with rage, cauſed him to be ſtrangled on the ſtage in the ſight of all *Greece* [x]. No wonder that his art everywhere triumphed, when it was backed by ſo much cruelty. Loaded with the crowns and prizes he had won, he went to conſult the oracle at *Delphos*, and was warned by the pretended deity of the place, *To beware of ſeventy-three*, which, not reflecting on *Galba*'s age, he imagined to be the term of his life, and conceived ſo great aſſurance of his living and enjoying an uninterrupted happineſs till that age, that having ſoon after loſt many things of great value by ſhipwreck, he confidently told

Conſults the oracle of Delphos.

[t] SUET. l. vi. c. 22. DIO. l. lxiii p. 719. PAUSAN. in Cor.
[u] APOLL. THY. l. v. c. 3. DIO. l. vi. p. 323. PAUSAN. ibid.
[w] SUET. c. 24 [x] PHILOS. ſtrat. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Bœot.

his

his friends, that the very fish would bring them again; nay, he was so possessed with this notion, that two years after, when the first tidings were brought him of the insurrections in several provinces, he was so far from being alarmed, that he seemed rather to rejoice at those disturbances, since they furnished him with a plausible pretence of seizing the estates of the inhabitants. The pythoness he presented with a large sum, which *Galba* not long after obliged her to pay back [y]. Thus *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*; but *Lucianus Samosatenus* [z], *Themistius* [a], and the emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate* [b], assure us, that the pythoness reviled him as an *Orestes*, an *Alcmæon*, two parricides who had murdered their mothers, without deigning to return him any further answer; which so provoked him, that he caused all the issues from the oracle to be stopt up; commanded several persons to be murdered in the temple, in order to profane it; stripped *Apollo*, or rather his priests, of the lands he possest at *Cyrrha*, in the neighbourhood of *Delphos*; and carried away with him five hundred statues of brass, which no tyrant before him had offered to remove. We are told, that, as he departed, *Apollo* snatched the crown from off his head, signifying thereby, as was afterwards interpreted, that he was not to wear it long [c]. He declined visiting *Athens*, which city was said to be haunted by the furies, and likewise *Lacedæmon*, abhorring the very name of *Lycurgus* and his laws [d]. This year, *Cestius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, being defeated on the eighth of *November* by the *Jews*, after he had raised the siege of *Jerusalem*, acquainted *Nero* with his overthrow; who thereupon appointed *Mucianus* governor of *Syria* in his room, and named *Flavius Vespasianus* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbid him his presence, and threatened him with destruction, for having nodded while the emperor was singing on the stage [e].

Vespasian *sent against the* Jews.

Before he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut the *Isthmus*, in order to open a communication between the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, and by that means prevent the frequent wrecks that happened on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. As the isthmus, or neck of land which parts the two seas, is scarce six miles over, *Julius Cæsar*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, had formed the same design; but dropt it, as we are told, upon their being assured, that by their undertaking, if it succeeded, whole countries would be drowned, by reason that the *Ionian* sea was much higher than

Nero *undertakes to cut through the isthmus of* Corinth.

[y] Suet. c. 40. Dio. p. 634. [z] Lucian Sam. Nero. dialog. [a] Themist. orat. quinque. p. 226. [b] Julian. p. 492. [c] Pausan. in Phoc. [d] Dio. l. lxiii. p. 721. [e] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 40. Tacit. annal. xvi. c. 31.

the

the *Ægean*. Beſides, at the firſt breaking of the earth, blood was ſaid to have iſſued, groans to have been heard, and frightful ſpectres ſeen [f]. But *Nero*, not crediting ſuch reports, and always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impoſſible, aſſembled his prætorian guards, encouraged them with large promiſes to undertake the work chearfully, and having ſolemnly prayed that the deſign might turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, without ſo much as mentioning the ſenate, he ordered the trumpets to ſound, and advanced at the head of his guards, ſinging and dancing, to the place where the work was to begin. There, with a golden pick-ax, which the governor of the province preſented to him, he pretended to ſet an example to others; but being tired after three ſtrokes, he carried away in a baſket the handful of earth he had moved, and poſted away to *Corinth*, as proud as if he had undergone the labours of *Hercules*. He ordered the priſoners from all parts to be tranſported into *Greece*, and ſuch as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to this work [g]. *Veſpaſian* ſent him ſix thouſand *Jews*, whom he had already taken priſoners. Theſe were, according to *Joſephus*, employed in the laborious work of hewing the rocks, while the prætorian guards only removed the rubbiſh [h]. But either the inſurmountable difficulties that occurred, or the troubles, which began to break out, or were apprehended, about this time, obliged *Nero* to drop the enterpriſe, though he was with ſuch ardor and eagerneſs bent upon the execution of it, that he had rather have renounced the harp for ever, than ſeen his favourite project thus defeated [i]. *Drops that enterpriſe.*

THE following year, *L. Capito* and *C. Rufus* being conſuls, *Nero*, continuing ſtill in *Greece*, and wanting money to ſupply his prodigality and defray his exorbitant expences, plundered firſt the province of *Achaia*, putting, under various pretences, ſuch of the *Greeks* to death as were thought wealthy, and ſeizing their eſtates. From *Achaia* he extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, where all the riches of the known world centred, injoining *Helius*, a freedman of the emperor *Claudius*, whom he had left governor of the city, to ſeize, under ſome pretence or other, the eſtates of all the wealthy citizens, to confiſcate their effects, and turn them into money. *Nero* had taken with him into *Achaia*, ſuch of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order as were any ways conſiderable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a deſign to diſpatch them at a diſtance from *Rome*, and con- *He plunders* Greece.

[f] PLIN l. vi. c 4. DIO. p. 722. [g] SUET. c. 31. LUCIAN. Nero, p. 143. [h] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l iii. c. 36. [i] LUCIAN. Nero dial. ſeu de Foſſione Iſthmi, p. 143.

ſequently with more ſafety and leſs noiſe; ſo that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of ſome of her moſt illuſtrious citizens, and orders to *Helius* to ſeize their eſtates. For this year *Nero* iſſued an edict, declaring, contrary to the cuſtom which had hitherto obtained, the eſtates confiſcated even of thoſe who anticipated their ſentence by a voluntary death. Of the many great men who ſuffered this year, none was more generally lamented than the brave *Domitius Corbulo*. He was equal, ſays *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, and experience, to the moſt renowned commanders of antient *Rome*, and at the ſame time a true pattern of the modeſty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*. He was adored on account of his unbounded generoſity, beneficence, and good-nature, even by the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name, who would readily have ſubmitted to *Rome*, had *Rome* been governed by a *Corbulo*. *Nero*, well acquainted with his commendable qualities, honour, and integrity, repoſed in him an intire confidence, and inveſted him with an unlimited power in the eaſt, where he performed thoſe feats, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of *Armenia*. Though he commanded a powerful army, intirely at his devotion, was by all judged the moſt worthy of the ſovereign power in the whole *Roman* empire, and might have eaſily ſeized it, as he was equally adored by *Romans* and foreigners of every rank and condition; yet he never entertained the leaſt thought of aſſuming it. This inviolable fidelity to ſo cruel a tyrant, ſo worthleſs a prince, was the only thing, which either *Romans* or foreigners ever blamed in him. To this *Tiridates* alluded, when ſpeaking of him to *Nero*, he told the emperor, that *in* Corbulo *he had an excellent ſlave*. But this year, *Nero*, having reſolved to extirpate virtue from off the face of the earth, wrote a letter to *Corbulo*, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip imaginable, ſtyling him his father, his benefactor, his only refuge, *&c.* In the letter he invited him into *Greece*, pretending an eager deſire to ſee one, to whom he was ſo highly indebted. *Corbulo*, judging of the emperor's ſincerity from the uprightneſs of his own heart, immediately ſet out for *Greece*. But *Nero*, the inſtant he was informed of his arrival at *Cenchreæ*, the port of *Corinth* on the ſide of the *Ægean* ſea, diſpatched orders for his immediate execution; which were no ſooner communicated to the brave general, than, drawing his ſword, he plunged it into his breaſt, ſaying, that *he well deſerved to die*, no doubt, on account of his credulity and inviolable attachment to ſo vile a monſter [1]. Such was the end of the greateſt commander and

The character of Corbulo.

His death.

[1] Dio. p. 690.

the

the beſt man in the whole *Roman* empire. He was beloved by the emperor, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, for his unſhaken fidelity; but hated for his virtue, of all crimes the greateſt. He left behind him an account of his wars and other tranſactions in the eaſt, which are frequently quoted by *Pliny*, but have not reached our times [m]. The ſame year, *Annæus Cornutus*, one of the moſt learned men in *Rome*, was baniſhed and confined to a deſert iſland, for no other crime, but the ſtudy of philoſophy and profeſſion of virtue. The famous poets *Lucan* and *Perſius* had been his diſciples; for he took great pleaſure in inſtructing the *Roman* youth in the principles of the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, of which ſect he was himſelf. *Perſius* had a great veneration and eſteem for him; whence he left him by his laſt will, for he died in the ninth year of *Nero*'s reign, ſeven hundred volumes, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which he reſtored to the heirs of the deceaſed, being ſatisfied with the books. He is ſaid to have adviſed *Perſius*'s mother to ſuppreſs ſome poetical compoſitions, which her ſon had wrote in his youth [n] (S). *Nero*, upon

[m] Vide Voss. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. & NORRIS. de Cænotaph. Piſana. p. 334. Ven. 1681. [n] DIO. p. 715. Perſ. vit. p. 495.

(S) *Dion Caſſius* tell us, (35), that *Nero* having a mind to write the *Roman* hiſtory in verſe from the foundation of the city to his own time, for he had ſome genius for poetry, and being told, that he could not compriſe it in fewer than four hundred books, conſulted *Cornutus* upon that ſubject, who anſwered, that the number of books was too great, and that no one would read them. This *Nero* did not reſent, believing *Cornutus* only meant, that no one would read them on account of their number. But one urging, that the books of *Chryſippus* were more numerous, and yet generally read, *The books of* Chryſippus, replied *Cornutus*, *contain many uſeful precepts, which ſerve to improve both our manners and underſtanding.* This anſwer provoked *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that he was for having him immediately put to death; but, ſeveral of *Cornutus*'s friends and diſciples interpoſing in his behalf, he was only baniſhed. *Aulus Gellius* quotes certain comments upon *Virgil* done by *Annæus Cornutus*, whom he ſtyles an *illuſtrious and learned grammarian* (36), and likewiſe his ſecond book upon the figures of rhetoric (37). *Macrobius* too ſpeaks of *Annæus Cornutus* as a man well ſkilled in the *Greek* tongue. *The treatiſe of the theology of the* Greeks, which has reached our times, and paſſes under the name of *Phornutus*, is by *Theodoret* and others aſcribed to *Cornutus*. From this work *Porphyrius* pretends, that *Origen* learnt to explain the ſcripture by allegories (38). It is certain, that *Origen* often makes uſe of the

(35) *Dio. l.* lxii. *p.* 715. (36) *Aul. Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (37) *Idem, l.* ix. *c* 10. (38) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19.

Cruelties exerciſed in Rome *by* Helius *the freedman.*

upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the government of the city, as we have hinted above, to *Helius*, a freedman of the late emperor, inveſting him with an abſolute power over all perſons, ſenators not excepted, whom he was allowed to baniſh, condemn, and execute, without ſo much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his conſent. And truly *Helius*, aſſiſted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no leſs dreadful havock of the *Roman* nobility at *Rome*, than his maſter did in *Achaia*. Virtue, quality, or wealth were unpardonable crimes, and puniſhed with death. Few noble families eſcaped the cruelty of the emperor, or the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if poſſible, than *Nero* himſelf, cut off the neareſt relations, and even the children of thoſe he condemned; which alarmed the city to ſuch a degree, that a general inſurrection was apprehended. Hereupon *Helius* diſpatched meſſengers after meſſengers to the emperor, repreſenting to him the ſtate of affairs, and preſſing him to return to the capital with all poſſible expedition. As *Nero* put off his departure from day to day, and returned no other anſwer to *Helius*, than that if he truly loved him, he could not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in *Greece*; but would rather wiſh, that *Nero* might return worthy of himſelf; the freedman left *Rome* unexpectedly, and arriving in ſeven days in *Greece*, ſo terrified the emperor with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general diſcontent that reigned in the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had ſtayed at leaſt a year, and imbarqued for *Italy*. In his paſſage his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, the ſhips, laden with all the wealth of *Greece*, caſt away, and he himſelf in imminent danger of being loſt with them. But with much ado he eſcaped, and upon his landing cauſed many of his numerous retinue to be inhumanly maſſacred, for having imprudently betrayed joy while he was in danger of periſhing [o].

Nero *returns to* Italy.

His entry into Naples, Rome, *&c.*

He entered *Naples* through a breach in the wall, according to the cuſtom of the victors in the *Olympic*

[o] Dio. p. 723. Suet. c. 23.

writings of *Cornutus* to prove the tenets of the *Chriſtian* religion [39]. But whether this be the *Annæus Cornutus*, who was baniſhed by *Nero*, is much queſtioned by the critics [40]. *Suidas* likewiſe mentions a philoſopher,, named *Cornutus*, and born at *Leptis* in *Lybia*, who, according to him, came to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, and wrote ſeveral philoſophical tracts. This we take to be the *Annæus Cornutus* mentioned by *Dion Caſſius*; but *Suidas* is miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to have been put to death by *Nero*.

(39) *Vide Hier. ep.* 84. (40) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 26.

games,

games, and in the ſame manner *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of *Auguſtus*, pompouſly attired, having with him in the ſame chariot another player upon the harp, by name *Diodorus*, wearing an *Olympic* crown on his head, and carrying a *Pythic* crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp and richly dreſſed, eighteen hundred perſons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inſcription, ſignifying where it had been won, the name of the perſon whom the emperor had overcome, the ſubject and title of the ſong, and ſuch-like important circumſtances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out by way of deriſion, that they were the ſoldiers of *Auguſtus*, and claimed a ſhare in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the *via ſacra* the proceſſion turned to the circus, which *Nero* entered through a breach, having cauſed one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the *Velabrum* and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of *Apollo*, where he diſplayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden houſe, and there hung up round his bed, upon the many ſtatues which he had erected to himſelf in the habit and attire of a harper. The remaining part of this year he ſpent in playing upon the harp, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage, no one of the nobility daring to abſent themſelves, upon any pretence whatſoever, from his theatrical repreſentations, though they often laſted, not only the whole day, but the night too. We are told, that he perſonated with great art *Canace* in labour, *Oreſtes* murdering his mother, *Oedipus* pulling out his own eyes, and *Hercules* phrenetic; in which laſt repreſentation a raw ſoldier, then upon guard, ſeeing the emperor bound in chains, as the argument required, and ſuppoſing it real violence, ran in, ſword in hand, to his relief, and cleared the ſtage, which did not a little divert the weary and tired out multitude. While he was acting in a tragedy, the battoon happening to fall out of his hand, he betrayed ſuch concern, and fear of forfeiting the reputation of an able actor, that he could not purſue his part, till one of his fellow actors aſſured him upon his oath, that not one of the audience had taken the leaſt notice of ſo ſmall a fault, and merely caſual. To preſerve his voice, he uſed to lie conſtantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his ſtomach, took frequently vomitory and purging potions, and abſtained from all ſorts of fruit, and meats reputed prejudicial to his voice: nay, he gave over at length, through fear of hurting his voice, making ſpeeches to the ſoldiery or ſenate, contenting himſelf to ſignify his pleaſure to them in writing, or by the mouth of ſome of his friends or freedmen. After his return from *Greece*, he eſtabliſhed

Spends the remaining part of the year in acting upon the ſtage.

He takes particular care of his voice.

eſtabliſhed a new employment, charging one, whom he called, with a name borrowed from the *Greek* tongue, his *phonaſcus*, to take care of his voice. He would never ſpeak but in the preſence of this new officer, who was firſt to admoniſh him, when he talked too loud, or ſtrained his voice, and afterwards, if the emperor, tranſported with any ſudden emotion, did not hearken to his admonitions, to ſtop his mouth with a napkin. The moſt effectual means of courting his favour was to commend his voice, to pretend raptures while he ſung, to appear dejected, and be very importunate, if he took a fancy, as he ſometimes did, like other ſingers, not to do what he was moſt ardently deſirous of doing [p]. Thus he trifled away his time, not forbearing, however, in the midſt of diverſion and pleaſures, to purſue feats of cruelty and blood, till the next year, the fourteenth of his reign, when a bloody doom overtook at length this man of blood. Either this, or the preceding year, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Vinicius*, and diſcovered at *Beneventum*; and this is all we find concerning it in the hiſtories of thoſe times, which have reached ours. Of this conſpiracy, *Plutarch*, we conjecture, ſpeaks in his treatiſe of *talkativeneſs*, where he tells, that a plot formed againſt *Nero* was diſcovered in the following manner, when it was ripe for execution: One of the conſpirators, ſeeing a priſoner dragged to *Nero*'s tribunal, accoſted him, as he was bewailing his misfortunes, and whiſpered him in the ear, If by the favour of the gods you eſcape to-day, you will be to-morrow indebted to me for your ſafety. The priſoner underſtood him, and as he was chiefly ſolicitous about averting his own doom, he immediately acquainted *Nero* with what had been told him. Hereupon the conſpirator was forthwith ſeized, and being put upon the rack, owned the conſpiracy, and diſcovered his aſſociates [q]. Of this conſpiracy we find no further account in the antients, which makes us the more ſenſible of the irreparable loſs we have ſuffered by the chaſm in this part of *Tacitus*'s annals.

A conſpiracy diſcovered.

The next conſuls were *Silius Italicus*, the celebrated poet, and *Galerius Trachalus* [r]. Theſe were the laſt conſuls named by *Nero*. *Pliny*, in one of his letters [s], gives us a ſuccinct account of the life and death of *Silius*, for he died in the reign of *Trajan*; and tells us, that under *Nero* he accuſed, not by conſtraint, but choice, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, and procured their deſtruction; but adds, that under the ſucceeding emperors he led a life free from all blemiſh. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of *Domitian*, when he wrote

[p] Suet. c. 25. [q] Plut. de garrulitate. [r] Plin. l. iii. ep. 7. Front. Aquæduc. p 119. Idacius, &c. [s] Plin ibid.

his

his poem on the *Punic* war. *Trachalus* was an orator and civilian of great note[t], and nearly related to *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*, who saved his life, as we shall relate hereafter. This year, *Nero*, after having long wallowed in the blood of human race, and made spoil, we may say, of the creation, was at length overtaken by the bloody doom, which his enormous and crying iniquities well deserved. His raging fury had quite tired out and exhausted the patience both of *Romans* and foreigners, who were equally disposed to a general revolution, and only wanted a person of credit and experience to head them. The first, who had courage enough openly to declare his generous resolution of redeeming the world, from the no less ignominious than tyrannical yoke, under which it had now groaned for thirteen years and upwards, was *Julius Vindex*, descended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had on several occasions signalised his courage, prudence, and experience in the military art, bore an utter aversion to slavery, and was possessed with an ardent ambition of transmitting his name to posterity by some commendable action [u]. We are told, that before he openly declared his design, he communicated it to *Galba*, then governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, who neither countenanced nor discovered it to *Nero*, as did several of the governors of other provinces, to whom *Vindex* had imparted it by letters, which they immediately sent to *Nero* [w]. *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, writes, that the governor of *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*, coming to *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, to visit *Apollonius*, conferred with him in private for three days together; and that it was afterwards believed, that *Apollonius* had encouraged the governor to revolt from *Nero*, and join *Vindex*, whose design was not yet publicly known [x]. Whether *Philostratus* speaks here of *Galba*, or of some other, we know not. *Galba* indeed was not governor of *Bætica*; but in *Philostratus* such mistakes frequently occur. Though *Galba* did not at first shew himself inclined to favour the revolt, yet the brave *Vindex*, having about the beginning of *March*, assembled the *Gauls*, harrassed and reduced to beggary, by heavy tributes and impositions, openly declared to them his design, encouraged them to concur chearfully in his measures, and in a long speech displayed their many grievances, from which he said there were no hopes of relief, so long as their tyrannical and cruel oppressor lived or reigned. His design was universally applauded by

Julius Vindex *revolts in* Gaul.

[t] TACIT. hist. l i c. 90. [u] DIO l. lxiii. p. 724. SUET. c. 40. TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 16. [w] PLUT. vit. Galbæ. [x] PHILOSTRAT. vita Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 13.

the

the *Gauls*, who immediately flocked to him from all parts; insomuch, that though he had no *Roman* troops under his command, yet he found himself in a short time at the head of a hundred thousand armed men. Hereupon he wrote once more to *Galba*, exhorting him to espouse the common cause of mankind, and put himself at the head of the *Gauls*, who were already a body of a hundred thousand armed men, and could, upon occasion, raise a greater force. At the same time arrived an express from the governor of *Aquitain*, demanding succours against *Vindex*. Upon the receipt of these important dispatches, *Galba* called a council of his friends to advise with them before he returned an answer to either of the messengers. In the council they were almost all of opinion, that he ought to wait, and see how *Rome* stood inclined before he declared. But *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion in the province, standing up, "What room, said he, is there here for deliberation? It "is a crime even to question, whether or no we shall continue "faithful to *Nero*, and as such it will be punished by him. "There is no medium; you must either hearken to the over-"ture of *Vindex*, and look on *Nero* as your declared enemy, "or march this instant against a person, who had rather have "*Galba* for emperor than *Nero*." This speech made a deep impression upon the mind of *Galba*, who was likewise animated by several favourable omens, and above all by a prediction, which was uttered about this time by a young virgin of great distinction in *Spain*, and answered exactly another, which had been delivered two hundred years before, *viz.* that *Spain* should one day give a prince to *Rome*, and to the world a sovereign. He therefore hesitated no longer; but by an edict appointed a certain day for the *Spaniards* to meet at *New Carthage*, now *Carthagena*. The *Spaniards*, who had heard of the revolt in *Gaul*, and suspected his design, obeyed the summons with great alacrity; for they abhorred the very name of *Nero*, and flocked from all quarters to *Carthagena*, where *Galba*, ascending the tribunal, round which were placed the images of several illustrious persons, whom *Nero* had caused to be inhumanly massacred, openly declared his design in the following speech: "Fellow-soldiers and friends, we are assembled to bestow on mankind the great benefit of liberty and freedom, a benefit, "which indeed is our birth-right, though we have not these "many years been allowed to taste the sweets of it. For what "slave has endured greater hardships, has suffered a more cruel "servitude, than we under the inhuman tyrants whom the "evil fortune of the *Roman* empire had placed over us? What "kind of extortions has he not used to supply, with rapine "and injustice, what he has spent with ignominy and shame?

And raises a powerful army.

Galba *revolts in* Spain.

His speech against Nero.

"What

" What kind of cruelty has he not practiſed? Has he not
" wallowed in the blood of his father, his brother, his mother,
" his wife, his inſtructor, and of all, who, in the ſenate,
" city, or provinces, were any-ways conſiderable for their
" birth, wealth, courage, or virtue, without diſtinction of
" ſex or age? The blood of ſo many innocent victims cries
" aloud for vengeance. Let us therefore appeaſe the manes of
" our deceaſed friends and relations with the blood of the ty-
" rant, by whom they have been thus inhumanly butchered.
" Let us rouſe our courage, and ſo long as we have arms, and
" ability to manage them, be aſhamed tamely to obey, like ſo
" many ſlaves, not a prince, but an incendiary, a parricide, a
" ſinger, a minſtrel, a player, a charioteer; nay, one who is not
" even a man, but a monſter of mankind, having a man to his
" huſband, and a man to his wife. The *Gauls* have already
" ſhaken off the ignominious yoke, and the whole empire is
" ready to follow their example and join us and them. For
" myſelf, I have never entertained any ambitious or aſpiring
" deſigns, and heartily wiſh I were allowed to ſpend the ſmall
" remainder of my days in privacy and retirement; but ſince
" ſome have impoſed upon me a part, which I never deſigned
" to act, and leaſt of all at this age, I will not decline, with
" your approbation, the heavy taſk, but chearfully ſacrifice
" my own inclinations to the good of my country, not with
" the awful title of *emperor* or *Auguſtus*, which ſacred names
" I adore."----Here he was interrupted by the loud ſhouts,
and joyful acclamations of the numerous aſſembly, ſaluting
him with one voice, *emperor* and *Auguſtus*. But *Galba*, de- *He declines the title of* emperor.
clining theſe ſpecious titles, declared, that he devoted himſelf to
the ſervice of his country only as lieutenant to the ſenate and
people[y]. This happened nine months and thirteen days, as
we read in *Dion Caſſius*, before *Galba*'s death, and conſequently
on the third of *April*; for he was aſſaſſinated on the fifteenth
of *January* of the following year. After this *Galba* ordered
levies to be made throughout the whole province; ſelected a
certain number of perſons of known prudence and experience,
and with them formed a kind of ſenate; appointed a band of
young knights, whom he called *evocati*, to be as a guard at the
door of his chamber; and cauſed edicts to be fixed up in every
city of the province, inviting all to join him, and lend what
aſſiſtance they could towards the recovery of their liberty, and
the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, which ſo nearly concerned them.
We are told, that as he was fortifying a town, which he de-
ſigned for a place of arms, a ring was found of great antiquity,

[y] SUET. in Galba, c. 10. DIO. l. lxiv p. 730. PLUT. in Galb.

on the ſtone whereof was engraved a *Victory*; and that about the ſame time a ſhip from *Alexandria* came into the port of *Dertoſa* or *Tortoſa*, laden with arms, without either pilot, mariners, or paſſengers [z]. *Otho*, who ſtill governed *Luſitania*, was the firſt of all the governors of provinces who declared for *Galba*, ſending him all his gold and ſilver plate to turn it into money, and likewiſe his domeſtics, who were more accuſtomed to a court, and knew better than *Galba*'s how to ſerve an emperor [a].

Nero is not affected with the tidings of the revolt of Vindex

THE firſt tidings of the revolt of *Vindex* and the *Gauls* came to *Nero* at *Naples*, on the ſame day, on which he had cauſed his mother to be murdered, that is, on the 19th of *March*. But he was ſo far from being affected with it, that he ſeemed rather to rejoice at the news, as having a plauſible pretence to plunder thoſe wealthy provinces; ſo that he continued to ſing, play, and act upon the ſtage, as uſual, for eight days together, without iſſuing any orders for ſuppreſſing the revolt, or even writing or ſpeaking to any one about it: he was only once heard to ſay, upon receiving letters of a freſher date, exaggerating the impending danger, that he would make *Vindex* and the *Gauls* pay dear for diſturbing his pleaſures. At length the edicts of *Vindex*, filled with moſt bitter invectives, rouſed him ſo far as to prompt him to write to the ſenate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and in him to them and the whole republic, and excuſing his abſence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But he reſented nothing ſo much as *Vindex*'s calling him in one of his edicts an *unſkilful harper*, and *Ahenobarbus* inſtead of *Nero*. He declared, that he would quit his adopted name, and reſume that of his family, ſince they reproached him with it, as if it were a name to be aſhamed of. The other imputation affected him ſtill more; he could not bear it: but in the tranſports of his paſſion broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Vindex*, abuſing him as one intirely ignorant of an art, which he had, with his own induſtry and indefatigable pains, refined and brought to the greateſt perfection: to refute this calumny, he played more frequently than ever, obſerving with great attention the countenances of the ſpectators, and aſking them whether they had ever heard or known a more ſkilful player upon the harp than himſelf? But, the alarm increaſing, and meſſenger after meſſenger arriving with diſmal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and repaired to *Rome*. However, his fear was greatly abated by his obſerving on the road a tomb, on which was engraved a *Gaul* overcome by a *Roman* knight, who dragged him on the ground by the hair. This frivolous preſage ſo revived him,

What he chiefly reſented.

[z] Suet. in Galb. c. 10. [a] Idem ibid. & Plut. in vit. Oth.

that

that he returned thanks to the gods for ſuch an auſpicious omen. Upon his arrival in the city, inſtead of aſſembling the ſenate or people, he only ſummoned ſome of the principal men to his palace, and after a ſhort conſultation, in which no reſolution was taken, he ſpent the reſt of the day in ſhewing his counſellors certain muſical inſtruments lately invented by himſelf, and ſo contrived as to play by water. Here, intirely forgetful of the danger that threatened him, he diſcourſed of the nature and workmanſhip of each of them, promiſing to produce them, ere it was long, upon the ſtage, *provided* Vindex *would give him leave*. The following night he ſent in haſte for the chief men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, who immediately flew to the palace, not doubting, but the emperor deſigned to adviſe with them in the preſent moſt urging juncture, and come to ſome ſpeedy reſolution. But they were greatly ſurpriſed to find, that they had been ſummoned in the dead of the night to be entertained with a farther account of the inſtruments, which had been ſhewn them the day before, and ſome new improvements, which had ſince occurred to *Nero* [b]. However, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of *Vindex*, ſet a price upon his head, called back the troops that were on their march towards *Albania*, and ordered the legions in *Illyricum* to be forthwith tranſported into *Italy*. We are told, that when news was brought to *Vindex*, that *Nero* had promiſed ten millions of ſeſterces to any one who ſhould bring him his head, he anſwered with great calmneſs, *Whoever ſhall bring* Nero's *head to me, ſhall, if he pleaſes, have mine in exchange.* *Nero* ſeemed to deſpiſe *Vindex*, and to be under no apprehenſion of the *Gauls*; but intelligence being brought him of the revolt of *Galba*, juſt as he was ſitting down to ſupper, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he remained a long time motionleſs, without being able to utter a ſingle word; and when he came to himſelf again, he overturned in a violent rage the table, tore his garments, broke in pieces two cups of great value, and daſhing his head againſt the wall, cried out, he was undone; his misfortunes were without example; his empire was ſeized, while he was ſtill alive, and become the prey of an uſurper. However, he could not, even in the height of his conſternation and fear, refrain from his uſual debaucheries; but purſued his former courſe of life, feaſting, revelling, and, upon his receiving news out of the provinces that ſeemed any-ways favourable to his affairs, jeſting and ridiculing the heads of the rebellion. He even appeared in the theatre, and becauſe one of the actors performed his part ſo as to deſerve an extraordinary applauſe, he ſent him word, that he invaded the rights of the

His unconcern.

Complains of Vindex *to the ſenate.*

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of Galba.

[b] Sueton. c. 40, 41. Dio. p. 694—697.

emperor [c]. In the mean time, the ſenate, out of fear and flattery, declared *Galba* a traytor and an enemy to the ſtate; whereupon *Nero* immediately ſeized his eſtate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which *Galba* no ſooner underſtood, than he in his turn expoſed to ſale *Nero*'s eſtate in *Spain*, and found a great number of purchaſers [d]. This inraged *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that, in the firſt tranſports of his fury, he reſolved to ſend perſons into all the provinces to murder the governors and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conſpiracy, to order all the exiles to be maſſacred, leſt they ſhould join the revolters, to cut the throats of all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as accomplices and favourers of their countrymen, to poiſon the whole ſenate at an entertainment, to ſet fire to the city, and at the ſame time let looſe the wild beaſts kept for the public ſpectacles, that the people being thus diverted from extinguiſhing the flames, their deſtruction, and the deſtruction of the city, might be the more inevitable. But dropping, upon farther thoughts, theſe barbarous deſigns, not out of remorſe, but deſpair of effecting them, he reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels; and depoſing the two conſuls, *Silius* and *Trachalus*, entered alone upon the conſulſhip, pretending an antient prediction, importing, that when *Rome* had but one conſul, by him the *Gauls* ſhould be overcome. Having therefore aſſumed the faſces and other marks of the conſular dignity, he ordered levies to be made throughout *Italy*, named the officers who were to command under him, and cauſed an immenſe number of waggons to be got ready for conveying with ſafety, not the engines of war, but his muſical inſtruments and the decorations of the ſtage; for he was ſo mean-ſpirited as to declare to his intimate friends, that he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but upon his arrival in the province, to preſent himſelf without arms before the armies, to weep, and with ſighs and tears beg forgiveneſs of his former conduct; which, if touched with compaſſion, they ſhould grant him, as he hoped they would, he deſigned to engage and fix their affections, by diverting them with plays and ſongs of triumph, which, he ſaid, it was high time for him to begin to compoſe. That he had no deſign of facing the enemy in the field was manifeſt from his other preparations; for he ordered all the players upon inſtruments, ſingers, and actors to attend him; and arming his concubines, like *Amazons*, with battle-axes and ſhields, appointed them to guard his perſon [e].

His deſperate reſolution.

Depoſes both the conſuls.

His meanneſs.

In the mean time, *Galba*'s party gained daily new ſtrength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except

[c] Suet. c. 42. [d] Plut. vit. Galb. [e] Suet. c. 44.

Otho

Clodius Macer, who commanded in *Africa*, and *L. Rufus Verginius*, or *Virginius*, governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had under his command ſome of the beſt legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched againſt *Vindex* with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitants of *Treves*, capital of *Belgic Gaul*, and powerfully aſſiſted in *Celtic Gaul* itſelf by the cities of *Langres* and *Lyons*, he advanced as far as the city of *Beſançon*, which he beſieged. Upon this intelligence, *Vindex* haſtened to the relief of the place; but upon his arrival, *Verginius* deſiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act againſt *Nero*; but *Verginius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for *Galba*. After they had long conferred together, *Vindex* returned to his troops, and with them advanced to *Beſançon*, in order to take poſſeſſion of the place, purſuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But *Verginius*'s men, believing that *Vindex* deſigned to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the *Gauls*, who expected nothing leſs and were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great ſlaughter put them to flight. Thus *Dion Caſſius* [f]; but *Plutarch* tells us, that the two armies engaged in defiance of the orders of their commanders, who did all that lay in their power to divert them from that wild reſolution [g]. Be that as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that the two armies engaged, that twenty thouſand *Gauls* were killed upon the ſpot, and that *Vindex* after the battle laid violent hands on himſelf. After the death of *Vindex*, the victorious legions tore the images of *Nero*, and importuned *Verginius* to accept the empire, ſaluting him *Cæſar*, *emperor*, *Auguſtus*, &c. *Verginius* was deſcended of an equeſtrian family; but had on many occaſions ſignaliſed his prudence, valour, equity, and ſuch virtues and endowments as are requiſite in a brave commander and an excellent citizen [h]. *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that he might have eaſily ſeized on the empire, had he but ſeconded the ardent wiſhes of the troops under his command. But, either out of a greatneſs of ſoul truly heroic, or a lively apprehenſion of the evil conſequences, which would inevitably accrue from allowing the ſoldiery to chuſe the emperor, he not only rejected their offer, but reſolutely declared, that he would neither take upon himſelf the ſovereign power, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not named to it by the ſenate, to whom alone the diſpoſal of the empire belonged. The ſame anſwer he returned to the ſoldiery, when, upon the news of

Rufus Virginius *marches againſt* Vindex.

Vindex *defeated.*

Lays violent hands on himſelf.

Verginius *refuſes the empire.*

[f] Dio. l. lxiii. p. 725. [g] Plut. vit. Galb. [h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c 52. Dio. p. 726. Plin l. ii. ep. 1.

Nero's

Nero's death, they importuned him anew to accept of the empire [k]. This refusal says *Dion*, gained him higher renown than the empire itself could have done, and filled the world with the fame of his name [l]. He lived thirty years after this glorious and generous action, revered by all men; and having escaped the fury of so many princes, by whom he was both suspected and hated on account of his virtue, he died at length under *Nerva*, being then consul for the third time, in the eighty-third year of his age and ninety-seventh of the christian æra. *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the following troubles and seditions, no one was exposed to greater dangers, no one so often threatened and assaulted by the soldiery as he; for though they admired his magnanimity, till then without example, yet they hated him, as having despised them by refusing the empire. In how great esteem he was held by the good princes, we may judge from the opinion which *Vitellius* entertained of him, a prince suspicious, distrustful, and open to every alarm. For though a slave of *Verginius* was charged as one employed to assassinate the emperor, though the soldiers had, upon the death of *Otho*, declared for him the third time, yet *Vitellius* never seemed to question in the least his fidelity [m]. Before he died, he ordered an epitaph, composed by himself, to be engraved on his tomb, importing, *that he had overcome* Vindex, *and thereby acquired the empire to his country, not to himself.* *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the history of those times, begging him one day to excuse him, if the laws of history obliged him to relate something that he might not like, As to my actions and conduct, replied *Verginius*, I desire you would relate them, such as they are; for I am not conscious to myself of having ever done any thing but with a view to the applauses and approbation of posterity [n]. This was the only time he was ever heard to speak of his own actions, however great and glorious. *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, was consul, when he died, and pronounced his funeral oration. *Pliny* the younger, who had received innumerable favours at his hands, bestows on him the following elogium; *No tongue can sufficiently commend* Rufus Verginius, *or answer the opinion I entertain of his virtue* [o]. To resume the thread of our history.

His conduct and unblemished character.

The bad situation of Galba's affairs.

The death of *Vindex* and declaration of *Verginius* not to suffer any one to assume the sovereignty, without the consent of the senate, exceedingly perplexed *Galba*. Besides, it was reported, that the legions commanded by *Verginius*, finding they

[k] Dio. p. 727. Plut. ibid. [l] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 707.
[m] Tacit. ibid. [n] Plin. l. vi. ep. 10, & l. ix. ep. 19. [o] Plin. l. ix. ep. 9.

could

could not perſuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; nay ſome of *Galba*'s own troops, repenting the new oath they had taken, attempted to abandon him; and certain ſlaves, whom one of *Nero*'s freedmen had preſented him with, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and would in all likelihood have diſpatched him, had they not diſcovered themſelves, by exhorting one another, as *Galba* was paſſing through a narrow ſtreet to his baths, not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity. The new emperor therefore, in the utmoſt conſternation, wrote to *Verginius*, earneſtly ſoliciting him to act in concert with himſelf againſt *Nero*, the common enemy of mankind, and to lend a helping hand to the great work of reſtoring *Rome* to her antient liberty. What anſwer *Verginius* returned him, we are no-where told; but it ſeems to have been no-ways favourable to his deſign, ſince he retired a few days after with his friends to a city in *Spain* called *Clunia*, quite diſheartened, repenting what he had done, and ready to lay violent hands on himſelf[c]. In the mean time, at *Rome* the levies commanded by *Nero* went on but ſlowly; for though he ſummoned all the tribes to take the military oath, yet no one appeared who was fit to bear arms; inſomuch, that he was obliged to iſſue an edict, ordering all maſters to ſend him a certain number of ſlaves, whom he infranchiſed and liſted among his troops. He likewiſe obliged perſons of every rank and profeſſion to contribute the greateſt part of their yearly income towards the intended expedition, according as they were rated in the books of the cenſors. Theſe heavy impoſitions, together with his fooliſh and unſeaſonable niceneſs, for he would receive no money but what was new coined, incenſed the people to ſuch a degree, that they openly oppoſed the collectors, telling them, that the beſt and moſt ready means of ſupplying the prince with money, was to oblige the informers to refund the immenſe ſums they had earned with their infamous practices[d]. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the populace was heightened by the arrival of a ſhip from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden not with corn, as was expected, but with ſand for the gladiators and wreſtlers. Upon this the people roſe in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, tore his images, plundered the houſes of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable diſorders, no one offering to appeaſe or reſtrain them. At the ſame time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which ſo affected *Nero*, that calling for poiſon, he indoſed it in a golden box, and went immediately into the *Servi-*

Nero provokes the people at Rome.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of the German legions.

[c] SUET. c. 44. [d] SUET. c. 10. Dio. p. 698. PLUT. in Galb.

lian

lian gardens, whence he diſpatched the freedmen, in whom he chiefly confided, to *Oſtia* to prepare his fleet, being reſolved to ſail to *Egypt*, whither he had already ſent ſome *German* troops. He was prompted to this reſolution by the predictions of ſome aſtrologers, who had foretold him long before, that he would one day be abandoned by all; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that in the end he would obtain the empire of the eaſt, or the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. However, before he left the palace, he ſounded the tribunes and centurions of his guards, aſking them whether they were diſpoſed to accompany him in his flight? But ſome of them ſhifting, others poſitively refuſing to attend him, and one of them crying out, *Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt? Is it ſo ſad a thing to die?* he was quite diſtracted and confounded in his thoughts; reſolving at one time to fly to the *Parthians*, at another to addreſs *Galba* as a ſuppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and, with all poſſible humility and dejection, implore the forgiveneſs of the people for his former conduct; and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of *Egypt*. To this purpoſe an oration was found after his death among the reſt of his papers; but he was deterred from delivering it, by an apprehenſion of his being torn in pieces by the outrageous multitude, before he could reach the roſtra. He therefore put off the taking of any reſolution till the next day; and in the mean time his ruin was completed by one, whom he leaſt of all ſuſpected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, who, though of a mean deſcent, had been by *Nero* upon the death of *Fenius Rufus* appointed collegue of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and now entertained thoughts of ſeizing the ſovereignty for himſelf. However, he did not immediately declare his ambitious views; but, pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, aſſured the guards, that *Nero* was fled, and promiſed them in *Galba*'s name ſuch ſums, as neither *Galba* nor any other was able to diſcharge. This promiſe ſecured for the preſent the empire to *Galba*, occaſioned afterwards the loſs of it, and in the end produced the deſtruction of *Nymphidius* and the guards themſelves. For the ſoldiery, thus deceived and tempted with the mighty promiſes of *Nymphidius*, abandoned *Nero*, notwithſtanding their long and ſworn fealty to the houſe of the *Cæſars*, and proclaimed *Galba* emperor: even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of the crimes that rendered *Nero*'s name ſo odious and deteſtable, forſook and betrayed him in this extremity. The emperor, altogether unacquainted with the treaſonable practices of *Tigellinus*, awaked about midnight; and underſtanding, to his unſpeakable ſurpriſe, that his guards were retired,

Nero betrayed by Nymphidius, and abandoned by his guards.

His fright and conſternation.

he leapt out of his bed, ſent in great haſte for his friends, and none of them obeying the ſummons, went at laſt in perſon, attended by a few domeſtics, to their ſeveral houſes; but finding the doors every-where ſhut, and no one deigning even to return an anſwer to his prayers and intreaties, he haſtened back to his chamber, which he found rifled and ſtript even to the coverings of his bed. The golden box, in which he kept the poiſon prepared by the famous *Locuſta*, being likewiſe carried off, he ſent for *Spicillus*, a celebrated gladiator, to diſpatch him; but neither he, nor any other being found who would undertake that taſk, he cried out in a fit of deſpair, *What! have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies?* Which words he had ſcarce uttered, when he left his room in a great hurry with a deſign to throw himſelf into the *Tiber*; but changing his mind, he ſtopt all on a ſudden, and deſired ſome private place to recollect himſelf and reſume his courage. Hereupon *Phaon*, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-houſe, which ſtood between the *Salarian* and *Numentan* roads, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended by four perſons, of whom *Sporus* was one, left *Rome* meanly apparelled and worſe mounted, hiding his face, through fear of being diſcovered, with a handkerchief. Upon his ſetting out, he was terrified and diſmayed by dreadful flaſhes of lightning, and a violent earthquake, as if the ghoſts of the many perſons he had murdered were riſing up, ſays *Dion*, againſt the unmerciful tyrant. As he paſſed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them curſing him, and wiſhing proſperity and ſucceſs to *Galba*. A paſſenger, whom he met on the road, in ſeeing him and his attendants, *Theſe*, ſaid he, *are no doubt in purſuit of* Nero; another aſked him, *What news of* Nero *in the city?* His horſe ſtarting at the ſight of a carcaſe that lay in the way, the covering of his face was ſhaken off, and he known by a ſoldier of the prætorian guards, named *Miſſicius*, who ſaluted him with the title of emperor; which ſo alarmed *Nero* and his attendants, that at the firſt turning they quitted their horſes, and, betaking themſelves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through buſhes and briars to the wall, which incloſed *Phaon*'s grounds, who intreated the emperor to conceal himſelf in a ſand-pit, till he found means of conveying him in with more ſecrecy: but *Nero* anſwered, that *he would not be buried till he was dead*; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon*, examining the wall, was conſidering how he might introduce him undiſcovered. In the mean time, *Nero*, being preſſed with drought, took up water out of a ditch with his hands, ſaying, *To this liquor is* Nero *reduced*: He likewiſe cleared with his own hands his garments of the briars that had ſtuck to them. In order to

His fright and conſternation.

Flies from Rome.

His forlorn condition.

procure a more private acceſs for him to the houſe, a hole was opened in the wall, through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furniſhed, where he paſſed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in ſuch agonies as can hardly be expreſſed, alarmed at the leaſt noiſe he heard, as if aſſaſſins were come to murder him, and not daring to ſpeak through fear of being diſcovered. He now repented the many crimes he had committed, wiſhed he had purſued a quite different conduct, was ſenſible, that thoſe, who had put him upon the meaſures he had followed, were his greateſt enemies; and had conſtantly in his mouth the following words, taken out of a tragedy, intitled, *OEdipus baniſhed*, the laſt in which he had acted; *My father, mother, and wife, doom me to deſtruction* [c]. As thoſe who attended him were conſtantly ſoliciting and importuning him to prevent with a voluntary death the dangers that threatened him, he at laſt ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for the waſhing and burning of his body, bemoaning himſelf, while he gave theſe orders, in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating with many ſighs and tears, *What an artiſt will the world loſe* [f].

Is declared by the ſenate an enemy to the ſtate, and condemned to die.

The news of *Nero*'s flight filled the city with joy; the ſenate aſſembled early in the morning and proclaimed *Galba* emperor; and, having taken the uſual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed him to be puniſhed *more majorum*. One of *Phaon*'s friends immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the tranſactions of the ſenate. As ſoon as the meſſenger appeared, *Nero* ſnatched the letter out of his hand; and finding by it, that he was declared an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed to be puniſhed *more majorum*, he aſked, what kind of puniſhment that was? *Phaon* told him, that, purſuant to the ſentence of the ſenate, he was to be ſtript naked, his head was to be faſtened in a pillory, and he in that poſture to be whipt to death; which ſo terrified him, that he ſnatched up two daggers, which he always carried about with him, as if he were determined to anticipate in that inſtant the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence by a voluntary death; but, after trying their points with a trembling hand, he put them up again, ſaying, that *his fatal hour was not yet come*; then turning to *Sporus*, he deſired him to begin his complaints and lamentations, ſince the fatal moment approached. He betrayed ſuch meanneſs as to deſire with many tears, that ſome of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with reſolution and intrepidity. But none of them ſhewing the leaſt incli-

Betrays great meanneſs.

[c] Suet. c. 43 Dio p. 627. [f] Suet. c. 49.

nation

nation to animate him at the expence of their own lives, he ſtrove to raiſe his drooping ſpirits with the following words; *Courage*, Nero, *courage; ſuch puſillanimity in an emperor is baſe and diſhonourable; the pains of death are but ſhort and momentary; ſtrike boldly*, &c. Thus he continued animating himſelf, but to no effect; till hearing the noiſe of ſome horſemen, ſent by the ſenate to ſeize him and bring him alive to *Rome*, he cried out in a *Greek* verſe, *A diſmal noiſe of horſes ſounds in my ears*; and, drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaphroditus*, his freedman and ſecretary, to lend him his aſſiſtance; which he did with great reluctance, and paid dear for it, being afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, for imbruing his hands in the blood of the *Cæſars*. Before he was quite dead, the centurion, ſent by the ſenate to apprehend him, entered the room, and, pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to ſtop the blood; *Nero* gave him no other anſwer, but, *'Tis too late: Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With which words he expired, his eyes ſtaring in a frightful manner, and ready to ſtart out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were preſent [g]. Upon the firſt rumour of his death, one of *Galba*'s freedmen, not truſting to common report, flew to the place where his body lay, and having with his own eyes beheld the lifeleſs carcaſe extended on the ground, and all covered with gore, haſtened away to *Spain* with the important tidings [h]. Many others, prompted by the like curioſity, flocked to *Phaon*'s country-houſe; ſo that his death being no longer queſtioned, the joy of the *Roman* people was ſo great and univerſal, that they ran up and down the ſtreets, with ſuch caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted ſlaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from ſo hard a bondage, overturned and daſhed in pieces moſt of *Nero*'s ſtatues, knocked out the brains of as many of his friends as fell into their hands, *&c.* Amongſt others they faſtened the gladiator *Spicillus* to one of *Nero*'s ſtatues, which they dragged along the ſtreets, and cruſhed the unhappy favourite to pieces: they laid a famous informer, named *Aponius*, flat on the ground, and drove carts heavy loaden with ſtones over him. Many others were ſeized by the outrageous and undiſtinguiſhing multitude, and by them torn in pieces, though they had no ſhare in *Nero*'s crimes: inſomuch, that *Mauriſcus*, who was deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt men in the city, declared in full ſenate, that he was afraid they ſhould ſoon have cauſe to wiſh for *Nero* [i]. Such was the miſerable end of *Nero*, the ſixth emperor of *Rome*, who by his un-

His death.

The joy of the Roman *people.*

[g] SUET. ibid. [h] PLUT. vit Galb. [i] PLUT. ibid.

heard-of iniquities well deſerved all the misfortunes which befel him. He died in the thirty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months complete, according to ſome, or eight months wanting two days, according to others: for St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius*[k], and *Zonaras*[l], place his death on the eleventh of *June*; whereas the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* alledge ſtrong arguments to prove, that he died on the ninth of the ſaid month. We need not inlarge on his character, ſince the name of *Nero* is by moſt nations made uſe of emphatically to expreſs a barbarous, raging, and abandoned tyrant. *Pliny* calls him the common enemy and fury of mankind[m], and moſt writers propoſe him as the pattern of a complete tyrant; and truly his whole life ſeems to have been a conſtant ſtruggle, to ſhew how abandonedly wicked, how execrably bad a human creature can be, when veſted with great power. The only thing he earneſtly commended to his attendants before he died was, that his head might not be cut off, but his body burnt intire. His requeſt was readily granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba*'s freedmen, who likewiſe allowed his obſequies to be performed with the uſual ſolemnity. His aſhes were carefully gathered, and depoſited in the ſtately monument of the *Domitian* family, by his concubine *Acte*, and two other women, who in his infancy had been charged with the care of his education. He was no eloquent ſpeaker, *Seneca* having diverted him, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, from peruſing the works of the antient orators, leſt he ſhould deſpiſe his ſtyle and compoſitions. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote verſes with great eaſe: ſome indeed accuſed him as a plagiary; but from this imputation *Suetonius* clears him, aſſuring us, that from the tablets on which he wrote, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and which our author narrowly examined, it evidently appeared, that the verſes were neither tranſcribed by him, nor dictated by another, being effaced, interlined, and corrected, as thoughts or expreſſions occurred to him, which he liked better [n]. Though he died generally hated and abhorred, yet the vulgar, abandoned to debauchery and inured to the idle amuſements of the theatre and circus, began ſoon to regret the loſs of a prince, by whoſe infamous vices they ſubſiſted. Hence they flocked to his tomb, adorned it with flowers, carried his images, as it were, in triumph, *&c.* *Vologeſes* likewiſe, king of the *Parthians*, ſhewed a particular reſpect for *Nero* after his death, and by the embaſſadors, whom he ſent to the ſenate to renew his alliance with the *Roman* people, earneſtly begged,

[k] Hier. & Eusеb. in chron. [l] Zonar. p. 190. [m] Plin. l. vii. c. 8. [n] Suet. c. 50—52.

that

that the memory of *Nero* might be revered, and a monument erected to him [o]. Some even gave out, that he was not dead, but would ſoon appear again and take vengeance of his enemies: edicts were publicly hung up as iſſued by him, and ſoon after a ſlave, who greatly reſembled him, and was no leſs ſkilled in ſinging and playing upon the harp, attempted to paſs himſelf upon the provinces of *Aſia* and *Achaia* for the deceaſed prince; but was ſeized and executed in the iſland of *Cythnus* [p]. Several counterfeit *Neroes* appeared afterwards; one eſpecially in the reign of the emperor *Domitian*, near twenty years after the true *Nero* was dead, created great diſturbances in the eaſt, where he was followed by vaſt crouds. *Artabanes*, who then reigned in *Parthia*, eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him powerful ſuccours; but was at length, with much ado, prevailed upon to abandon the impoſtor, and deliver him up to the *Romans* [q]. But what above all to us ſeems ſurpriſing is, that, towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, an opinion prevailed in the church, that *Nero* was to appear again at the end of the world, and either to be himſelf the antichriſt, or to reign in the weſt and re-eſtabliſh idolatry there, while the antichriſt reigned in the eaſt. This opinion is by *Sulpitius Severus* aſcribed to St. *Martin* [r]. Some believed, that *Nero* was to be raiſed from the dead under another name; others, that he did not really die; but, his wound being cured, was conveyed to ſome private place, where he is to lie concealed, till the time appointed for the appearance of the antichriſt. This opinion, which ſome pretended to prove from the *Revelations*, is taken notice of by *Lactantius* [s]; but what were his ſentiments upon that ſubject is hard to determine, all the copies of his works being in that place ſtrangely corrupted. It is, however, manifeſt, that he ſuppoſes with *Sulpitius Severus*, *Nero*'s body never to have been found, notwithſtanding the account which both *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* give us of his obſequies. St. *Auſtin* expreſſes no ſmall ſurpriſe, that ſuch an abſurd, and, as he ſtyles it, ridiculous, opinion ſhould have found partiſans amongſt men of knowledge and learning [t]. But what opinion has hitherto been broached, that has not found ſome zealous proſelytes among the learned? The family of the *Cæſars*, properly ſpeaking, ended in *Caligula*, who had been adopted by *Tiberius*; but nevertheleſs, as *Nero* was, as well as *Claudius*, deſcended from *Auguſtus* by his mo-

[o] SUET. c. 57. AUR. VICT. epit. [p] DIO. l. lxiv. p. 732. [q] SUET. c. 57. TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [r] SULP. SEVER. hiſt. ſacr. l. ii [s] LACTAN. de morte perſecutor. c. 2. [t] AUG. de civit Dei. l. xx.

ther

ther *Agrippina*, the houſe of the *Cæſars* is ſaid to have ended in him. As for the writers who flouriſhed in *Nero*'s reign, we refer the reader to our notes (T).

(T) Theſe were, *Fabius Ruſticus*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own time, and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*, though, in the opinion of that impartial writer, he betrayed too much zeal in extolling *Seneca*, to whoſe friendſhip he was chiefly indebted for the plentiful fortune he poſſeſſed. He was the beſt hiſtorian of his age; but none of his works have reached us (41). *M. Servilius*, who is placed by *Tacitus* among the hiſtorians who wrote the hiſtory of *Rome*. He died in the ſixth year of *Nero*'s reign and fifty-ninth of the *Chriſtian* æra (42). Some writers take him to be the ſame perſon with *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who was conſul with *C. Ceſtius Gallus*, in the twenty-ſecond year of *Tiberius*'s reign and thirty-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra. *Pliny* ſpeaks of one *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who flouriſhed ſome time before him, and was eſteemed a man of great learning and eloquence (43); and *Quintilian* mentions one, whom he calls *Servilius Novianus*, as a man of an extraordinary genius, but more diffuſe in his writings, than was conſiſtent with the laws of hiſtory (44). *Voſſius* endeavours to prove, that *Nonianus* and *Novianus* were two different writers (45); but moſt critics take them to be one and the ſame with *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who was conſul under *Tiberius*. *A. Perſius Flaccus* acquired great fame in *Nero*'s reign by his ſatires. He was of an equeſtrian family, but allied to the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. He was born in *Volaterræ*, a city of *Hetruria*, on the twelfth of *December*, in the thirty-fourth year of the *Chriſtian* æra and twenty-firſt of *Tiberius*'s reign, *Paulus Fabius Perſicus* and *L. Vitellius* being conſuls. At the age of ſixteen he ſtudied philoſophy, together with *Lucan*, under *Annæus Cornutus*, the famous ſtoic, of whom we have ſpoken above. He was nearly related to the wife of the celebrated *Thraſea Pætus*, and lived in great friendſhip with that zealous and undaunted patriot; but never ſhewed great value for *Seneca*. He was a man of a mild temper, of an unblemiſhed character, of an extraordinary modeſty, and unbounded beneficence. The ſubject of his ſatires are the faults of the orators and poets of his time, whom he expoſes with great humour and elegance, without ſparing *Nero* himſelf: hence they were received with uncommon applauſe, greedily read, and mightily cried up by all men of taſte, eſpecielly by *Lucan*, who was greatly taken with his noble thoughts and fine expreſſions. He died ere he had put the laſt hand to them, before he was twenty-eight complete, on the twenty-fourth of *November*, in the year of the *Chriſtian* æra ſixty-two, the ninth of *Nero*'s reign, *P. Marius* and *L. Aſinius Gallus* being conſuls. He wrote ſome other poetical pieces; but *Cornutus*, as we have hinted above, adviſed his mother to ſuppreſs them (46). Some writers have

(41) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 25. (42) *Tacit. annal.* xiv. *c.* 9. (43) *Plin l.* xviii. *c.* 2. (44) *Quint l.* x. *c.* 1. (45) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 27. (46) *Suet. Perſ. vit. Hieron.* confounded

confounded him with *Caius Perſius Flaccus*, a man of great learning, but who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about two hundred years before our poet (47). *Remmius Palemon* taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applauſe under *Tiberius*, *Caius*, and *Claudius*, and, dying in the reign of *Nero*, left behind him a poem on weights and meaſures, which has reached our times. He was a native of *Vicentia*, and originally a ſlave; but by teaching acquired a conſiderable fortune, tho' he was generally deſpiſed, as a man quite deſtitute of honour, virtue, and honeſty. Under him *Perſius* ſtudied eloquence (48) *Cæſius Baſſus* died about the latter end of *Nero*'s reign, and left behind him ſeveral poetical pieces highly eſteemed He excelled in lyrics; but fell far ſhort of *Horace* (49). He is ſuppoſed to have been conſumed with his houſe by the flames of mount *Veſuvius*. *C. Balbillus*, who, according to *Seneca*, was a man of great integrity, and well verſed in all the branches of literature (50), was appointed præfect or governor of *Egypt* in the ſecond year of *Nero*'s reign and fifty-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra (51). He ſailed, according to *Pliny* (52), in ſix days from the ſtraights of *Meſſana* to *Alexandria*. He wrote an account of the remarkable things he had ſeen in *Egypt*, and deſcribed a battle, which, during his adminiſtration, happened at the mouth of the *Nile*, between the crocodiles and dolphins. The victory, according to him, was gained by the latter (53). *Lucan* was put to death by *Nero*'s orders, as we have related above. His chief performance is his *Pharſalia*, wherein he deſcribes the war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, in the opinion of *Quintilian*, more like an orator than a poet (54). As about no one writer critics are more divided in their opinions than about *Lucan*, we ſhall not preſume to decide a queſtion ſo much controverted, nor even deliver our ſentiments. However, we cannot help thinking, that ſuch as equal him to *Virgil*, do not ſo much extol *Lucan*, as they diſcredit themſelves, by manifeſtly betraying their want of taſte and judgment. If age had ripened his genius, for he was not twenty-ſix complete when he died, and joined to his fire and vivacity the more mature judgment of the inimitable *Virgil*, we might have admired in him a complete poet. To him *Voſſius* aſcribes the panegyric upon *Piſo*, which paſſes under *Ovid*'s name (55). He likewiſe wrote a poem upon the burning of *Rome*, and ſeveral other pieces, which have been long ſince loſt. A *Greek* woman, named *Pamphyla*, gained great reputation under *Nero*, by a general hiſtory, which ſhe compriſed in thirty-three books, well known to the antients, but not conveyed down to us (56). *Andromachus*, a native of *Crete*, by profeſſion a phyſician, inſcribed to *Nero* a *Greek* poem on treacle, which has been tranſmitted to us among the works of *Galen* (57).

(47) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 3. (48) *Idem, c.* 42. *Plin. l.* xiv *c.* 4. (49) *Idem ibid.* (50) *Senec. nat. quæſt. l.* iv. *c.* 2. (51) *Tacit annal. l.* xiii. *c.* 22. (52) *Plin. l.* xix. *c.* 13. (53) *Senec. ib. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i *c.* 25. (54) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (55) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* i. *c.* 26. (56) *Idem, hiſt. Græc. l.* ii *c.* 7. (57) *Idem, poet. Græc l.* ii. *c.* 7.

But

But of all the writers who flouriſhed under *Nero*, the moſt renowned, without diſpute, is the philoſopher *L. Annæus Seneca*. His father *Marcus*, or, as others call him, *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, is by the antients ſurnamed the *Declaimer*, from his having collected and publiſhed together the declamations of the moſt celebrated orators of his time, as appears from the preface which he prefixed to them. He left *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, in *Spain*, his native city, and came to *Rome*, with two of his ſons, *M. Annæus Seneca* and *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, about fifteen years before the death of *Auguſtus*. A third ſon, named *Lucius Annæus Mela*, the father of *Lucan* the poet, he left in *Spain*. As he was a perſon of great diſtinction in his own country, he was, ſoon after his arrival in *Rome*, admitted into the equeſtrian order. His eldeſt ſon, *M. Annæus Seneca*, being adopted by *Junius Gallio*, a ſenator, took the ſame name; and this is the *Gallio*, proconſul of *Achaia*, at whoſe tribunal St. *Paul* was accuſed. *L. Annæus Seneca*, his ſecond ſon, who was very young when he came to *Rome*, applied himſelf firſt to the ſtudy of eloquence under his father, and afterwards embraced with great ardour the philoſophy of the ſtoics, having for his inſtructors *Attalus*, *Sotio*, and others. He began very early to abſtain, purſuant to the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, from all kinds of meat; but a perſecution being raiſed under *Tiberius* againſt the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, who refrained from certain meats, he was eaſily prevailed upon by his father to renounce that doctrine and practice. However, he abſtained from oyſters and muſhrooms, which were then in great requeſt, conſidering them rather as incentives to gluttony than nouriſhment, refrained from wine, uſed no perfumes, nor baths, ſlept little, avoided the popular diverſions, *&c.* (58). By his firſt wife, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to, he had a ſon named *Marcus*. To his ſecond wife he took *Pompeia Paulina*, probably the daughter of *Pompeius Paulinus*, who, in the firſt year of *Nero*'s reign, commanded in *Lower Germany*. He pleaded at the bar with great applauſe; inſomuch, that *Caligula*, who was himſelf a ready and eloquent ſpeaker, as *Tacitus* informs us, jealous of the reputation he had gained, had, without any other provocation, reſolved on his deſtruction; but was diverted from his cruel purpoſe by a favourite concubine, who perſuaded him, that *Seneca*'s health was ſo impaired by his ſtudies and auſterities, that he could not protract his life much longer (59). But, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and the many infirmities to which he was ſubject, he outlived both *Caius* and *Claudius*. By the latter he was baniſhed, as we have related already, into the iſland of *Corſica*, after he had been quæſtor; which dignity he attained before the reign of *Claudius*, but whether in the time of *Tiberius* or *Caius*, is uncertain. Though he profeſſed a philoſophical life, he has been accuſed of many things altogether unworthy of that profeſſion. Not to mention the crime for which he was baniſhed under *Claudius*, *Dion Caſſius* charges him with other more abominable practices, and even with having taught his pupil *Nero*

(58) *Senec. epiſt.* 108, 83, (59) *Dio. l.* lix. *p.* 655.

thoſe

thoſe unnatural abominations, which will render his name infamous to the lateſt poſterity (60). And nevertheleſs that writer does not betray the leaſt prejudice againſt him; but, on the contrary, beſtows frequently high elogiums upon him. Though he often declaimed with great zeal againſt riches, yet, in the ſpace of four years, what by the favour of the prince, what by exceſſive uſury and hunting after teſtaments and inheritances, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure. To his uſury and iniquitous extortions, *Dion Caſſius* chiefly aſcribes the revolt of the *Britons*, as we have related above. *Tacitus*, who ſpeaks of him as favourably as he thought conſiſtent with truth, owns, that he courted popular favour, and was greedy of applauſe (61); and both *Suetonius* and *Quintilian* tell us, that he cried down the eloquence of the antient orators, to the end his own might be the more eſteemed. The ſatire he wrote againſt *Claudius* is altogether unworthy of a philoſopher, and likewiſe his *conſolatio ad Polybium*, even in the opinion of his great admirer and panegyriſt *Lipſius*, who therefore would willingly aſcribe it to ſome other; but owns, that he finds no arguments wherewithal to ſupport that opinion. Of this piece we conjecture *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks, where he tells us, that *Seneca*, during his exile, inſcribed a book to the freedmen of *Claudius*, filled with ſuch mean and ſervile flattery, that, being aſhamed of it himſelf, he did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs it (62). As to his ſtyle, *Quintilian* tells us, that it was ſuited to the taſte which prevailed in thoſe days, and for ſome time generally imitated by the young orators (63). But *Quintilian* himſelf, tho' he admires the lively and fertile genius of *Seneca*, yet wiſhes he had employed it better, and ſtudied rather to imitate the antients, than to form a ſtyle of his own; for from the antient maſters of eloquence he would have learnt to diſtinguiſh the true beauties of ſpeech from falſe ones (64). *Suetonius* ſeems to have entertained the ſame opinion of *Seneca*'s ſtyle (65). From *Aulus Gellius* it appears, that in his time *Seneca*'s ſtyle was ſtill admired by the young orators; but utterly deſpiſed by men of riper years and more mature judgment (66). *Eraſmus* agrees with *Quintilian*, and confirms his opinion with many learned obſervations (67), which we recommend to the peruſal of our readers. *Lipſius* finds fault with the ſtudied gingle of his periods, reckons many of his thoughts deſtitute of ſolidity, and his expreſſions often obſcure and unnatural (68). But after all, his works deſerve the higheſt eſteem in regard of the fine morals they contain and inculcate; and every reader will find in them powerful motives to embrace, and excellent rules to purſue, a virtuous life. We ſhall not inlarge upon them, ſince they are already ſo well known; but only obſerve, that of his works which have reached our times, Monſieur *le Fevre* is of opinion, that his *conſolatio ad Marciam*, was written in the reign of *Caius*, or perhaps of *Tiberius*; his *conſolatio ad Helviam* in the beginning of his exile; his *conſolatio*

(60) *Dio. in excerpt. Val. p.* 685 (61) *Annal.* xiii. *c.* 11. (62) *Dio. ibid p.* 685, 686. (63) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (64) *Idem ibid.* (65) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 52. (66) *Aul. Gell. l.* xii. *c.* 2. (67) *Eraſm. Sen. prol.* (68) *Lipſ. vit. Senec. c.* 5, & 11.

ad Polybium, about the forty-third year of the chriſtian æra, and the third of *Claudius*'s reign, when that prince was preparing to invade *Britain*; his epigrams, during his exile; his books *de ira*, *de otio ſapientis*, *de conſtantia ſapientis*, *de providentia*, *de tranquilitate animæ*, after the death of *Caligula*; his *ludus in Claudium* immediately after the death of that prince; his books *de clementia* and *de beneficiis*, in the beginning of *Nero*'s reign; that *de vita beata* a few years after, when he was in the height of his grandeur and proſperity; and his book *de brevitate vitæ*, after he had withdrawn from court; his *letters* and *naturales quæſtiones* are ſuppoſed by the ſame critic to have been written the year before his death (69), Beſides his other pieces, of which we know not the dates, *le Fevre* aſcribes to him the tragedy intitled *Medea*, being induced thereunto by the authority of *Quintilian* (70). The *Oedipus* is likewiſe thought to have been written by him; but the *Agamemnon*, the *Troas*, and the *Hercules furens*, are, in the opinion of the above-mentioned critic, altogether unworthy of the genius and eloquence of *Seneca*. From him, however, others differ, and aſcribe to *Seneca* the *Troas* and *Hippolytus*; but the tragedies intitled *Agamemnon*, *Hercules furens*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Hercules in Oeta*, to *Seneca* the father. As for the *Octavia*, it was, without all doubt, written after the death of *Seneca*, and even of *Nero* (71).

As for the ſentiments of *Seneca* touching religion, *In many places*, ſays *Tertullian* (72), *he favours us*; *noſter eſt*; hence his authority is frequently made uſe of by *Lactantius* to confound the *Gentiles*. St. *Auſtin* produces ſeveral paſſages out of a book, which was written by *Seneca againſt ſuperſtition and ſuperſtitious worſhip*, but has not reached us, plainly ſhewing, that he acknowledged but one Supreme Being, and was fully convinced of the folly of idolatry. *There is*, ſays he, as quoted by St. *Auſtin*, (73) *but one Supreme Ruler, but one Deity. We adore nevertheleſs many, not with a view to pleaſe the gods, but out of a commendable compliance with the cuſtoms and laws of our country.* Thus this able philoſopher, this grave ſenator, who thought it beneath him, ſays St. *Auſtin*, to diſguiſe himſelf on the ſtage, was not aſhamed to diſguiſe himſelf in the temples, and to aſſume a maſk, not to divert the people, but to lead them aſtray (74). In the above-mentioned book he diſapproved of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies; but never once mentioned the chriſtians; which, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin*, plainly ſhews, that he found nothing in their religion but what he judged commendable, though he durſt not commend it, through fear of diſobliging the prince, and the miſled multitude. Some letters of his to St. *Paul*, and of St. *Paul* to him, were publiſhed very early, which St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom* ſeem to have thought genuine; nay, the latter was by them induced to place *Seneca* among the eccleaſtic

(69) *Prolegom. in Senec.* (70) *Vide Faber. in Senec. prolegom.* (71) *Vide Turneb. & Faber. in Senec.* (72) *Tertul. ad nat. l.* ii. (73) *Aug. de civit. Dei. l.* vi. *c.* 10. (74) *Idem ibid. & in pſal.* cxl.

writers

writers (75). But theſe letters are now univerſally rejected as ſpurious, and altogether unworthy of St. *Paul*, and even of *Seneca*; which inclines us to believe, that the letters, which have been conveyed down to us, are not the ſame with thoſe which were handed about in the time of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom*. *Lipſius* is of opinion, that the ſuppoſed letters from *Seneca* to St. *Paul*, and from St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, were written by one and the ſame impoſtor (76); and *Baronius* diſcovers in them ſome enormous miſtakes (77). And thus much of the writers who flouriſhed under *Nero*.

(75) *Aug. epiſt.* liv. *Hieron. de vir. illuſt. c.* 12. (76) *Lipſ. in proleg. in Senec.* (77) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 66. *art.* 11—13. *& Godeau hiſt. eccleſ. ad ann.* 68.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the death of Nero, *to the death of* Vitellius, *when the empire became hereditary a ſecond time.*

SERVIUS *Sulpicius Galba*, the ſeventh emperor, was, by his father, deſcended from the *Sulpician* family, one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious in *Rome*. *Sulpicius Galba* governed *Spain* in quality of prætor in the year of *Rome* 602, and was the chief cauſe of the war with *Viriatus*, the celebrated leader of the *Luſitanians*. He was afterwards created conſul; but acquired greater renown by his eloquence, than by the offices he bore, being reckoned the moſt eloquent orator of his time. His grandſon, *Sergius Galba*, ſerved with great reputation under *Julius Cæſar*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Gauliſh* war; but afterwards, imputing the loſs of the conſulſhip to the ill offices of the dictator, he joined *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and was on that account condemned by the *Pedian* law. His ſon, *Servius Galba*, was more famous for his ſtudies, than his employments; for he was not advanced above the degree of a prætor, when he publiſhed ſeveral hiſtories, which are greatly cried up by the antients. His ſon, *Sergius Galba*, married *Mummia Achaica*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated *Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus*, and great grand-daughter of *L. Mummius*, who took and razed *Corinth*. By her he had two ſons, *Caius* and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* the emperor. *Caius*, having in his youth ſquandered away his eſtate, led a retired life in the country, till the twenty-ſecond year of *Tiberius*'s reign; when, upon his receiving a letter from that prince, forbidding him to draw his lot for a province, he laid violent hands on himſelf. *Tacitus* ſuppoſes him to have been conſul [u]; but *Suetonius* tells us, that he fell by his own hand, upon his being by *Tiberius* forbidden to ſtand for the conſulſhip [w]. The emperor was born on the twenty-fourth of *December*, the fifth year before the common chriſtian æra, that is, the eve of the nativity of our Saviour. His mother, *Mummia Achaica*, dying while he was yet an infant, his father ſoon after took to his ſecond

[u] TACIT. annal. vi. c. 40. [w] SUET. in Galb. c. 3.

wife

wife *Livia Ocellina* (U), a lady of great quality and wealth. She adopted young *Galba*, who thereupon took the name of *L. Livius Ocella*; which, however, he ſeems to have retained but a ſhort time. We are told by *Suetonius*, that while he was one day amongſt other noble youths of his own age ſaluting *Auguſtus*, the emperor laying his hand upon his head, *And you too, my ſon*, ſaid he, *ſhall one day taſte of empire*. The ſame writer adds, that *Tiberius*, who was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of aſtrology, foreſaw the future grandeur of *Galba*; but at the ſame time knew, that he was not to attain the ſovereign power till he was ſtricken in years; ſo that he never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs or concern about his diſtant promotion [x]. *Livia Auguſta*, the mother of *Tiberius*, to whom he was related, ſhewed a great kindneſs and eſteem for him while ſhe lived, and at her death left him an immenſe ſum of money; which *Tiberius* never paid him, he being without that legacy one of the moſt wealthy citizens of his time. He was well verſed in all the liberal ſciences, eſpecially in the civil law. He married *Lepida*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but ſhe, and the two ſons he had by her, dying, he led ever after a ſingle life, notwithſtanding even the ſolicitations of *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, become a widow by the death of *Domitius*. She had conceived a great paſſion for him in his wife's life-time; which occaſioned a quarrel between her and the mother of *Lepida*, who publicly upbraided her with her ſcandalous conduct [y]. He was, by the intereſt of *Livia*, preferred to employments before the age required by the laws. During his prætorſhip he diverted the people at the ſports called *Floralia*, with a new kind of entertainment, *viz.* elephants walking upon the rope. When his prætorſhip was expired, he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*, and about a year after raiſed to the conſulſhip, in which office he ſucceeded *L. Domitius*, the father of *Nero*, and was ſucceeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of *Otho*, who was emperor after him. *Caligula*

[x] SUET. c 4. [y] Idem, c. 5.

(U) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba*, appriſed of the paſſion which ſhe had conceived for him, called her one day aſide, and pulling off his robe, ſhewed her the imperfections of his ſhape, for he was ſtrangely diſtorted; which, inſtead of leſſening, heightened her eſteem for him to ſuch a degree, that though ſhe was courted on account of her wealth and beauty by the chief nobility of the city, ſhe conſtantly declared, that if ſhe could not marry *Galba*, ſhe would not marry at all (78).

(78) *Suet. c.* 3.

named

named him to the command of the legions in *Germany*, in the room of *Getulicus*; which truſt he diſcharged with great reputation, having in a ſhort time reſtored the antient diſcipline, which his predeceſſor had intirely neglected. Beſides, he repulſed with incredible expedition the *Germans*, who had made an inroad into *Gaul*; which gained him the favour and eſteem of *Caligula*. Upon the death of that emperor, he was earneſtly ſolicited by many perſons of great intereſt and power, to lay hold of that opportunity, and ſeize the empire for himſelf; but he, without hearkening to their propoſals, obliged his troops to take the uſual oaths to *Claudius*, who thereupon received him into the number of his moſt intimate friends, and ever after ſhewed ſo great eſteem for him, that being upon the point of ſetting out on his expedition into *Britain*, he put off his journey for ſome days, on account of a ſlight indiſpoſition which ſeized *Galba*. Some time after, *Africa* being ſtrangely harraſſed with inteſtine troubles and the invaſions of the neighbouring barbarians, he was, without drawing lots according to cuſtom, ſent into that province in quality of proconſul, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there even above thoſe, who had gained the greateſt reputation in that government. He remained there two years, during which time he reſtored, with great prudence and neceſſary ſeverity, the province to its former tranquillity. *Suetonius* tells us, that one of his ſoldiers having ſold, while proviſions were very ſcarce, his allowance of corn for a hundred denarii, the proconſul, to puniſh his avarice, forbad his comrades to ſupply him; by which means he was ſtarved. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the *Titian* prieſts, and the prieſts of *Auguſtus*. From this time to the middle of *Nero*'s reign, that is, the ſixtieth year of the chriſtian æra, he led a retired life, dreading to give the tyrant any umbrage. During his retirement, he never ſtirred out, even to take the air, but attended by a chariot with a vaſt ſum of money in it, that he might not be reduced to want, in caſe he found it neceſſary to conſult his ſafety by a ſudden flight. Thus he lived, till *Nero*, of his own motion, named him to the government of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, that prince not having yet learnt, as *Plutarch* obſerves, to fear, and exclude from the great employments, men of intereſt and power. He governed that province for the ſpace of eight years, at firſt with exceſſive rigour, of which authors give us ſeveral inſtances: a banker being convicted of fraud in his profeſſion, he ordered both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his counter. He cauſed a guardian to be crucified for poiſoning his ward, whoſe next heir he was. The criminal urged, that he was a *Roman* citizen, and, as ſuch, exempted from that ignominious

ignominious death; upon which *Galba* commanded, by way of diſtinction, a white croſs to be prepared for him much higher than uſual, but would not revoke his former ſentence. However, by degrees he abated of his rigour, through fear of giving *Nero* occaſion of jealouſy, and abandoned himſelf, contrary to his inclination, to ſloth and idleneſs, ſaying, that no man could be called to an account for doing nothing[z]: nevertheleſs he took no care to ſuppreſs the many bitter lampoons which were handed about againſt *Nero* and ſung throughout his province, or to inquire after or puniſh the authors of them. He could not check the cruelties and extortions practiſed by the imperial procurators, whoſe province it was to collect the taxes and other duties belonging to the revenue; but openly ſhewed a tender concern for the ſufferings of the oppreſſed people, which gained him the hearts of the natives, but provoked the emperor's officers to ſuch a degree, that, at their inſtigation, *Nero* had already ordered him to be privately diſpatched. But, before theſe orders could be put in execution, he openly revolted in the manner we have related above [a].

WE left *Galba* at *Clunia*, a city of his province, whither he had retired with his friends, in the utmoſt conſternation, upon the news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Virginius* not to ſeize the empire himſelf, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not choſen by the ſenate. While he was deliberating with his friends what meaſures to take, and in the utmoſt deſpair ready to lay violent hands on himſelf, his freedman, by name *Vicellius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, arriving in ſeven days from *Rome*, and underſtanding upon his arrival, that *Galba* was repoſing in his chamber, opened the door, and, entering in ſpite of his guards, acquainted him, that *Nero* was dead, and he, by the army, the ſenate, and people, declared emperor; adding, that not truſting to common report, he had gone himſelf to the place where the tyrant lay, ſeen his lifeleſs carcaſe extended on the ground, and heard *Galba*, in the camp of the prætorian guards, proclaimed emperor. We may well imagine, how great was the joy of *Galba* upon this intelligence; it flew in a trice through the neighbouring cities, and drew vaſt crouds to *Clunia*: *Galba* received them in the moſt obliging manner, communicated to them the news he had received, and aſſured them of the truth of it, though the expedition uſed by the meſſenger rendered it almoſt incredible. Two days after, *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, having received from his friends in *Rome* a diſtinct account of what had paſſed in the capital, came from the camp

Galba *receives the news of* Nero's *death.*

[z] SUET. c. 6—9. [a] SUET. c. 9, 10. DIO l. lxiii. p. 725.

and

and imparted it to his general. Nor was it long, ere meſſengers arrived from the conſuls *Silius* and *Trachalus*, who, though depoſed by *Nero*, had, it ſeems, upon his death, reſumed the faſces, with the decrees of the ſenate, declaring *Galba* emperor, and veſting him with the ſovereign power [b]. *Suetonius* writes, that he no ſooner received theſe diſpatches, than laying aſide the title of lieutenant to the ſenate and people, he aſſumed that of emperor [c]; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſtyled *emperor* or *Cæſar*, till he was acknowledged as ſuch by the deputies, who were ſent to him by the ſenate and met him at *Narbonne* [d]. Be that as it will, he no ſooner received the decrees of the ſenate, than he left *Spain* and ſet out for *Rome*, attended by his *Spaniſh* guard, by his chief friends, and by *Otho*, proprætor of *Luſitania*, the firſt governor who declared for him; but advanced ſlowly, being, on account of his age, carried the whole way in a litter. *Suetonius* tells us, that on his journey he diſpatched aſſaſſins into *Judæa*, with private orders to murder *Veſpaſian*, whoſe power and abilities he dreaded. But *Tacitus* [e] and *Joſephus* [f] aſſure us, that *Veſpaſian* entertained not the leaſt thought of revolting from *Galba*; but, on the contrary, upon the firſt news of his aſſumption to the empire, he diſpatched his ſon *Titus* to perform fealty and homage in his name, and to receive his orders concerning the war he was carrying on againſt the *Jews*. With *Titus* king *Agrippa* ſet out from *Judæa*, in order to aſſure the new emperor of his ſubmiſſion and obedience; but they proceeded no farther than *Achaia*, where they received news of *Galba*'s death. The only perſon whom *Galba* ſeemed to dread and ſuſpect was *Verginius Rufus*, who was at the head of a powerful army in *Germany*, and acquired great reputation by the defeat of *Vindex*, and was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery. But he, though earneſtly preſſed to aſſume the ſovereignty, not only by the troops under his command, but likewiſe by deputies from the legions, which, by *Nero*'s orders, had from *Illyricum* croſſed over into *Italy*, continued firm to his firſt reſolution of reſerving to the ſenate the power of electing an emperor; nay, when certain news was brought him of *Nero*'s death, he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the title of emperor, though his ſoldiers bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood, and one of the tribunes, forcing his way into his tent, with his drawn ſword, threatened to kill him upon the ſpot, if he continued to withſtand the ardent wiſhes of the whole army. When he received from *Rome* a certain account of the reſolutions of the

Aſſumes the title of emperor.

Verginius *refuſes the empire.*

[b] Plut. ibid. [c] Suet. c. 11. [d] Zonar. p. 190. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 10. [f] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

ſenate,

ſenate, he immediately took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, and perſuaded, not without much difficulty, the troops under his command to lay aſide all thoughts of raiſing him to the empire, which by the ſenate had been decreed to another. *Galba* was ſo taken with his loyal and generous conduct, that he immediately ſent for him, with a deſign to have him near his perſon, and confer upon him ſuch rewards as his fidelity well deſerved. *Verginius* received with the utmoſt reſpect *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who was appointed to command in his room, reſigned the army to him, and ſet out without delay to meet the emperor, who already approached the frontiers of *Gaul*. Upon his arrival, he was received very coldly by *Galba*, without the leaſt token, ſays *Plutarch*, of affection or hatred, of gratitude or reſentment. The emperor had a perſonal value and eſteem for him, and would have raiſed him, had he followed his own inclination, to the chief employments in the ſtate. But *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great ſway over the emperor and was jealous of *Verginius*, did all that lay in his power to eſtrange from him the mind of the emperor, and to put a ſtop to his promotion. But herein he was more his friend, as *Plutarch* obſerves, than he intended, and contributed to that happineſs which he thought he was oppoſing: for, by preventing his preferment, he preſerved him from thoſe calamities, in which the other officers of the army were involved, and ſecured to him a life of quiet and tranquillity, which he enjoyed to an advanced age [g]. *Galba*, upon his arrival at *Narbonne*, found there the embaſſadors ſent to him from the ſenate, received them in a moſt obliging manner, and invited them to an entertainment, at which he refuſed to make uſe of the ſilver and gold plate which belonged to *Nero*, and had been ſent him from *Rome*, contenting himſelf with his own, which ſhewed, that he utterly deſpiſed all pomp and outward appearances of grandeur. However, he was ſoon perſuaded by *Vinius* to alter his conduct in this particular, and put upon other meaſures, which haſtened his ruin. He treated with the utmoſt ſeverity ſome cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him, publiſhed threatening edicts againſt them, and deprived ſome of them of great part of their territories, loading them with heavy taxes, and cauſing their walls to be beaten down [h]. In *Gaul* he ordered *Fettius Chilo*, and in *Spain Obultronius Sabinus* and *Cornelius Marcellus*, to be put to death, and with them, if we believe *Suetonius* [i], even their wives and children, for having refuſed to join him, when he firſt revolted from *Nero*. As *Galba* was known to be a man of an humane

Obliges his legions to acknowledge Galba.

Is received coldly by Galba.

Galba's *ſeverity.*

[g] Plut. ibid. [h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c 53. [i] Suet. c. 15.

temper, and naturally averſe to all manner of cruelty, theſe executions were generally imputed, and not undeſervedly, to *Vinius* and his other favourites, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of the preſent reign.

Nymphidius Sabinus *aſpires at the empire.*

In the mean time, at *Rome*, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding reign, having, by his immenſe largeſſes, gained the affections of the prætorian guards, and perſuading himſelf, that *Galba*, by reaſon of his infirmities and old age, would never reach the capital, uſurped all the authority there. Preſuming upon his intereſt, he obliged *Tigellinus*, who commanded, jointly with him, the prætorian guards, to lay down his commiſſion. After this, he made ſeveral magnificent and expenſive entertainments, inviting to them ſuch as had been conſuls or had commanded armies, diſtributed large ſums among the people, and with ſhows and other diverſions, which he daily exhibited, gained ſo great an intereſt with all ranks, that he already looked upon himſelf as ſovereign. The ſenate, dreading his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſtyled him their protector, attended him when he appeared in public, and had recourſe to him for the confirmation of their decrees, as if he had been already inveſted with the ſovereign power.

His power in Rome.

This baſe compliance puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that he uſurped, not leiſurely and by degrees, but all at once, an abſolute authority. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was ſo provoked againſt the conſuls for ſealing the diſpatches, which they ſent to the emperor, with their own ſignets, and not with his, that he would have depoſed them, had they not ſtudied to appeaſe him with ſubmiſſions quite unbecoming perſons of their rank and ſtation. Tho' he acted as ſovereign, he had not yet openly declared his deſign of ſeizing the ſovereignty; but when he underſtood, that *Galba* was already in *Gaul* and approached the borders of *Italy*, that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards, and *Titius Vinius* the new emperor's chief favourite, he ſummoned the officers under his command; and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt *Galba*'s favourites, who, he ſaid, would exerciſe the ſame power and authority, which had been uſurped by *Tigellinus*, if they were allowed time to eſtabliſh themſelves, he exhorted them to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor, and beg, in the name of the whole army, that he would diſcharge from his ſervice *Laco* and *Vinius*. If *Galba* complied with their requeſt, he did not doubt, but the whole power would devolve upon him, ſince he had contributed more than any other to the ruin of *Nero* and promotion of *Galba*; and this power he deſigned to make uſe of againſt *Galba* himſelf: if the emperor rejected the petition of the army, that, he hoped, would eſtrange their minds from him,

Attempts to stir up the prætorian guards to a revolt.

and

and diſpoſe them to a revolt. But the officers did not approve of the motion; on the contrary, they thought it abſurd and unreaſonable to direct an emperor of *Galba*'s years and experience, and tell him who of his friends were to be truſted, and who diſcharged. Hereupon *Nymphidius* changed his meaſures, and, contrary to the advice of *Clodius Celſus*, a native of *Antioch*, his intimate friend, reſolved to conceal no longer his deſign. Accordingly he imparted it, without diſguiſe, to ſome of the officers, and they to the ſoldiers under their command; and it was agreed, that *Nymphidius* ſhould be conveyed that very night into the camp, and there proclaimed emperor. But *Antonius Honoratus*, one of the tribunes, touched with remorſe, aſſembled his men in the evening, ſignified to them his repentance, and encouraged them to continue ſteady in their allegiance to *Galba*. *We had, indeed,* ſaid he, *ſome colourable pretence to revolt from* Nero, *whoſe cruelty and tyranny we could no longer bear. But what can prompt us to abandon and betray* Galba? *Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? did he ever diſgrace the imperial dignity by debaſing himſelf to act upon the ſtage? Notwithſtanding all the provocations that monſter had given us, we thought ourſelves bound to continue faithful to him, to defend and protect him, till we were aſſured by the traytor* Nymphidius, *that he had abandoned us and was fled into* Egypt. *What, but ſome evil genius, can thus hurry us on from one treaſon to another? Muſt* Galba *fall a victim to appeaſe the ghoſt of* Nero? *muſt one of* Livia's *family be ſacrificed to make way for the ſon of* Nymphidia? *Let us rather call him to an account for the death of* Nero, *and approve our fidelity to* Galba *by inflicting on the baſe traytor the puniſhment he deſerves.* The diſcourſe of the tribune brought all who heard him over to his ſentiments; ſo that they reſolved to maintain inviolable the oath which they had taken to *Galba*. Moſt of the other cohorts joined them, and with loud ſhouts proclaimed a new *Galba* emperor. *Nymphidius* hearing the noiſe, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing ſome inſurrection, haſtened to the camp, attended by a great number of lights, and holding a ſpeech in his hand compoſed by *Ciconius Varro*, which he intended to pronounce to the army. Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the gates ſhut and the ſoldiers under arms on the ramparts. This greatly alarmed him; but nevertheleſs advancing nearer, he aſked them, *What they deſigned, and by whoſe orders they had taken arms?* To this queſtion they anſwered with one voice, *We are determined to acknowledge no other emperor but* Galba. *Nymphidius*, pretending to concur in their ſentiments, commended their fidelity; and, not yet deſpairing of being able by large promiſes to gain them over to his

The ſpeech of one of the tribunes againſt him.

He goes to the camp.

intereſt, ordered them to open the gates to their general. They obeyed; but *Nymphidius*, upon his firſt entering the camp, was ſaluted with a dart, which *Septimus*, who marched before him, received on his ſhield. The traytor immediately betook himſelf to flight; but being cloſely purſued by the ſoldiery, was overtaken and ſlain. His body was dragged through the camp, and next morning expoſed to public view in an incloſure made for that purpoſe [i]. For this account we are indebted to *Plutarch*; for *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* only tell us, that *Nymphidius* embarked in meaſures to ſeize the ſovereignty, but periſhed in the attempt. *Nymphidius* boaſted himſelf, as we have related above [k], the ſon of the emperor *Caligula*; but was commonly thought, according to *Plutarch* [l], to be the ſon of a celebrated gladiator named *Martianus*, to whom he bore a greater reſemblance than to *Caligula*; for his mother *Nymphidia* was a public proſtitute. *Galba* being at the ſame time informed of the treaſon and the puniſhment inflicted on the traytor, diſpatched orders to the ſenate, injoining them to put all his accomplices to death without diſtinction. Among theſe were executed *Cingonius Varro*, *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, the ſame, as we conjecture, who having been by the *Romans* ſtript of his dominions twenty years before, had delivered himſelf into their hands, and had by them been conveyed to *Rome*. They were both, without all doubt, privy to the conſpiracy; nay, *Mithridates* had ſaid publicly, while men of all ranks were with emulation teſtifying their joy for the promotion of *Galba*, that while he was at ſome diſtance, they entertained mighty expectations of him; but the moment he appeared, they would think it a diſgrace to the preſent age, that he had ever been ſtyled *Cæſar*. But, notwithſtanding their guilt, they were deemed to periſh as innocents, becauſe they died without being heard in their own defence. Every one expected, from a man of *Galba*'s years and experience, a quite different conduct; and therefore the whole city was greatly alarmed at ſuch illegal and arbitrary proceedings, againſt perſons of their rank and quality [m]. But what occaſioned a far greater ſurprize was, his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been conſul in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign, to be forthwith put to death, for no other crime, but becauſe he had been faithful to that prince, and commanded as general under him. As *Turpilianus* was broken with age, and had no longer any troops under his command, the emperor, as was publicly ſaid, ought to have put off his execution, till his arrival at *Rome*, and heard him himſelf. From theſe haſty and illegal executions it was generally

Is there murdered.

His accomplices put to death by Galba's orders.

Galba's unfashionable severity.

[i] Plut. ibid. [k] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. XIV. p. 201. [l] Plut. ibid. [m] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 5.

nerally concluded, that the new prince would not obſerve that moderation in his actions, which he had promiſed in his ſpeeches.

AFTER a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached at length the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of the city, and was there met by a numerous body of marines, who by *Nero* had been formed into a legion, and were come to addreſs the new emperor for a confirmation of their eſtabliſhment. But *Galba* either rejecting their petition, or putting off the affair to another time, they grew mutinous, beſet the emperor, ſtopping up the way to all others who came to wait upon him, and with a tumultuous noiſe, required an eagle and legionary enſigns. Hereupon *Galba* ordered his horſe to ride in among them, who put many of them to the ſword and the reſt to flight. The emperor, not ſatisfied with this ſeverity, commanded every tenth man of thoſe who had eſcaped to be decimated; ſo that, according to *Tacitus*, ſeveral thouſands fell, either by the ſwords of the horſe, or thoſe of the executioners [n]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that ſeven thouſand of the diſarmed multitude were cut in pieces upon the ſpot. Such, as had the good luck to outlive the maſſacre and execution of their companions, were, by *Galba*'s orders, committed to priſon, where they lay till his death, when they were by *Otho* ſet at liberty, and anew formed into a legion [o]. The entrance of the new emperor into the capital, through ſo much blood and ſlaughter, was looked upon as an omen portending greater calamities, than the city had ſuffered even under *Nero*; and the populace were confirmed in their apprehenſions by ſeveral prodigies, eſpecially by an earthquake, attended with a dreadful noiſe, which happened upon *Galba*'s firſt entering the palace [p]. But what moſt of all rendered him both odious and contemptible was, his ſuffering himſelf to be entirely governed and blindly controuled by his three favourites, *Titus Vinius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Marcianus Icelus*; who, as they lodged in the palace, and were continually about the emperor, were commonly ſtyled his *pedagogues*. *Titus Vinius* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but diſgraced it by his infamous conduct, being, according to *Tacitus*, of all men the moſt notoriouſly wicked. In his very firſt campaign under *Calviſius Sabinus*, he was branded with infamy; for the wife of that general, led with a prepoſterous curioſity to view the diſpoſition of the camp, entered it in the night, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſoldier; and, having there ventured into the place where the guard was kept, was debauched by *Vinius*, in the very quarter which was facred to the *Roman* eagles and banners. For this

He cauſes a great number of marines to be maſſacred.

Is governed by his favourites.

The character of Titus Vinius.

[n] TACIT. c. 6. [o] DIO. l. lxiv. p. 729. TACIT. c. 87
[p] SUET. c. 18.

crime

crime he was by the emperor *Caligula* put in irons, and kept under cloſe confinement; but being ſoon after ſet at liberty by *Claudius*, he diſcharged ſeveral public employments with a character free from reproach. Upon the expiring of his prætorſhip, he was preferred to the command of a legion, and acquitted himſelf in it with great applauſe. Afterwards he was guilty of a crime, altogether infamous and worthy only of a ſlave; for being invited by *Claudius* to an entertainment, he purloined a golden cup of great value. But the only puniſhment which the emperor inflicted upon him for ſo ſcandalous an action was, to invite him again to his table the very next day, and to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of his gueſts, by ordering, that *Vinius* alone ſhould be ſerved in an earthen cup. Yet he ruled the province of *Narbonne Gaul*, in quality of proconſul, with unbiaſſed juſtice and eminent integrity. He was, upon the cloſe of his proconſulſhip, appointed to command, under *Galba*, the legion which was quartered in *Spain*; where, contrary to the opinion of the other officers, he encouraged his general, in the manner we have related above, not to let ſlip the opportunity that offered to ſeize the ſovereignty. He was a man of great boldneſs and addreſs, and, according as he choſe to apply his talents, capable of performing great things for the public welfare, or plunging the ſtate in endleſs calamities. *Cornelius Laco*, the other favourite, whom *Galba* had appointed captain of the prætorian guards before he left *Spain*, was a man of ſlender parts, and of no courage or activity, but mightily conceited with his own talents, a certain enemy to every counſel, however excellent, if not ſuggeſted by himſelf, and headſtrong in oppoſing every man eminent for ability and diſcernment. *Icelus* was a manumiſed ſlave, but not inferior to the other two in favour and authority. *Nero* had veſted him, by the gold ring, with the order of knighthood, and he was now everywhere called by an equeſtrian name, that of *Martianus*. He was a man of inſatiable avarice, and is ſaid, by ſpoil and rapine, to have amaſſed more wealth in the ſeven months that *Galba* reigned, than the moſt rapacious freedman of *Nero* had done during the fourteen years of his reign. As the aged emperor repoſed an entire confidence in theſe miniſters, without ever inquiring into their conduct, they proſtituted the credit and character of their maſter to their own vile gain and wicked paſſions. By them all things were ſet to ſale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were inſatiable, and eager to make the moſt of a ſhort reign; ſo that in the court of *Galba* appeared all the evils and exceſſes lately ſeen and abhorred in that of *Nero*: they were equally grievous, ſays *Tacitus*, but not equally excuſed,

Of Cornelius Laco *and* Icelus.

Their ſcandalous conduct.

in a prince of *Galba*'s years and experience. He had himſelf a heart altogether upright and well-meaning; but, as the numberleſs iniquities of his miniſters were imputed to him, he was no leſs hated, than if he had committed them himſelf. This, ſays *Dion Caſſius*[q], is the unhappy condition of princes: it is not enough for them to abſtain from all violence; they muſt reſtrain others, eſpecially their miniſters, from committing any: no prince will be reckoned good, when his miniſters are known to be bad; nor to be much beloved, when they are much hated. Miniſters, it muſt be owned, are doomed to ſuffer imputations altogether groundleſs, as proceeding rather from envy and the nature of their poſt, than from their evil conduct; in which caſes it is but reaſonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was notorius, and manifeſt to all men but *Galba*. He, whom of all men it moſt imported to know it, knew it not; and hence, without check or controul, they abuſed the power with which he too blindly entruſted them, and ſacrificed his life, his glory, and diadem to their own private views, to ſordid intereſt, which was the ſmalleſt thing they ought to have ſacrificed for ſo good a maſter. But the meaſures, which they took, proved in the end no leſs fatal to them, than to the emperor, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate.

Galba calls to account and puniſhed the miniſters of Nero.

Galba's firſt care, after his arrival in the capital, was to call to an account, and puniſh, according to their deſerts, ſuch as had borne the chief ſway in the late tyrrannical adminiſtration. Among theſe, *Elius Polycletus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Narciſſus*, all *Nero*'s freedmen, and *Locuſta*, the famous poiſoner, were publicly executed, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the people, who, with loud ſhouts of joy, attended them as they were led to the place of execution. No one doubted, but *Tigellinus* would ſuffer the like doom. He had been the chief author and promoter of *Nero*'s iniquities, had perpetrated many unknown to him, and at laſt forſaken and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more ardently wiſhed for, more vehemently urged, by ſuch as hated, by ſuch as lamented, *Nero*; both concurring from oppoſite paſſions, in the ſame antipathy and requeſt. But he had, with immenſe preſents, purchaſed the favour of *Vinius*, who protected him with his mighty authority, on pretence that his daughter had been ſaved by *Tigellinus*; and truly he had ſaved her, ſays *Tacitus*, not from any clemency of his, after ſuch numbers murdered by him, but purely to purchaſe means of ſhelter and eſcape in time to come. For this is the policy, continued our hiſtorian, of every deſperate offender, from diſtruſt of preſent fortune and dread of change, to arm himſelf betimes with private favour againſt the

Tigellinus is protected by Vinius.

[q] Dio. l. lxiv. p. 728.

public

public hatred. Hence it comes, that for the protection of innocence no regard is ſhewn, but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from puniſhment *. Of this ſcandalous partiality the people loudly complained: *Turpilianus*, ſaid they, without having been guilty of any iniquity, or been polluted with the crimes of *Nero*, has been put to death for no other guilt, but becauſe he would not betray his prince and maſter; whereas he who plunged his prince into thoſe abominations, for which he deſerved to die, and afterwards treacherouſly forſook and betrayed him, is not only ſuffered to live, but to enjoy the immenſe wealth, which by all manner of rapine he has accumulated.

The people demand his execution.

As often as the emperor appeared abroad, the people crowded about him, demanding the execution of *Tigellinus*. This they earneſtly begged, in the theatre, in the circus, at the gates of the palace, *&c.* As the execution of this execrable inſtrument of *Nero*'s tyranny was thus demanded by the univerſal voice of the *Roman* people, it had been but juſt, as well as politic and popular, to have ſacrificed him, though he had been leſs guilty than he really was, to the manes of ſo many illuſtrious *Romans* murdered by him, and to the honeſt rage of the public. This would have obliged both the friends and enemies of *Nero*, gained the affections of the people, and ſtrengthened *Galba*'s party.

Galba checks them with an edict.

But theſe were ſmall conſiderations with *Vinius*, in compariſon of filling his coffers. In order, therefore, to oblige *Tigellinus*, who had engaged to pay him an immenſe ſum, in caſe he eſcaped unpuniſhed, he perſuaded *Galba*, who repoſed in him an entire confidence, not only to withſtand the ardent wiſhes and earneſt ſolicitations of the whole *Roman* people, but to check them with an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor inſiſt upon the execution of an unhappy man, who was dying of a conſumption. Nothing ſo much provoked the indignation of the people as this edict; for it was afterwards known, that *Tigellinus* had that very ſame day made a ſacrifice to the gods for his recovery, which was followed by a magnificent entertainment; and that *Vinius* after having ſupped with the emperor, had ſpent the whole night in revelling with *Tigellinus*: it was moreover known, that *Vinius* had carried his daughter with him to the entertainment; and that *Tigellinus*, after having thanked the father for the edict, preſented the daughter, firſt with two hundred and fifty thouſand drachmas, and afterwards with a necklace, which he took from the neck of the chief of his concubines, valued at one hundred and fifty thouſand more. *Halotus*, another of *Nero*'s miniſters, and perhaps no leſs hated, on account of his enormous cruelties and

* Tacit. c. 72.

extortions,

extortions, than *Tigellinus*, (for with equal ardour the *Roman* people demanded his execution) was in the ſame manner, and from the ſame motives, protected by the authority of *Vinius*; nay, in conſideration of an immenſe ſum, which he paid to that wicked miniſter, he not only eſcaped unpuniſhed, but was preferred to a moſt honourable and profitable employment [r]. Thus were criminals, notoriouſly guilty of the moſt crying iniquities, but poſſeſſed with wealth enough to purchaſe the favour of the reigning miniſter, ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their crimes, while others, leſs guilty, were by droves hurried to execution. This ſcandalous and barefaced partiality gained to the miniſter what he chiefly aimed at, immenſe treaſures, but derived upon the prince infinite public hatred; for, by not reſtraining his miniſter, he incurred the ſame cenſure and blame, as if he himſelf had done the evil, or authoriſed it [s].

Halotus is likewiſe pardoned and preferred.

Which derives public hatred upon Galba.

THE example of *Vinius* was followed by the other miniſters and favourites of the new emperor; for being indulged in immoderate power, they expoſed to common ſale all the honours and emoluments of the ſtate. His bondmen too were greedy to profit by their ſudden ſunſhine, and eager to convert into haſty gains the ſhort reign of a maſter already enfeebled with age. So that the people began loudly to complain: Why, ſaid they, was *Nero* depoſed, if things are not mended under *Galba?* Why a new prince choſen, but for the eaſe of the public, after a reign of violence and tyranny? The public hatrred, which the numberleſs iniquities of the new emperor's miniſters derived upon him, was heightened by his ill-timed ſtrictneſs and unpopular parſimony; though his parſimony was chiefly aſcribed to *Vinius*, who was ſaid to have checked the emperor's generoſity to others, that he might the better gratify his own avarice. However that be, while the emperor endeavoured to reform the abuſes, and retrench the exorbitant expences that had prevailed in the preceding reign, he ran into the other exreme. No man's money, ſays *Tacitus*, did he ever covet, but was ſparing of his own, and of the public money greedy and tenacious. Authors relate ſeveral inſtances of his unſeaſonable parſimony, altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and ſtation. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Canus*, a celebrated player upon the flute, having one night entertained him while he was ſupping, the emperor, after having highly commended the excellence of his performance, ſent for his purſe, and preſented him with five denarii, about three ſhillings of our money, telling him, that he made him that preſent out of his privy purſe, and not out of the public money. *Suetonius* adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary oc-

Galba's parſimony.

[r] PLUT. ibid. SUET. c. 15. [s] PLUT. ibid. TACIT. c. 4.

caſion, was more ſplendidly ſerved than uſual, he could not refrain from ſighing and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction, in a manner inconſiſtent with common decency [t]. As the public treaſure had been quite exhauſted by *Nero*, who had conſumed above ſeventeen millions in profuſe penſions and donations, *Galba*, after examining every expedient to find the neceſſary ſupplies, preferred to all others, as the moſt juſt, that of ſupplying the public at the expence of thoſe, for whoſe ſake the public had been impoveriſhed. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to account; and it was enacted, that they ſhould retain only a tenth of that wild liberality, and reſtore the reſt. But, as they had ſcarce a tenth left unwaſted, having laviſhed the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens, in the ſame riot and prodigality in which they had ſquandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged thoſe who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For theſe ſearches and exactions a new court was inſtituted, in which preſided according to *Tacitus* thirty, according to *Suetonius* fifty, *Roman* knights; who extended their inquiries even into *Greece*, and there obliged the players upon inſtruments, the actors, wreſtlers, charioteers, the judges at the *Olympic* games, the prieſteſs of *Apollo Delphicus*, &c. to reſtore nine tenths of *Nero*'s donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it; as on all hands were ſeen open ſales and the public crier, and this court was new in its inſtitution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous ſuits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, was in a ferment. The ſoldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promiſed them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba*'s name, ſuppoſing, that though they did not receive the full, yet the emperor, notwithſtanding his patrimony, would not ſcruple to beſtow upon them the ſame ſum that had been given them by *Nero*. But when he refuſed to fulfil the promiſe which had been made in his name, and ordered only a ſmall ſum, leſs than had yet been given by any prince, to be diſtributed among them, they could not refrain from ſeditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This diſaffection was heightened by a ſaying of *Galba*: a ſaying, according to *Tacitus*, worthy of the primitive virtue of the *Romans* and the commonwealth, but to himſelf dangerous; *That he choſe his ſoldiers, and did not buy them.* His ſeverity too in exacting a ſtrict obſervance of military diſcipline, a quality ſo admired of old, and by the armies ever di-

He orders nine tenths of Nero's donations to be reſtored.

Refuſes the donative to the ſoldiers.

[t] Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 16.

ſtinguiſhed

ſtinguiſhed with applauſe, was very grievous to a ſlothful ſoldiery, ſcorning the antient diſcipline, and for fourteen years ſo accuſtomed to the baſe reign of *Nero*, that at this time they no leſs admired the vices of their princes, than of old they had adored their virtues [u]. Though the reſt of his conduct did not, according to *Tacitus*, anſwer his ſeverity in keeping the ſoldiery to their duty, yet he performed, as *Suetonius* informs us, many things worthy of ſo great a prince [w]. That writer does not deſcend to particulars; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had, by falſe accuſations, occaſioned the ruin of innocent perſons; that he delivered up to all maſters ſuch of their ſlaves as had borne witneſs againſt them; and that he recalled from exile thoſe, who had been baniſhed by *Nero* upon the law of majeſty [x]. *Caſaubon* thinks it plainly appears from an antient inſcription, that he ſuppreſſed the the tax of the *quadrageſima* or fortieth penny, which had been firſt taken off, and afterwards reſtored by *Nero* [y]. He diſcharged ſeveral of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conſpiracy of *Nymphidius*; and diſmiſſed, without the uſual rewards, the *German* cohort, which had ſerved the other *Cæſars* with unſhaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, becauſe he ſuſpected them more inclined to *Cn. Dolabella* than to him [z]. However, he took particular care of ſome other cohorts of *Germans*, who having been ſent by *Nero* before him to *Alexandria*, while he meditated a journey thither, and ſoon after recalled, were returned ſickly, and greatly fatigued with ſo long a courſe of ſailing [a].

Diſcharges the German *cohort.*

ABOUT the ſame time that *Julius Vindex* revolted in *Gaul*, *Clodius Macer*, who governed *Africa* in quality of proprætor, took up arms againſt *Nero*, levied new forces, and even a legion, which from him was called the *Macrian* legion, but was ſoon after diſbanded by *Galba*, whom he refuſed to acknowledge, through fear of being called to account for the numberleſs murders and extortions, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him. *Plutarch* tells us, that, without either accepting or rejecting the imperial title, he ſtrove to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Africa*, and to famiſh the city, by ſtopping the veſſels which thence conveyed corn to *Rome*. He was inſtigated to this revolt, according to *Tacitus* [b], chiefly by *Galeria Criſpinilla*, who had been to *Nero* the directreſs of his luſts, and afterwards, paſſing over into *Africa*, had inſinuated

[u] PLUT. ibid. TACIT. c. 5. SUET. c. 16. DIO. p. 729. [w] SUET. c. 14. [x] ZONAR p. 190. [y] Vide SPANH. l. ix. p. 793. [z] SUET. c. 12. [a] TACIT. c. 31. [b] Idem, hiſt. l. i. c. 7.

herſelf into the favour of the proprætor *Macer*. According to this account, *Macer* ſeems not to have revolted till after *Nero*'s death. Be that as it will, he was ſlain at the command of *Galba* by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. As for *Criſpinilla*, ſhe returned to *Rome*; and though it was notorious, that ſhe had ſuggeſted to *Macer* the pernicious counſel of famiſhing the *Roman* people, and on that ſcore capital puniſhment was demanded againſt her by the univerſal voice of *Rome*; yet, by the connivance of the prince and the favour of his miniſters (for ſhe was both opulent and childleſs), ſhe eſcaped her doom, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* [c]. About the ſame time, was aſſaſſinated *Fonteius Capito*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, by *Cornelius Aquinas* and *Fabius Valens*, two tribunes, without ſtaying for the emperor's command. There were who believed, that *Capito*, however abominable he was, however ſtained with avarice and immerſed in impurities, had yet declined engaging in any turbulent counſels; that having rejected the ſolicitations of *Aquinas* and *Valens* to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treaſon; and that *Galba*, either impoſed upon or afraid of making further inquiry, ratified the execution. However it was, both theſe executions, that of *Macer* as well as that of *Capito*, were ill received, this being, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, the uſual fate of a prince under public hatred, that every action of his, whether good or evil, is generally diſapproved, perverſly conſtrued, and contribute to his ruin [d]. *Suetonius* tells us, that, after the death of theſe two commanders, *Galba* at length quitted his military habit, and a dagger, which till then he had worn faſtened to his neck, and hanging down on his breaſt, though he was not in a condition to make uſe of it, being enfeebled with age and infirmities [e]. *Capito* was ſucceeded in the government of *Lower Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raiſed to that poſt chiefly by the intereſt of *Vinius*, whoſe favour he had gained, by ſupporting the ſame faction in the circus. *Galba*, in conferring upon him that command, openly declared, that he did not prefer him out of any eſteem he had for him, or opinion of his abilities, but becauſe he believed thoſe to be leſs feared, who were moſt addicted to gluttony, and that his keen appetite might be ſatiated with the plenty of that province; ſo that his preferment was owing to the contempt, and not to the eſteem, the emperor had for him [f]. *Philoſtratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, tells us, that this year was born at *Syracuſe*, and

Clodius Macer *killed in* Africa.

And Fonteius Capito *in* Lower Germany.

Vitellius *governor of* Lower Germany.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Suet. c. 11. [f] Suet. in Viell. c. 7.

expoſed

expoſed to public view, a child with three heads; which monſtrous birth denoted, according to the interpretation of his *Apollonius*, the three heads or emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, by whom the *Roman* ſtate was for ſome time governed in one and the ſame year. He adds, that the cities of *Sicily* were then in arms againſt each other, and ſtrangely harraſſed with inteſtine diviſions [g]. But of theſe diſturbances we find no farther account in that writer, nor any mention of them in others.

THE following year, on the kalends of *January*, *Galba* entered on his ſecond conſulſhip, having his favourite miniſter, *Titus Vinius*, for his collegue. He had ſcarce aſſumed the faſces, when an expreſs arrived from *Pompeius Propinquus*, procurator of *Belgic Gaul*, informing him, that the legions in *Upper Germany*, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiouſly another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the pleaſure of the ſenate and people of *Rome*. *Vergi-nius* had been removed from them, as we have related above; and as he had neither been reſtored, nor preferred to any other command or employment, but treated, in a manner, like a criminal, they conceived themſelves to be charged as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who had been ſent to ſucceed him, they utterly contemned; and truly he was a man void of firmneſs, void of authority, and, from his lameneſs and the infirmities of his age, unequal to the direction of the moſt orderly and peaceable army. Hence, under their preſent frenzy, they were further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to reſtrain them. This intelligence ripened the deſign, about which *Galba* had been for ſome time deliberating with himſelf and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor; for he imagined himſelf to be deſpiſed, not ſo much on account of his age, as for want of iſſue. But his favourites, already at variance and purſuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions: *Vinius* was for *Otho*; *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not ſo much to favour the intereſt of any particular, as to exclude him. As *Vinius* had a daughter, who was a widow, and *Otho* was not married, no one doubted but an alliance between them was intended. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought, was in vain reſcued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*, the chief confident of that prince's impure pleaſures, did not, in this particular, ſuffer himſelf to be blindly guided by *Vinius*; but, hearing him favourably, referred the farther conſideration of the affair to another time. However, out of complaiſance to his chief miniſter, he appointed

The legions in Upper Germany *revolt.*

Galba *deliberates concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor.*

[g] Philoſt. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. v c. 4.

pointed him and *Otho* conſuls for the enſuing year. Hence it was generally taken for granted, that *Otho* would, upon his entering the conſulſhip, be by *Galba* declared his ſucceſſor; which cauſed an univerſal joy among the ſoldiery, who, for the moſt part, favoured *Otho*, and among the courtiers and creatures of *Nero*, who were paſſionate for a prince ſo reſembling their former. But while *Galba* was deliberating about the choice, and putting it off from day to day, diſmal tidings were daily brought from *Upper Germany*; for the legions there, being ſummoned, according to cuſtom, on the kalends of *January*, to take the uſual oath of fidelity to the emperor, had torn his images, broken his ſtatues, and openly declaring, that they would never acknowledge *Galba*, ſworn allegiance to the *Roman* ſenate and people. Hereupon the emperor, beſet with anxieties, as not knowing whither the fury of the revolters might tend, and not truſting to the faith of the troops in *Rome*, applied what to him ſeemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a ſucceſſor, to which, beſides *Vinius* and *Laco*, he ſummoned *Marius Celſus*, conſul elect, and *Ducennius Geminus*, governor of *Rome*. On this occaſion *Vinius* promoted anew with great zeal the adoption of *Otho*, and *Ducennius Geminus* that of *Dolabella*, who was nearly related to *Galba*. But the emperor, preferring the welfare of the public to all other regards, after a ſhort ſpeech concerning his great age, ordered *Piſo Licinianus* to be ſent for, and, to the great ſurpriſe of all, named him his ſucceſſor. *Piſo* was the ſon of *Marcus Craſſus* and *Scribonia*, and both by father and mother nobly born, being by his father deſcended from the celebrated *Marcus Licinius Craſſus*, who was ſlain in the fatal battle of *Carrhæ*, and by his mother from *Pompey the Great*. He was at this time in the thirty-firſt year of his age, and by all highly eſteemed on account of his extraordinary parts, his engaging behaviour, and ſingular modeſty. His gravity, reſembling that of the antient *Romans*, was, ſays *Tacitus*, by thoſe who judged cenſoriouſly, accounted melancholy and auſtere; but that part of his temper, which alarmed the diſcontented, pleaſed the perſon adopting[h]. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba* had always ſhewn a great eſteem for him, and named him in his laſt will for his heir, before he was raiſed to the empire[i]. Some, however, believed, that he was by *Laco* prevailed upon to adopt him for his ſucceſſor; for *Laco* had, unknown to *Galba*, held private conferences with him at the houſe of *Rubellius Plautus*, but artfully recommended him to *Galba*, as one to whom he was an utter ſtranger. *Galba*, after having declared to him, in the preſence of his friends

He adopts Piſo Licinianus.

[h] Tacit. c. 14. Plut. in Galb. [i] Suet. c. 17.

friends and counſellors, his deſign of adopting him, and naming him for his ſucceſſor in the empire, is ſaid to have taken him by the hand, and to have ſpoken thus: "Were I as a private "perſon to adopt you for my ſon, glorious even then would be "the adoption to us both, ſince my family would receive new "luſtre from the blood of the great *Pompey* and of *Marcus* "*Craſſus*, and yours from that of the *Sulpitian* and *Lutatian* "families. I am now a public perſon, called to the empire by the "united conſent of the gods and men; and of this ſovereignty, for "which our anceſtors have often expoſed their lives, I offer "you the poſſeſſion, while you are neither ſeeking nor pur- "ſuing it. To this I am urged only by the love of my coun- "try, and your excellent qualifications. *Auguſtus*, who would "entail the empire upon his own houſe, in his own houſe "ſought a ſucceſſor. I chuſe out of the common-wealth an "heir to the common-wealth: not that I am reduced to this "choice by any want of relations of my own; but them I over- "look, as well as your relations, becauſe I do not judge them "ſo well qualified for ſo important a charge as yourſelf. You "have a brother, in nobility your equal, in age your ſuperior, "a man worthy of this fortune, did I not find in you one ſtill "more worthy. You have paſſed your youth without reproach, "and ſuch hitherto has been your courſe of life, that nothing "in your conduct thus far is ſubject to blame: but you have "yet only had adverſe fortune to contend with. Proſperity is "more enſnaring; it tries the temper of the ſoul, and expoſes "its weakneſſes: calamities we often bear with patience; but "are utterly ſubdued and corrupted by a flow of felicity. I do "not doubt but you will, with your uſual firmneſs, ſtill retain "the ſame integrity, faith in friendſhip, candour, and free- "dom of ſpirit, endowments, which, above all others, adorn "the mind. But in others, towards you, you will find a dif- "ferent conduct: by falſe complaiſance they will endeavour to "weaken your fortitude, and, by deceitful flattery and ſooth- "ing ſpeeches, poiſon every honeſt affection of your mind; and "to his own ſordid gain will every particular be wreſting your "honour and good inclinations. You and I, upon this occa- "ſion, converſe with hearts perfectly ſincere; but others will "make their addreſſes to our fortunes, rather than to us: and "indeed, to reaſon princes into their duty is a dangerous taſk, "but eaſy is the art of flattering any prince whatſoever. Could "this immenſe empire ſubſiſt without a ſingle ruler, I ſhould "glory in reſigning, glory in being the firſt emperor, who re- "ſigned the power of the republic into her own hands; but "ſuch long ſince has been the unhappy ſituation of the ſtate, "that all the good, which my old age allows me to do to the

His ſpeech to him on that occaſion.

Roman

" *Roman* people, is, to leave them a good ſucceſſor; nor can
" you, with all your youth, do more for them, than afford
" them in yourſelf a benevolent prince. Under *Tiberius*, *Ca-*
" *ligula*, and *Claudius*, we were all the inheritance of one fa-
" mily. That the empire has begun in me to be elective, is
" ſome equivalent for our antient liberty, and the only li-
" berty we are capable of enjoying. Now the *Julian* and
" *Claudian* families being extinct, the beſt men, by this way
" of adoption, will become the greateſt. To be deſcended
" from princes is the effect of chance; but, in the work of
" adoption, the judgment is exerciſed; and whenever you
" want to chuſe, the general conſent will direct you to the per-
" ſon moſt worthy to be choſen. Have always before your
" eyes the example of *Nero*, who, elated with the glory of his
" race and a long genealogy of the *Cæſars*, was not in reality
" dethroned by *Julius Vindex*, the governor of a province,
" unprovided with forces, nor by me aſſiſted with one legion,
" but by his own cruelty and infamous debaucheries; nor was
" there, till then, any inſtance of an emperor by public ſen-
" tence condemned and depoſed. It was my lot to be called
" to an unſettled ſtate; nor muſt you be alarmed, if while the
" whole world continues in this general uproar, there are two
" legions which yet remain unreclaimed to obedience. As
" to my old age, the only objection to my government, it is
" no longer one, ſince when it comes to be known that I have
" adopted you, I ſhall ſeem young in my ſucceſſor. *Nero*
" will ever be regretted by the moſt abandoned and profligate:
" to you and me it belongs to govern, that he may not alſo be
" regretted by the good. To ſay more in this way of inſtruc-
" tion the preſent conjuncture does not allow me. One certain
" rule you have to obſerve, which is, ſo to behave yourſelf to-
" wards your ſubjects, as, were you a ſubject, you would wiſh
" your prince to comport himſelf towards you. This rule
" comprehends the whole art of reigning with juſtice and
" equity; for you muſt remember, that it is not with us as
" with other nations, where a particular family rules with
" abſolute ſway, and all beſides are ſlaves; but you are to go-
" vern a people incapable of complete liberty, and impatient of
" abſolute bondage *."

Piſo's modeſt behaviour.

When *Galba* had done ſpeaking, *Piſo* returned him thanks for the extraordinary and unexpected honour conferred on him, addreſſing him, now both his father and emperor, with a ſpeech full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himſelf, full of modeſty. He betrayed no ſymptoms of joy, no change in his

* Tacit. c. 15.

countenance.

countenance, none afterwards in his behaviour, as if he had been inſenſible of ſo mighty a favour; manifeſt indications, ſays *Tacitus*, that he was more capable of reigning, than deſirous to reign. The next thing that came under debate in the council was, where to declare the adoption, whether to the people aſſembled, to the ſenate, or to the army. The reſult was to do it in the camp; and thither he immediately repaired, tho' that day, the tenth of *January*, was rendered unuſually terrible by heavy rains, frequent claps of thunder, and inceſſant lightning; which, in antient times, would have proved ſufficient ground for diſſolving public aſſemblies, but were looked upon by *Galba*, and contemned, as fortuitous and unmeaning. Upon his arrival in the camp, he declared in a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers, with the brevity becoming an emperor, that he adopted *Piſo* after the precedent of the deified *Auguſtus*, and according to the cuſtom of the army, where every one chuſes his man. And leſt the revolt of the *German* legions might, if by him concealed, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly told them, that the fourth legion and the eighteenth, at the inſtigation of ſome few incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but would ſoon return to their allegiance. As no mention was made of the diſtributions uſual on ſuch occaſions, only the ſoldiers who ſtood next to him applauded his ſpeech, and through all the reſt was obſerved a ſullen ſadneſs and ſilence for having thus loſt the donative, which cuſtom and their own inſolent claims had, in ſome degree, rendered neceſſary. *Tacitus* tells us, that with any liberality, however ſmall, *Galba* might have gained the affections of the ſoldiery; but ſuffered by practiſing, out of ſeaſon, the rigorous purity of antient times, which they were no longer able to bear [k]. From the camp *Galba* proceeded to the ſenate, where he ſpoke with the ſame brevity and bluntneſs as to the ſoldiery. The ſpeech which *Piſo* made was better received. In the mean time, *Otho*, who had been the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, had promoted it with vigour, and thence conceived hopes of being adopted and named by him for his ſucceſſor, inraged at his diſappointment, and burning with anger againſt *Galba*, with envy towards *Piſo*, determined to make a reſolute effort, while the authority of the one was daily decaying, and that of the other not yet confirmed. Many concurring motives inſpired him with this reſolution. As he had conſumed his fortune in a courſe of riot and expence, and contracted immenſe debts, in the quiet eſtabliſhment of the ſtate he ſaw nothing but deſpair, and only upon public confuſion founded his hopes. Beſides, he looked

His adoption declared to the ſoldiery.

And to the ſenate.

Otho *reſolves to attempt the ſovereignty.*

[k] Idem, c 18, 19.

upon his being put by, as a certain ſign of the diſpleaſure and ill-will of *Galba* towards him, and thence thought reſignation and acquieſcence more threatening, than boldneſs and temerity. His favourite freedmen too and his ſlaves, inured to a licentiouſneſs and riot inconſiſtent with the œconomy of a private family, were to their lord continually diſplaying the alluring advantages attending the ſovereign power, and repreſenting them as his own, if he rouſed himſelf, and made them ſo. The aſtrologers at the ſame time urged him by their predictions, while they were confidently averring, that the ſtars preſaged approaching revolutions and a year of great glory to *Otho*. Of this tribe *Ptolemy* was one, who having accompanied *Otho* into *Luſitania*, and foretold him that he ſhould ſurvive *Nero*, had gained mighty credit from the event. Now he perſuaded him, that, if he exerted his might and laid hold of the preſent opportunity, he would certainly attain the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, the ſovereign power. Hereupon *Otho*, with whom theſe predictions paſſed as uttered by a prophetic ſpirit, and as the propitious warnings of the fates, reſolved to make a bold puſh and try his fortune. The direction of the treaſonable deſign he committed to one of his freedmen, by name *Onomaſtus*, who introduced to him two men as proper inſtruments in it, *Veturius*, a ſoldier of the life-guard, and *Barbius Proculus*, teſſerarius of the ſame band; that is, one whoſe office it was to receive the parole from the tribune in writing, and carry it to the tents of the ſoldiers. *Otho*, having firſt in a long converſation tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be men of great addreſs and reſolution, imparted to them his deſign, loaded them with mighty preſents, promiſed them more ample rewards, and furniſhed them with vaſt ſums to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the reſt as they were able. Thus two common ſoldiers undertook to transfer the *Roman* empire from one prince to another, and transferred it effectually. They admitted very few into the ſecret; the minds of the reſt, already uneaſy and wavering, they eſtranged from the emperor by various artifices, eſpecially by filling them with utter deſpair of the donative, which had been promiſed, and ſo often put off. This, ſaid they, is not only defrauding us of our deſerved rewards, but blaſting our expectations for ever, and giving a bad precedent to other emperors, who will not fail to follow an example ſo prejudicial to us, ſo advantageous to themſelves: *Rome* was at this time filled with troops; *Galba* had brought with him a *Spaniſh* legion; the legion, which had been raiſed by *Nero*, ſtill remained in the city; and beſides theſe forces, there were many from *Germany*, *Britain*, and *Illyricum*, ſuch as had been thence detached by *Nero*'s orders, and

Gives credit to an aſtrologer.

Two common ſoldiers undertake to transfer the empire.

ſent forwards to the *Caſpian* ſtraights, for the war which he meditated againſt the *Parthians*, but recalled to ſuppreſs the revolt of *Vindex* in *Gaul*. Theſe, dreading the ſeverity of diſcipline, which in this reign began to be revived, were all ready to revolt; and though not combining in favour of any particular, yet prepared for the firſt daring ſpirit. The prætorian guards indeed, tranſported with a fondneſs for *Nero*, were entirely addicted to *Otho*, who, they hoped, would recal the licentiouſneſs which they had enjoyed under that prince; nay, ſome of them were ſo impatient to ſee him inveſted with the ſovereign power, that on the fourteenth of *January* they were prepared, as he returned home from ſupping abroad, to have hurried him away and declared him emperor; only they apprehended, that, during the dark, whoever chanced to be preſented to the *German* or *Pannonian* army, might by them, for the moſt part unacquainted with the perſon of *Otho*, be, inſtead of him, ſaluted emperor. The execution of the deſign was therefore put off till the next day, when *Otho* early in the morning went to attend the emperor, and was, according to cuſtom, received by him with a kiſs, and admitted to be preſent at a private ſacrifice, which *Galba* offered in the temple of *Apollo*. We are told, that *Umbricius* the ſoothſayer had no ſooner viewed the intrails of the victim, than he warned the emperor of diſmal preſages, of treaſonable plots juſt impending, and a domeſtic foe, all in the hearing of *Otho*, who ſtood next to him, and, by a different conſtruction, underſtood it all as propitious to himſelf, and a ſucceſsful iſſue foretold of his own machinations. However he was not a little diſconcerted at the diſcovery, and could not help betraying ſome diſmay and confuſion. But, in the mean time, *Onomaſtus*, his freedman, arriving, acquainted him, that *the ſurveyor and builders waited his coming*. This was the ſignal before ſettled amongſt them, to intimate that the ſoldiers were aſſembling, and the conſpiracy ripe for execution. He therefore immediately withdrew, feigning to thoſe who aſked him the cauſe of his departure, that he was about purchaſing certain houſes, which being old, and thence ſuſpected to be decayed, it was neceſſary firſt to examine them. Then, leaning on his freedman, he proceeded through the palace of *Tiberius* to the *Velabrum*, and from thence to the gilt pillar by the temple of *Saturn*, where the ſeveral highways in *Italy* terminated. There he was received by a party of the guards and proclaimed emperor; but as they were not above twenty-three, though his ſoul was not of the ſame ſoft temper and effeminacy with his perſon, but, on the contrary, bold and daring, yet he was ſo diſmayed at the ſmallneſs of their number, that he deſired to retire and drop his

Galba *is warned of a treaſonable plot.*

Otho *is ſaluted emperor by a ſmall party of the guards.*

deſign. This the ſoldiers would not ſuffer; but putting him in great haſte into a chair, hurried him away with their drawn ſwords. *Plutarch* tells us, that he preſſed them to make all the haſte they could, crying out, *I am a loſt man.* The party that attended him was ſoon joined by much the like number of ſoldiers, and theſe, in their progreſs to the camp, were followed by others, who came in, three and four at a time, till at laſt they made up a conſiderable body. Upon their arrival at the camp, *Julius Martialis* the tribune, who that day commanded the main guard, ſuffered them to enter, either overcome with ſurpriſe at ſo daring an undertaking, or privy to the conſpiracy, or elſe believing the camp to be generally infected, and that it was in vain to reſiſt. In the camp they met with no oppoſition, thoſe who were not privy to the deſign being incompaſſed by ſuch as were; ſo that ſome out of fear, others by choice, joined the revolters, and at laſt all with one voice ſaluted *Otho emperor* and *Cæſar* [t].

And carried to the camp.

In the mean time, *Galba*, utterly unacquainted with the revolution, was ſtill bent upon the ſacrifice, and tiring, ſays *Tacitus*, with his ſupplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the ſway of another head. News was firſt brought him, that a ſenator, it was uncertain who, was by a party of the guards hurried away to the camp, there to be preſented to the ſoldiery; and ſoon after word was brought, that *Otho* was the ſenator thus hurried thither. Inſtantly from all parts of the city people crouded to *Galba* with the ſame tidings, each relating them his own way. Some exaggerated every thing beyond meaſure; others, not laying aſide, even at ſo deſperate a juncture, their wonted flattery, ſoothed him with relations far ſhort of the facts. In this ſudden alarm *Galba* haſtily ſummoned his friends, and in a conſultation held with them it was reſolved, that the temper of the cohort then upon duty in the palace ſhould firſt of all be ſounded, not by *Galba* in perſon, whoſe authority was reſerved as the laſt remedy upon the higheſt emergency, but by *Piſo*; who having cauſed them to be aſſembled at the foot of the ſtairs of the palace, exhorted them with great eloquence and energy, to continue ſteady in their allegiance, diſplayed the vices and debaucheries of *Otho*, and aſſured them, that they ſhould receive from *Galba* and him as large a donative for their fidelity preſerved, as was offered them by *Otho* for dipping their hands in the blood of their ſovereign. When he had ended his ſpeech, ſome of the cohort ſtole away; but the major part diſplayed their enſigns, and prepared their arms to defend their emperor. *Celſus Marius* was immediately ſent to ſecure the troops that had been detached from the army in *Illyricum*, and

Meaſures taken by Galba *to ſuppreſs the revolt.*

[t] Plut. ibid. Suet. in Oth. c. 6. Tacit. c. 23—28.

were

were then poſted in the *Vipſanian* porch. To *Amulius Serenus* and *Domitius Sabinus*, centurions of the firſt rank, orders were given to bring away from the court of the temple of *Liberty* the band of *German* ſoldiers there. To the camp of the prætorian guards repaired the tribunes *Cerius Severus*, *Subrius Dexter*, and *Pompeius Longinus*, to try, whether, by reaſon and exhortations, the mutiny, then in its infancy, might not be quelled and obedience reſtored. Two of theſe tribunes the ſoldiers only terrified with threats, but laid violent hands on *Longinus*, ſtripped him of his arms, and ignominiouſly drove him out of the camp, he being, above the reſt, obnoxious to them, on account of his known fidelity and invincible attachment to *Galba*. The band detached from the *Illyrian* army drove *Celſus* from amongſt them with flights of darts. The ſecond legion of marines, eager to revenge the blood of their brethren, maſſacred by *Galba* on his firſt entry as emperor into *Rome*, joined, without heſitation, the prætorian bands. The *German* troops continued a great while wavering and irreſolute, being in their bodies ſtill feeble (for they were lately returned from *Alexandria* ſickly and fatigued), and in their minds entirely peaceable, and rather inclined to *Galba*, out of gratitude for the care he was taking to cheriſh and reſtore them [k]. *Suetonius* tells us, that they immediately haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Galba*; but not being acquainted with the ſtreets, they miſtook their way and came too late [l]. *Galba*, in the mean time, was held in ſuſpenſe between two different counſels. *Vinius* was of opinion, that the emperor ſhould remain in the palace, arm his ſlaves in his defence, fortify the avenues, and by no means iſſue forth amongſt men mad with rage. All the reſt alledged the neceſſity of diſpatch and inſtant meaſures, before the conſpiracy of a few, yet weak and unſupported, had gathered ſtrength and numbers. *Galba* yielded to the advice of the latter, their counſels appearing to him more plauſible. *Piſo*, however, was ſent away before to the camp, as a young man of great fame and reputation, and one who was generally looked upon as an enemy to the hated miniſter *Titus Vinius*. Scarce had he left the place, when it was rumoured about, that *Otho* was ſlain in the camp; and ſoon after there appeared perſons who averred, that they themſelves had been upon the ſpot when the traytor was killed, and beheld his dead body extended on the ground. It was by many conjectured, that this rumour was firſt framed, and afterwards heightened by the partizans of *Otho*, with no other view, but to entice *Galba* from his retirement. However that be, upon this occaſion, not only the ſimple and thoughtleſs vulgar broke out into loud

The troops refuſe to obey the officers ſent to them.

Galba *is in ſuſpenſe what to do.*

Receives falſe information from the crowd.

[k] Idem, c. 31, 32. [l] SUET. in Galb. c. 20.

ſhouts

ſhouts and extravagant demonſtrations of zeal; but the greater part of the *Roman* knights and ſenators, now diveſted of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reſerve, forced the gates of the palace; and ruſhing in, preſented themſelves before *Galba*, complaining, that the vengeance, by them meditated in his behalf, was now ſnatched out of their hands. The moſt cowardly, ſuch as had not courage enough to face the leaſt danger, as the event well proved, were at this juncture profuſe of words and boaſts, and in tongue valiant and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it; ſo that *Galba*, deprived of true information, put on a breaſt-plate; and finding himſelf unable, through age and infirmities, to ſuſtain the preſſing croud, he was put into a chair. Before he left the palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the guards, preſſing through the croud, preſented himſelf before the emperor, and, diſplaying a ſword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand *Otho* had been ſlain. *Galba* returned no other anſwer, than *Fellow-ſoldier, whoſe orders hadſt thou?* Such was his firmneſs in reſtraining the licentious inſolence of the ſoldiery, without being diſmayed by menaces, or corrupted with the moſt ſoothing flattery [m].

And from Julius Atticus.

In the mean time, they had to a man declared for *Otho* in the camp; and placing him amidſt the enſigns upon that very tribunal, where a little before ſtood the golden ſtatue of *Galba*, encompaſſed him round with banners diſplayed. The common ſoldiers refuſed to the tribunes and centurions acceſs to his perſon; nay, they gave him caution to beware of all who were in command or authority among them. Firſt the prætorian guards, and then the legion of marines, unanimouſly ſwore allegiance to him, and, with loud ſhouts, ſaluted him *emperor*, *Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*. After this, *Otho*, now confiding in his ſtrength, inflamed them with a long ſpeech, filled with bitter invectives againſt *Galba* and his favourites; and then ordered the common armoury to be thrown open, whence arms were inſtantly ſnatched at random, without any regard to the cuſtom of war, or the different orders and ranks of men. *Galba*, in the mean time, having left the palace, was approaching the forum, where he was overtaken by *Piſo*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious ſoldiery reſounding quite to the city, had thought it adviſeable not to proceed to the camp. At the ſame time, *Celſus Marius*, who had been ſent to the *Illyrian* army, returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture, ſome adviſed *Galba* to retire back to the palace; others propoſed ſeizing the capitol; and ſeveral were for taking poſſeſſion of the place where the

The zeal of the ſoldiery for Otho.

[m] Tacit. c. 35.

people

people uſed to aſſemble. In this conteſt, as in a ſtorm, *Galba's* chair was borne, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, according to the different movement and fluctuation of the multitude; when on a ſudden appeared firſt a party of horſe, and then a body of foot, ruſhing furiouſly into the forum. At this ſight, the ſtandard-bearer to the cohort, which had remained with *Galba*, rent from his ſtandard the effigies of the emperor, and daſhed it againſt the ground. Upon this ſignal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp. Hereupon, thoſe who carried *Galba*, ſeized with dread and trembling, flung him from his chair proſtrate upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His laſt words are differently reported, as he was hated by ſome, or admired by others. By ſeveral it was ſpread abroad, that he aſked in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant, What evil he had merited? and begged time, only for a few days, to diſcharge the donative, which had been promiſed in his name. But moſt agree, that of his own accord he preſented his throat to the aſſaſſins, bidding them ſtrike reſolutely, if the good of the commonwealth ſo required. Of the very perſon, who gave him the mortal blow, we have no clear account. Some hold it to have been one *Terentius*, an *evocatus*, or reſumed veteran; others one *Lecanius*. The more current tradition in *Tacitus's* time was, that *Camurius*, a common ſoldier of the fifteenth legion, cut his throat with his ſword. The reſt hacked and mangled in a dreadful manner his legs and arms (for his breaſt was covered with armour); nay, they were tranſported with a ſpirit ſo brutal and inhuman, that even after they had cut off his head, they ſatiated their rage by diſfiguring with numberleſs wounds his lifeleſs body. Upon *Titus Vinius* they next diſcharged their rage. Some writers tell us, that through fear he was quite bereft of ſpeech; others, that with a loud voice he cried out, they had no ſuch orders from *Otho*; whence they conclude, that he was privy to the conſpiracy, and had imbarqued in that treaſon, for which he had adminiſtered cauſe. Before the temple of *Julius Cæſar*, he was wounded in the knee; and preſently after, by one *Julius Carus*, a legionary, pierced quite through the body. Among the many perſons who had firſt made boaſt of their inviolable faith and attachment to their ſovereign, one was found who performed what he had promiſed. This was *Sempronius Denſus*, centurion of a prætorian cohort, and by *Galba* appointed to guard the perſon of *Piſo*. He had not received any particular favour of *Galba*; but only from a principle of honour, and in compliance with the oath he had taken, he placed himſelf before the emperor's chair, commanding thoſe who were advancing againſt him, to ſpare

Galba *abandoned by all.*

He is murdered.

With Titus Vinius.

The fidelity and bravery of Sempronius Denſus.

ſpare the emperor. As they ſtill advanced, he threw away the vine branch, which he held in his hand as the badge of his office; and drawing his ſword, ſingly encountered them all, boldly upbraiding them as deteſtable parricides; inſomuch, that, partly by his blows partly by his reproaches, he drew upon himſelf the ſwords of the aſſaſſins; and though he could not ſave the emperor, yet procured to *Piſo*, who was already wounded, opportunity to retire. He was himſelf killed; but *Piſo* eſcaped to the temple of *Veſta*, where he was by a bondman of the ſtate received through compaſſion and concealed in his chamber; which *Otho* no ſooner knew, than he diſpatched *Sulpitius Florus*, belonging to the *Britiſh* bands, a man juſt before preſented by *Galba* with the privilege of a *Roman* citizen, and *Statius Murcus*, one of his guards, with orders to diſpatch *Piſo*. By them therefore *Piſo* was dragged forth, and butchered near the gate of the temple. His head was immediately cut off and carried to *Otho*, who beheld it with unſpeakable joy, thinking himſelf now relieved from all fear and perplexity. The bleeding heads of the emperor and his adopted ſon were ſtuck upon long poles, and thus carried along amidſt the banners of the military bands, cloſe by the eagle of a legion. Many, who had not the leaſt ſhare in the murder either of *Galba* or *Piſo*, diſplayed their ſwords and hands all embrued with blood, and demanded of the new emperor a gratuity. *Tacitus* and *Plutarch* tell us, that above an hundred and twenty petitions of this nature, preſented in one day to *Otho*, fell afterwards into the hands of *Vitellius*, who commanded ſearch to be made after the authors, and puniſhed them all with death, not from any tenderneſs for *Galba*, but out of policy, looking upon their puniſhment as a wholeſome method of ſecuring himſelf againſt ſuch traytors [n].

Piſo *murdered.*

The ſenate and people flatter the new emperor.

The news of *Galba*'s death was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate, the *Roman* knights, and the people, earneſtly crouded to the camp, ſtriving to out-run each other, and to overtake and paſs ſuch as were before them. To a man they condemned the conduct of *Galba*, magniſied the judgment and choice of the ſoldiery, kiſſed the hands of *Otho*; and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal were, the more loud were their proteſtations. The ſenate, as if they were not the ſame men, ſays *Plutarch*, or had other gods to ſwear by, took the ſame oath to *Otho*, which *Otho* had not long before taken to *Galba*, and had juſt then violated. The new emperor received all who preſented themſelves to him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; and at the ſame time endeavoured to pacify the ſoldiery,

[n] Tacit. c. 38—42. Plut. ibid.

breathing

breathing menaces and ravage. They demanded, that *Manius Celſus*, conſul elect, and a faithful friend to *Galba* even in his laſt diſtreſs, might be inſtantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unſhaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let looſe to general pillage and maſſacre, and to deſtroy every worthy and able man in the *Roman* ſtate. But, as *Otho* had not ſufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious ſoldiery, he perſonated great wrath againſt *Celſus*, ordered him to be put in irons, as if he reſerved him for ſome more ſevere puniſhment; and by that means redeemed him from a violent death juſt impending. From this moment all things were tranſacted by the arbitrary will of the ſoldiers. By them were choſen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely *Plotius Primus*, once a common ſoldier, thence preferred to command the watch, and during the reign of *Galba*, a chief man among the Partizans of *Otho*. With *Plotius* they joined *Licinius Proculus*, one in high confidence with *Otho*, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of *Rome* they advanced *Flavius Sabinus*, partly in deference to the judgment of *Nero*, in whoſe reign he had adminiſtered the ſame office, and partly out of regard to his brother *Veſpaſian*. They then demanded, that the fees, wont to be by them paid to their centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; for under this name every ſoldier paid, as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a legion uſed to be abſent at once, roaming like vagrants up and down the countries, where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to purchaſe a diſpenſation from military toils. As moſt of the ſoldiers were debauched by ſuch wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into ſedition, diſſention, and civil wars. *Otho*, therefore, readily granted them their requeſt: but that he might not eſtrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for ſuch exemptions and furloughs, when they were judged neceſſary; a regulation, which, by his ſucceſſors, was perpetuated as part of the military eſtabliſhment. In the cloſe of the day, *Laco*, captain of the guards to *Galba*, was ſeized, and ſoon after by *Otho* condemned to an iſland, where, by his orders, he was murdered by a veteran, whom the emperor had ſent before him for that purpoſe. *Icelus*, as he was only a manumiſed ſlave, was publicly executed. The day, thus ſpent in black and tragical iniquities, was concluded with public rejoicings. The next day, the city prætor aſſembled the ſenate, when to *Otho* were decreed

Otho *ſaves* Celſus.

The ſoldiery act arbitrarily.

Otho *ſuppreſſes the fees paid by the ſoldiers to their centurions.*

Laco *and* Icelus *put to death.*

Otho *acknowledged by the ſenate.*

creed the tribunitial authority, the title of *Auguſtus*, and all the honours enjoyed by other emperors. From the ſenate, the new emperor was carried in a kind of triumph croſs the forum, ſtill flowing with blood, and over heaps of dead bodies to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where at length he granted leave to burn and bury the ſlain. The remains of *Piſo* were, by his wife *Verania* and his brother *Scribonianus*, committed to the grave, as were thoſe of *Titus Vinius* by his daughter *Criſpina*, after they had found out and redeemed, at a great price, their heads, which their murderers had retained, in order to ſell them to their relations. The body of *Galba*, after it had lain long neglected in the ſtreets, and ſuffered, during the licentiouſneſs of the night, inſults without number, was, by *Argius* one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of ſteward, depoſited in a mean grave within his own gardens. His head, miſerably mangled and ſtuck upon a pole by the vile rabble attending the camp, was by them ſet up before the tomb of *Patrobius*, a freedman of *Nero*, whom *Galba* had cauſed to be executed. Here it was found the day following, and laid with the remains of his body, which had been already burnt [a]. Such was the end of *Galba*, after he had lived ſeventy-two years and twenty-three days, and reigned, from the time he declared againſt *Nero*, nine months and thirteen days, but from that prince's death only ſeven months and as many days. He had paſſed through the reigns of five emperors, much happier under the ſovereignty of other princes, than in his own. He had but moderate talents, and was, according to *Tacitus*, rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. He had commanded with great reputation in the *German* wars, afterwards governed *Africa*, as proconſul, with moderation and gentleneſs, and, in the latter part of his life, ruled with the ſame equity and juſtice the *Hither Spain*. He would, to uſe the expreſſion of our hiſtorian, in the opinion of all men, have paſſed as one capable of the empire, had he never been emperor; not that his being advanced to that high ſtation cauſed any alteration in him, but becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be blindly governed and controuled by his freedmen and miniſters; men who were continually proſtituting the credit and character of their maſter, to their own vile gains and wicked paſſions. Had he been bleſſed with good counſellors, he would, in all probability, have proved an excellent prince. He was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the inſolence of the ſoldiery, and wiſhed well to the commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities? He himſelf robbed no man, but his ſervants and miniſters

Galba's *body buried.*

His character.

[a] Tacit. c. 47, 48. Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 20.

ſters ſet no bounds to their rapines; and he, who ought not to have employed bad men, or at leaſt ought to have reſtrained and puniſhed them, was blind to all their iniquities. As he never inquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The ſad fate, which their corruption and his own indolence brought upon him, is a ſufficient warning to princes, either never to truſt implicitly to the advice and conduct of any miniſters, or at leaſt to be well aſſured, that they are ſuch, if ſuch are to be found, as may be implicitly truſted.

Otho, now honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, took upon him the conſulſhip, having for his colleague his brother *Salvius Titianus*; but reſigned the faſces on the firſt of *March* to *Virginius Rufus*, as his brother did to *Pappæus Vopiſcus*. The new emperor had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, when he was alarmed with diſmal tidings concerning *Vitellius*; tidings, which, before the murder of *Galba* had been ſuppreſſed, with a deſign to have it believed, that only the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted. *Vitellius*, as we have related above, had been by *Galba* preferred to the command of the legions in *Lower Germany*, which he had entered about the beginning of *December* in the preceding year, and with great care viſited the winter-quarters of the legions there. To their ranks he reſtored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious puniſhments; and cancelled the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others. Having by this means gained the affections of the ſoldiery, *Fabius Valens*, who commanded a legion under him and was highly diſguſted with *Galba*, who, he thought, had not rewarded him according to his deſerts, ſolicited his new general to aſſume the ſovereignty, magnifying to him the zeal and ardour of the ſoldiery, by whom he was no leſs beloved, than *Galba* hated. By his ſpeech *Vitellius* was, ſays *Tacitus*, excited to covet the ſovereignty, rather than to hope for it. In *Upper Germany*, *Alienus Cæcina*, who commanded a legion there, had intirely captivated the affections of the ſoldiers by his graceful perſon and engaging behaviour. He exerciſed the office of quæſtor in the province of *Spain* called *Bætica*, when *Galba* revolted, whom he immediately joined, and was thence by him preferred to the command of a legion. But *Galba*, having ſoon after diſcovered, that he had embezzled the public treaſure, ordered him to be proſecuted. *Cæcina*, reſenting this, did all that lay in his power to ſtir up the troops to a revolt, hoping, by an univerſal confuſion, to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime. Neither in the army itſelf were there wanting ſeeds of tumult and diſcord: for they had all to a man been

Vitellius is excited to take upon him the ſovereignty by Valens.

The troops in Upper Germany *inclined to a revolt.*

been engaged in the war againſt *Vindex*; nor could they be induced to acknowledge *Galba*, till after *Nero* was ſlain. Hence a report was maliciouſly raiſed among them, and raſhly believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the centurions, for the moſt part, caſhiered. The cities of *Treves* and *Langres*, which lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions, and had been by *Galba* deprived of great part of their territories, were more inflamed againſt him than the legions themſelves; and therefore aſſured them by their deputies, that they were ripe for an inſurrection, and ready to join them, as ſoon as they declared againſt *Galba*. On the firſt of *January*, when the legions were, according to cuſtom, to ſwear allegiance to the emperor, they refuſed the oath, tore the images of *Galba*, and declared, that they acknowledged no other ſovereign, but the ſenate and people of *Rome*; not one tribune or commander daring to exert himſelf in behalf of the emperor, or offering to harangue the multitude from a tribunal. It is true, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, commander in chief, was upon the ſpot; but had not courage enough either to reſtrain ſuch as were already ruſhing into rebellion, or to recover ſuch as were only wavering, or even to rouze and animate thoſe who ſtill continued ſteady and faithful to *Galba*. Four centurions, *viz.* *Nonius Receptus*, *Donatus Valens*, *Romilius Marcellus*, and *Calpurnius Repentinus*, all belonging to the eighteenth legion, would have protected the images of *Galba*, but were by the furious multitude ſeized and confined in chains. Further than this, none of them ſhewed the leaſt regard to their duty, or their former oaths: but it happened in this as in other inſurrections; whither the greater part led, the reſt blindly followed. The following night, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion haſtening to *Cologn*, where *Vitellius* then reſided, acquainted him with what had paſſed, and exhorted him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity. Hereupon meſſengers were by *Vitellius* forthwith diſpatched to acquaint the troops under his command, that the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted from *Galba*; ſo that they muſt either make war upon the revolters, or, if they preferred peace and tranquillity, join with them and create an emperor: at the ſame time, he deſired them to conſider, that, with much leſs danger, they might elect a prince at once, than continue in ſearch of one. The winter-quarters of the firſt legion lay neareſt, and with it *Fabius Valens*, who entering *Cologn* the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his legion and a body of auxiliaries, openly ſaluted *Vitellius* emperor, and led him in a kind of triumph through the principal and moſt frequented ſtreets in the town. His example was

Refuſe the oath to Galba.

Vitellius *proclaimed emperor.*

was immediately followed, with great competition, by all the legions of the ſame province. The army in *Upper Germany* no ſooner heard, that *Vitellius* had been ſaluted emperor by the troops under his command, than, relinquiſhing the plauſible names of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, they acceded to the party of *Vitellius*. This happened on the third of *January*; whence it is evident, ſays *Tacitus*, that they had been no-ways attached to or concerned about the free *Roman* ſtate the two days before. The zeal of the inhabitants of *Cologn*, *Treves*, and *Langres* was equal to that of the legions; they all offered, with great ardour, ſupplies of men, horſes, and money, each according to the meaſure of his power and ſufficiency. Neither was ſuch liberality confined to the leading men of thoſe colonies; but the common people too ſignalized their zeal for *Vitellius*, in ſurrendering, inſtead of money, of which they were deſtitute, their girdles, the trappings of their horſes, the ſilver ornaments upon their armour, *&c.* not doubting, but they ſhould, in due time, be amply rewarded for their ſeaſonable generoſity; for, while *Vitellius* was giving away his own fortune and laviſhing in bounties that of others, without meaſure or diſcernment, they beſtowed, as *Tacitus* obſerves, upon this extravagance the title of liberality and good-nature [P].

The zeal of the people in his behalf.

AND now *Vitellius*, truſting to his ſtrength and the zeal of the ſoldiery, began to act as ſovereign, and diſpoſed of ſeveral employments, which had hitherto been adminiſtered by the imperial freedmen, but were by him conferred upon *Roman* knights. At the ſame time, to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, he ordered the fees exacted from them by the centurions, for exemptions from duty, to be paid out of his own treaſure as emperor. He could not help humouring, in many inſtances, the revengeful temper of the ſoldiers, demanding the execution of particulars: however, in ſome inſtances, he defeated it, under colour of committing the obnoxious perſons to priſon. *Pompeius Propinquus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, who had acquainted *Galba* with the commotions begun in *Germany*, was immediately put to death; but *Julius Burdo*, commander of the naval forces in *Germany*, was, by *Vitellius*'s orders ſecured in priſon, and afterwards diſcharged, when the rage of the ſoldiery began to abate. They ſuſpected, that he had firſt inticed *Fonteius Capito*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to revolt, and then betrayed him: hence againſt him chiefly the fury of the army raged; but *Vitellius*, who had a particular value for him, ſaved him by deceiving them; and indeed there was no other means of protecting and ſhewing mercy. *Criſpinus*, the centurion, by whom

He begins to exerciſe the ſovereign power.

Several perſons put to death at the requeſt of the ſoldiery.

[P] TACIT. c. 56, 57. PLUT. in Galb. SUET. in vit. c, 8.

Fonteius

Fonteius Capito had been put to death, was publicly executed, and with him *Nonius*, *Donatus*, *Romilius*, and *Calpurnius*, the four centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought moſt heinous by ſuch as have renounced both [q].

Upon the news of the revolt of the armies in *Germany*, *Valerius Aſiaticus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, declared for *Vitellius*: his example was followed by *Junius Blæſus*, governor of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, or that part of *Gaul* which took its name from the city of *Lions*, and by an *Italian* legion and a body of horſe quartered at *Lions*. The forces in *Rhætia* and thoſe in *Britain* went likewiſe, without heſitation, over to his ſide. *Vitellius*, now become, by the acceſſion of ſo many armies, mighty both in forces and treaſure, appointed two generals to conduct the war, and to each aſſigned a different rout. To *Fabius Valens*, he gave orders to croſs *Gaul*, and in his march endeavour to gain over the natives to his party; but if he could not prevail upon them to join, to over-run and pillage their country, and then make an irruption into *Italy*, by that part of the *Alps* which was called *Cottian*, and is now known by the name of mount *Cenis*. *Cæcina* was ordered to advance thither by a nearer way, and to paſs over the mountains called *Penini*, now the *Great St. Bernard*. *Valens* had under his command the flower of the army of *Lower Germany*, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men. From *Upper Germany*, *Cæcina* led thirty thouſand. *Vitellius* was to follow, with a numerous body of *German* troops, to ſupport the whole weight of the war. But while the ſoldiers were urgent for action, and eager to begin their march, notwithſtanding the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, the general was paſſing his time in voluptuous ſloth, in revels, and banquets. By the middle of the day, he was always intoxicated with wine, and ſo gorged with feaſting, that he was not capable of giving any directions. But ſuch was the zeal and ardour of the ſoldiers, that of themſelves they ſupplied all the duties of the leader, as effectually as if he had attended in perſon. As ſoon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with eagerneſs, that the ſignal might be given for marching. We are told, that on the very day the army under the command of *Valens* began their march, an eagle, meaſuring his motion by that of the troops, glided gently along, and flew juſt before them, as if he ſhewed them the way, without being frightened with the joyful ſhouts uttered by the ſoldiery, who thence concluded, that the enterpriſe would prove ſucceſsful. They advanced with aſſurance to the territories of *Treves*, as to thoſe

Orders his troops to march to Italy.

The march of Valens *through* Gaul.

[q] Tacit. c. 57—59.

of

of a friendly ſtate. But at *Dividurum*, now *Metz*, tho' they were there received in a very friendly manner, they were ſeized with a ſudden panic, ran to their arms, and would have put the inhabitants, all to a man, to the ſword, without the leaſt provocation, had not their general, with much ado, reſtrained their fury, and by intreaties prevailed upon them to forbear purſuing the utter deſtruction of the unoffending city. There were ſlaughtered, however, not for the ſake of pillage or ſpoil, but from fury and madneſs, near four thouſand perſons. The reſt of *Gaul* was ſo alarmed with the news of this ſlaughter, that thenceforward, as the army approached any city, the inhabitants crowded out to meet them, accompanied with their magiſtrates in the attire of ſuppliants, and readily ſupplied them with all manner of proviſions. In the capital of the *Leucians*, that is, in the city of *Toul*, *Fabius* received tidings of the murder of *Galba*, and that the ſovereignty was devolved upon *Otho*. This news did not affect the ſoldiers, for they were only intent upon war: as for the *Gauls*, they bore equal hatred to *Otho* and *Vitellius*; but as they were poſſeſſed with dread of the latter, they declared for him. From *Toul*, the army advanced to *Langres*, a city intirely attached to the party of *Vitellius*, and were there kindly received. The inhabitants of *Autun* ſupplied them out of fear (for they hated *Vitellius*) with money, arms, and proviſions. What the city of *Langres* had done out of fear, that of *Lions* did through joy; for *Galba* had loaded them with taxes, deprived them of part of their territories, and converted to his own exchequer the revenues of their ſtate. As animoſities had been long ſubſiſting between the people of *Lions* and thoſe of *Vienne*, *Valens*, at the inſtigation of the former, marched againſt the latter, under pretence, that they had aided the conſpiracy and attempts of *Vindex*, and had lately levied troops for the ſupport of *Galba*. But the people of *Vienne* gained over *Valens* with an immenſe ſum, and a donative to the ſoldiery of three hundred ſeſterces a man. They were commanded, however, to ſurrender the arms belonging to the ſtate, and to ſupply the ſoldiers with proviſions. From thence, in a ſlow progreſs, the army was led through the territories of the *Allobroges* and *Vocontii*; the general, upon every march which he made, upon every ſhifting of his camp, ſtriking infamous bargains with the proprietors of the ſeveral lands, and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities, for favour and exemptions. This he did with ſuch open menaces, that he ordered *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, to be ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhewed ſome reluctance to pay the ſum he had required. *Lucus* was, in former times, one of the chief cities of the *Vocontii*, or *Dauphins* but has been long ſince utterly deſtroyed. Marching in this manner,

Valens

He arrives at the Alps.

Valens arrived at length at the *Alps*. *Tacitus* obſerves, that he had been long ſordidly poor, but by this march became ſuddenly rich, and abandoned himſelf, as his appetites had been whetted by a long courſe of penury, to all manner of riot and exceſſes [r].

Cæcina *commits great devaſtations in the country of the* Helvetii.

On the other hand, *Cæcina* rioted in greater ſpoil and more blood. The *Helvetians*, not appriſed of the tragical end of *Galba*, refuſed to own the ſovereignty of *Vitellius*. Hereupon; *Cæcina*, who longed paſſionately for a pretence to plunder their country, inſtantly decamped, and entering their territories in a hoſtile manner, ravaged their fields, ſacked their cities, and made a dreadful havock of the unhappy inhabitants: many thouſands were cut off, and great numbers made priſoners, and ſold for ſlaves; for the *Helvetians*, once renowned for their valour and experience in war, were at this time only famous for the reputation which they had formerly acquired: they were fierce and daring, ſays our hiſtorian, while danger was at a diſtance, but ſtruck with terror when it arrived. As the army, after having committed univerſal ravage and ſpoil, was marching in order of battle to *Aventicum*, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were diſpatched to offer a ſurrender of the city, which was accepted. *Julius Alpinus*, a leading man among the *Helvetians*, was, by *Cæcina*'s orders, put to death; the fate of the reſt was referred to the judgment of *Vitellius*, who, moved with the tears and intreaties of *Claudius Coſſus*, their deputy, a man of great eloquence and addreſs, granted to all pardon and ſecurity [s]. While *Cæcina* was waiting in the country of the *Helvetians*, till he had learnt the pleaſure of *Vitellius*, and preparing at the ſame time to paſs the *Alps*, he received joyful tidings from *Italy*, that the ſquadron of horſe named *Syllana*, and then encamped on the banks of the *Po*, had declared for *Vitellius*. They had ſerved under him in *Africa*, when he was proconſul there; had been recalled from thence by *Nero*, in order to be ſent forward into *Egypt*; and, upon the inſurrection of *Vindex*, detained in *Italy*. As the officers were unacquainted with *Otho*, and engaged by obligations to *Vitellius*, they eaſily prevailed upon their men, by magnifying to them the great ſtrength of the approaching legions and the renown of the *German* armies, to go over to the ſame party, and ſwear fealty to *Vitellius*. With themſelves, as a preſent to their new prince, they brought into his intereſt the ſtrongeſt municipal cities beyond the *Po*, *viz.* *Milan*, *Novara*, *Jurea*, and *Vercelli*. As ſuch an extenſive country could not be guarded by a ſingle band of cavalry, *Cæcina* who had this information directly from themſelves diſpatched thither forth-

A ſquadron of horſe revolts to Vitellius, *and brings over ſeveral cities to the ſame party.*

[r] Tacit. c. 60—67. [s] Idem, c. 68, 69.

with

with the ſeveral cohorts of *Gauls*, *Luſitanians*, and *Britons*, with a body of *German* troops, and the ſquadron of horſe called *Taurina*. As for himſelf, he was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether it were not adviſeable to bend his march over the mountains of *Rhætia* towards *Noricum*, againſt *Petronius*, governor of that province, who, having on all hands raiſed forces and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was ſuſpected to act for *Otho*. But fearing he might loſe the detachments already ſent forward, and reflecting, where-ever the deciſive battle was fought, *Noricum* would certainly prove one of the acquiſitions following a general victory, he ordered his ſoldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the *Apennine*, and led himſelf the heavy body of legionaries over the *Alps*, ſtill covered with ſnow [t].

He paſſes the Alps.

THE arrival of theſe troops in *Italy* filled *Rome* with conſternation. Not only the ſenate and equeſtrian order, who had ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration and ſome concern for the public welfare, but even the populace, loudly complained, that two men, of all the moſt infamous for effeminacy, profuſion, and debauchery, were thus fatally choſen, as it were on purpoſe to rend and deſtroy the empire. They thought their vows for either would be alike deteſtable, their ſupplications alike impious, ſince ſuch men they both were, that whoſoever of the two proved the conqueror, would thence prove the worſt. In the mean time, *Otho*, tho' hitherto entirely abandoned to his pleaſures, was not at this juncture lulled aſleep by them; but, ſuſpending his voluptuous ſallies and artfully diſſembling his paſſion for luxury, conducted all things ſuitably to the dignity of the empire. In order to gain the affections of the people, who ſuſpected his virtues to be aſſumed, and apprehended a return of his vices, he cauſed *Celſus Marius*, conſul elect, to be brought before him in the capitol. He had already reſcued him, as we have related above, from the cruelty of the ſoldiers, under colour of committing him to priſon; and now he aimed at obtaining the character of tenderneſs and clemency, by mercy ſhewn to a man ſo illuſtrious, ſo beloved by the *Roman* people, and ſo odious to all the partizans of *Otho*'s cauſe. *Celſus*, when he appeared, confeſſed, without betraying the leaſt fear, the imputed crime of having perſevered ſteady in his allegiance to *Galba*; he even appealed to *Otho*, whether he ought not to approve ſuch an example of fidelity. *Otho* commended his ſteadineſs, and, in a very obliging manner, deſired him rather to forget his confinement, than remember his releaſe. Neither did he treat him as a criminal pardoned, but forthwith admitted him amongſt his moſt intimate friends, and preſently after choſe

Rome *in great conſternation.*

Otho *ſtrives to gain the affections of the people.*

He pardons Celſus Marius.

[t] Idem, c. 70.

him one of his generals for conducting the war. The saving of *Celsus* caused an universal joy amongst men of rank, was applauded with loud acclamations to the populace, and was not ill received even by the soldiers, who now admired in him the same virtue, against which they had, in the height of their fury, been so much incensed [u]. The public joy for the deliverance of *Celsus* was greatly heightened by the doom of *Tigellinus*. He had been the chief author of all the enormities committed by *Nero*, whom he had afterwards betrayed and abandoned; and was therefore abhorred by those who loved, and those who hated, *Nero*. While *Galba* reigned, he was protected, as we have related above, by the power and authority of *Titus Vinius*: hence the people were the more inflamed against him, their old detestation of *Tigellinus* concurring with their recent hatred to *Vinius*. From every quarter of the city they now flocked to the forum and the palace, and filled with their multitudes the circus and the several theatres, demanding, with bold seditious words, the execution of *Tigellinus*, till at length the fatal injunction to die was dispatched to him, then at the baths of *Sinuessa*. There, amidst a herd of harlots, after many passionate embraces and unmanly delays, he at last cut his throat with a razor [w].

Tigellinus is ordered to put himself to death.

Frequent messengers and letters between Otho *and* Vitellius.

While the forces of *Vitellius* were on their march to *Italy*, *Otho*, with frequent messengers and private letters, strove to divert his competitor from engaging in a war, which might prove fatal to both. He offered him immense sums, and such a place of retirement as he himself should chuse to live in, agreeable to his profuse life and taste; nay, he engaged to take him for his partner in the empire, and to marry his daughter. With the same or the like offers *Vitellius* tempted *Otho*; so that they soon proceeded to reproaches, upbraiding each other with their debaucheries and profligate lives; nor in this did either bring a false charge against the other. *Otho*, having recalled the embassadors sent by *Galba* to the armies in *Germany*, dispatched others in their room in the plausible name of the senate; but the embassadors continued with *Vitellius*. As for the prætorian guards, who, by the appointment of *Otho*, accompanied them, *Vitellius* obliged them to return back, without suffering them to mix amongst his legionaries. At the same time *Valens* transmitted letters to the prætorian bands and city cohorts, in the name of the *German* army, exhorting them to abandon *Otho* and embrace the same interest. He likewise upbraided them for transferring the sovereignty to *Otho*, when it had been so long before conferred upon *Vitellius*. But the *German* army con-

[u] Idem, c. 71. Dio. l. lxiv. p. 731. [w] Idem, c. 72.

tinuing

tinuing faithful to *Vitellius*, notwithſtanding the great promiſes of *Otho*, and the prætorian bands ſteady in their allegiance to *Otho*, notwithſtanding the offers of *Vitellius*, the two chiefs began to employ ſnares and miniſters of death againſt each other: aſſaſſins were diſpatched by *Otho* into *Germany*, and by *Vitellius* to *Rome*; but the attempts on both ſides were defeated [x].

Moſt of the provinces declare for Otho.

THE firſt tidings from abroad that raiſed *Otho*'s hopes were from *Illyricum*, whence he received advice, that the legions in *Dalmatia*, in *Pannonia*, and *Mœſia*, had declared for him, and ſworn allegiance. The army in *Judæa* was by *Veſpaſian* ſworn to *Otho*, as were the legions in *Syria* by *Mucianus* governor of that province. *Egypt* too and all the provinces extending to the eaſt ſubmitted to him. The like ſubmiſſion was paid him in *Africa*, in *Spain*, and in *Narbonne Gaul*; but the latter province ſoon acceded to the party of *Vitellius*, which was the neareſt and ſtrongeſt. *Aquitain* likewiſe firſt declared for *Otho*; but ſoon after, from the ſame motive, ſwore fealty to *Vitellius*: for there was no true zeal, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in the people for the cauſe and intereſt of either of the pretenders, and only by the oppreſſions of fear they were tranſported and changed from one ſide to another. *Otho*, in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of the empire: in the ſenate he made many obliging and popular harangues; upon ſuch antient ſenators as had already ſuſtained the firſt employments in the ſtate, he conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; ſeveral young noblemen, lately recalled from exile, he inveſted with ſuch ſacerdotal offices, as had been enjoyed by their fathers or anceſtors. To *Claudius Rufus*, *Pedius Blæſus*, and *Scævinus Promptinus*, ſenators degraded in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*, he reſtored their former dignity. By the like benevolence he attempted to gain the affections of whole cities and provinces. He ſupplied the colonies of *Hiſpalis* and *Emerita* with a freſh recruit of families, and made the whole people of the *Lingons* free of *Rome*. To the province of *Bætica* he ſubmitted all the cities of *Mauritania*; and granted great privileges to the *Cappadocians* and *Africans*. But not forgetting, even while his ſovereignty was at ſtake, to honour the memory of his once favoured *Poppæa*, he procured a decree from the ſenate for replacing her ſeveral ſtatues, which had been thrown down after the death of *Nero*; nay, he ſuffered the ſtatues of that prince to be reared in public places, and did not betray any diſtaſte, but rather ſatisfaction, upon his being ſaluted by the people in the theatre with the name of *Nero Otho*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times, and

He ſtudies to gain their affection.

[x] Idem, c. 73. SUET. in Oth. c. 8. PLUT. ibid.

ſucceeded *Galba* in the government of *Spain*, tells us, that *Otho*, in his firſt diſpatches to the governors of the provinces, in his grants and letters, ſubſcribed himſelf *Nero Otho*; but being appriſed, that this gave offence to the nobility, he omitted the former name [y].

The Roxolanians *defeated.*

While the minds of all men were intent upon the progreſs and iſſue of the civil war, the *Roxolanians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, having made an irruption into *Mæſia*, to the number of nine thouſand men, and cut off two cohorts, were unexpectedly attacked by the third legion, put to flight, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the marſhes, where, through the rigour of the winter, they all periſhed to a man. For this victory, *Marcus Aponius*, governor of *Rome*, was diſtinguiſhed with a triumphal ſtatue, as were *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Julianus Titus*, and *Numiſius Lupus*, commanders of the legions there, with the conſular ornaments. Great was *Otho*'s joy on this occaſion; for to himſelf he aſſumed the glory, as if the ſucceſs in war was owing to his auſpices [z].

At *Rome*, in the mean time, aroſe, from an unforeſeen accident, a ſedition, which well nigh involved the city in deſtruction. *Otho* had ordered the ſeventh legion to be removed from *Oſtia*, where it was quartered, to *Rome*, and committed the care of ſupplying them with arms to *Varius Criſpinus*, a tribune of the prætorian guards. *Criſpinus* chuſing, for the execution of his orders, the cloſe of the evening, when the camp was compoſed and the ſoldiers retired to their tents, directed the armoury to be thrown open, and the carriages belonging to the cohorts to be loaded. The lateneſs of the hour gave no ſmall jealouſy to the drunken ſoldiery. Some of the moſt turbulent, and moſt intoxicated with wine, began to cry out, That *Criſpinus* was diſaffected to *Otho*; that the ſenate was arming againſt the perſon and cauſe of their emperor; and that thoſe arms were to be employed, not for him, as *Criſpinus* gave out, but againſt him. This report being in a trice ſpread over the whole camp, a general uproar enſued; they all betook themſelves to their arms, and having cut in pieces *Criſpinus*, while he was endeavouring to repreſs their ſeditious fury, and with him ſuch of the centurions as were remarkable for ſeverity of diſcipline, they inſtantly advanced with their drawn ſwords to *Rome*, after to the imperial palace. *Otho* was then entertaining at a great banquet the chief lords and the women of the greateſt diſtinction in the city. As they doubted whether the danger proceeded from the caſual rage of the ſoldiery, or the premeditated treachery

A ſedition among the prætorian guards.

[y] Tacit. c. 77, 78. Suet. c. 7. Plut. in Oth. [z] Tacit. c. 79.

of

of the emperor, they were all ſeized with dread and terror, and not knowing whether they ſhould fly or ſtay, they conſtantly watched the countenance of *Otho*; who, being alarmed at the danger threatening his gueſts, among whom were eighty ſenators, not only diſpatched forthwith the captains of the guards to ſoften the rage of the ſoldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all ſpeed by private ways; which they did accordingly, rambling in the dark here and there, few to their own home, moſt to the houſes of their meaneſt dependents, where ſearch and purſuit were leaſt apprehended. They were no ſooner gone, than the ſoldiers, breaking down the gates of the palace, forced their way into the banqueting room, and there, with one voice, demanded to have a ſight of *Otho*, having in their paſſage wounded *Julius Martialis* and *Vitellius Saturninus*, two officers, who ſtrove to oppoſe their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandiſhed, and terrible menaces uttered, not only againſt the tribunes and centurions, but againſt the whole body of the ſenate; for as they could aſſign no particular victim to their fury, they claimed a latitude for a general ſlaughter, as if the whole ſenate had conſpired againſt *Otho*; till the emperor, riſing from his banqueting couch, by ſupplications, intreaties, end even tears, to the diſgrace of the imperial dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to deſiſt and return to their camp. The next day, the houſes in the city continued cloſely ſhut up; ſcarce a ſoul was to be ſeen in the ſtreets; and the ſoldiers, with down-caſt looks, ſhewed rather tokens of anger and rage, than remorſe. Their captains therefore, *Licinius Proculus* and *Plotius Primus*, harangued them in companies apart, and endeavoured to appeaſe their fury; but to no purpoſe, till they diſtributed among them a large ſum, five thouſand ſeſterces a man. Then, and not before, *Otho* ventured to enter the camp, where the ſoldiers, returned at length to a ſenſe of their duty, gathered round him, and, with a compoſed behaviour, required of their own motion, that the authors of the inſurrection ſhould be put to death. The emperor, aſcending the tribunal, repreſented to them the enormity of their late conduct, inlarged on the reſpect due to the ſenate, and the neceſſity of maintaining military diſcipline in the camp; but as he was well appriſed, that a ſovereignty like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preſerved by reviving the rigid virtue and diſcipline of the antient *Romans*, he concluded, that of the late tranſgreſſion but few were guilty, and that of theſe few two only could bear the puniſhment. His ſpeech was favourably received, and two of the ringleaders in the late tumult were immediately executed, no one ſhewing the leaſt

Their rage and fury.

They are appeaſed with a large donative.

leaſt concern for them, though capital puniſhment was inflicted upon them in the ſight of their comrades and the whole army.

The conſternation of the city.

Thus was the ſedition at length intirely quelled; but nevertheleſs the city ſtill continued in the utmoſt conſternation, from the apprehenſion of a civil war, and the dread of being involved in the ſame calamities, which had proved fatal to it in the time of *Antony* and *Auguſtus*. They were, on one hand, under neceſſity of obliging *Otho*, and, on the other, afraid to diſoblige *Vitellius*, who was ſupported by a ſtrong party, and might in the end get the better of his rival. The ſoldiers diſperſed all over the city, crept into houſes in diſguiſed habits, as ſpies, watching for matter of miſchief and deſtruction againſt ſuch as were ſignal for their nobility or wealth. Some too believed, that certain ſoldiers from the army of *Vitellius* were arrived at *Rome*, to ſound the affections of the *Roman* people. Hence all places were filled with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; nay, men were not exempt from caution and fear in the moſt ſecret receſſes of their own houſes. But, under the eye of the public, this ſort of dread chiefly prevailed: there people ſtudied with great care to frame their faces agreeable to the quality of the news that was ſaid to be brought, that they might not ſeem to betray any diffidence, when affairs bore an ambiguous aſpect, or be ſlow in rejoicing, when they appeared proſperous. The ſenators chiefly, when aſſembled, were at a loſs how to preſerve in all points a ſafe and unexceptionable conduct. They dreaded the conſequences that might attend their iſſuing decrees againſt *Vitellius*; and, on the other hand, were afraid, that, by forbearing to iſſue them, they might rouſe the jealouſy of *Otho*. In this perplexity, without publiſhing any decrees, they contented themſelves with uttering invectives againſt *Vitellius*, but ſuch as, being common and vulgar, were not remarkable; nay, even theſe the moſt wary took care to utter under the din of a general clamour, and when many were ſpeaking at once [a].

The general alarm heightened by ſeveral prodigies.

The general terror was greatly heightened by ſeveral prodigies ſaid to have happened at this time. From the hands of the ſtatue of *Victory triumphant*, ſtanding upon her chariot in the porch of the capitol, the reins dropped, as if ſhe were grown too weak to hold them any longer. Out of *Juno's* chapel ſuddenly aroſe an apparition of a ſize more than human. The ſtatue of *Julius Cæſar*, in an iſland in the *Tiber*, turned quite round from weſt to eaſt, upon a day utterly free from tempeſts. In *Hetruria* an ox ſpoke. Divers animals were ſaid to have produced unnatural births. But the moſt affecting omen of all was, a haſty and dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, whoſe

[a] Idem, c. 80—85.

waters

waters ſwelling to an immenſe height, overthrew the *Sublician* bridge, and, having their courſe obſtructed by the heap of ruins, not only overflowed the adjacent quarters, but covered places which were reckoned ſecure againſt any ſuch diſaſter. Many were ſwept away in the ſtreets, and many drowned in their ſhops and beds. Amongſt the populace a famine enſued, the corn and other proviſions being in great part carried away by the river. As ſoon as the waters returned, *Otho* performed the ſolemnity of luſtration, and purified the city with ſacrifices. Then weighing carefully with his friends all the methods of conducting the war, he reſolved to ſend a powerful force by ſea to invade *Narbonne Gaul*, ſince the *Apennine* mountains, with thoſe of the *Cottian Alps*, and all the other approaches to *Gaul*, were beſet and ſhut up by the armies of *Vitellius*. With this view he reinforced the navy and the marines with a detachment from the prætorian bands. The direction in chief of the expedition was committed to *Antonius Novellus*, to *Suedius Clemens*, both lately centurions of the firſt rank, and to *Æmilius Pacenſis* a tribune, diſmiſſed by *Galba*, and now by *Otho* re-eſtabliſhed. *Oſcus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, was charged with the care of the ſhips, and employed to inſpect the fidelity and behaviour of the other officers. As for *Otho* himſelf, he reſolved to march againſt *Cæcina* and *Valens*, at the head of the prætorian guards and the other troops, which were then quartered in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Under him commanded, as his lieutenants, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Marius Celſus*, and *Annius Gallus*, all men of known valour and experience, and capable of performing great feats, had not *Otho* placed his chief confidence in *Licinius Proculus*, captain of the prætorian guards, and ſuffered himſelf to be governed by him, though quite unexperienced in war [h].

Otho *propoſes to take the field.*

Otho, before he left *Rome*, ordered *Cornelius Dolabella* to retire to *Aquinum* in *Campania*, where he was kept under cloſe confinement for no crime of his, but only as obnoxious on account of the antient luſtre of his name and kindred to *Galba*. Then the emperor ordered many of the magiſtrates, and a great part of ſuch as had been conſuls, to prepare for the field, with no deſign of allowing them any ſhare or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongſt theſe was included *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, whom *Otho* did not diſtinguiſh with any new mark either of his favour or diſpleaſure. *Vitellius* had likewiſe left at *Rome* his mother, his wife, and his children; and to theſe *Otho*, either through fear or from an affected moderation, ſhewed a tender regard, commending

Otho *orders the chief ſenators and nobility to follow him to the war.*

[h] Idem, c. 87.

mending them to the protection of his friends. Great was on this occasion the consternation of the city; the chief senators were disabled by age from bearing the toils of war; the nobles were sunk in sloth, and through a long peace had quite forgot the military laws; the *Roman* knights were unacquainted with the functions and duties of a camp. The more these degrees of men strove to conceal their fear, the more apparently they discovered it. Some, to disguise their want of courage, purchased gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately horses; others provided materials for riot and feasting, as so many implements of war. The giddy and thoughtless multitude were puffed up with great hopes. Those who found their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, rejoiced in the public commotions, promising to themselves in particular most security in the general distraction; but they all soon felt the heavy evils and pressures of war, the price of provisions being doubled, and the populace at once deprived of the usual bounties of the prince, who with much-ado could find corn and money to supply his numerous armies[c].

He takes his leave of the senate.

When all *Otho*'s forces were ready to take the field, he assembled on the fourteenth of *March* the senate, and to their care recommended the commonwealth. In the next place he ordered the people to meet, and in a long speech to them boasted, that his interest and title were supported by the majesty of the city, and the joint consent of the people and senate. Against the partizans of *Vitellius* he spoke with great gentleness and restraint, taxing the *German* legions rather with ignorance, than with insolence and rebellion. Of *Vitellius* himself he made no mention; but whether from any moderation of his own, or because the person who composed his speech, refrained from opprobrious and offensive words, in due caution for himself, is uncertain; for as *Otho*, in all military deliberations, consulted *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Marius Celsus*, so in his civil administration he was believed to employ the talents of *Galerius Trachalus*. Be that as it will, the emperor's speech was received by the populace with loud shouts and many acclamations, each striving to surpass the other in strains of flattery, not from any affection to *Otho*, but from a custom transmitted from reign to reign of flattering any emperor, whosoever he were, with empty applauses and a hollow display of zeal. *Otho*, upon his leaving *Rome*, committed to his brother *Salvius Titianus* the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the empire. When he had thus settled matters in the city, in the best manner he could, he at

And leaves Rome.

[c] Idem, c. 88. 90.

last

laſt ſet out, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, of a choſen body of ſuch of the prætorian bands, as ſerved under the ſtandard of veterans, and a vaſt number of marines. He marched himſelf before the enſigns on foot, wearing a breaſt-plate of iron, undreſſed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame [d].

FORTUNE ſeconded his firſt attempts; for his fleet, having made a deſcent in the province of the maritime *Alps*, defeated the *Ligurians*, whom *Marius Maturus*, who governed that province in quality of procurator, had armed againſt them, plundered *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*, and laid waſte the whole country. On this occaſion a woman having concealed her ſon, the ſoldiers ſuſpecting, that with him ſhe had in the ſame place concealed her money, put her upon the rack; but could not, with all the torments which rage and cruelty ever deviſed, prevail upon her to diſcover the place where her ſon lay concealed. *Tacitus* tells us, that pointing to her belly, ſhe replied he lay there, and could not, with all the tortures ſucceſſively tried, nor even with the agonies of death, be brought to return them any other anſwer. In the mean time, news being ſent in great hurry and alarm to *Fabius Valens*, that *Otho*'s fleet was upon the coaſt of *Narbonne Gaul*, he ſent thither two cohorts of *Tungrians*, four troops of horſe, and the whole ſquadron of *Treverians*, under the command of *Julius Claſſicus*. To theſe was joined a cohort of *Ligurians*, and five hundred *Pannonians*. They no ſooner arrived, than they were attacked by *Otho*'s men, who had already landed. The engagement laſted till night, and was renewed the next day, when *Vitellius*'s forces were at length put to flight with great ſlaughter. However, as the victory to *Otho*'s men proved very bloody, they retired to *Albingaunum*, a municipal city in *Liguria*, and there continued without making any further attempts upon *Narbonne Gaul*. At the ſame time, *Decimus Pacarius*, governor of *Corſica*, having declared for *Vitellius*, was ſlain by the inhabitants, who brought his head to *Otho* [e].

The ſucceſs of his fleet in Narbonne Gaul.

IN *Italy*, the whole country, which extends from the *Po* to the *Alps*, was held by the troops of *Vitellius*; for the ſquadron of horſe, named *Syllana*, had brought over with them ſeveral cities to his party, as we have related above; and the cohorts, which *Cæcina* had ſent thither before him, were already arrived. To them therefore ſeveral cities ſubmitted, not from any affection to *Vitellius*, or that they preferred his cauſe to the cauſe of *Otho*; but by long peace and eaſe they were quite debaſed, ready for any bondage, and the eaſy acquiſition of the firſt

The country between the Po *and the* Alps *ſubmits to* Vitellius.

[d] TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 11. [e] Idem, c. 15—18.

comer. At *Cremona Vitellius*'s men ſurpriſed and took priſoners a cohort of *Pannonians*; and between *Placentia* and *Ticinum* intercepted a hundred horſe and a thouſand marines. Animated with this ſucceſs, they paſſed the *Po* over-againſt *Placentia*, and ſurpriſing certain ſcouts, filled the reſt with ſuch dread, that to *Placentia* they carried tidings, that *Cæcina* approached with his whole army. *Veſtrius Spurinna*, who commanded in that city for *Otho*, and had with him five cohorts of the prætorian guards, a thouſand veterans, and a few horſe, though he was certain that *Cæcina* was not yet come, determined to confine his own men within the fortifications; but they, headſtrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, ſnatching up the enſigns and ſtandards, ſallied out tumultuouſly, turning againſt their own commander, while he ſtrove to reſtrain them, the points of their weapons, and giving out with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and *Cæcina* treacherouſly called in; ſo that *Spurinna* was obliged to approve their reſolution, ſince it was not in his power to prevent it. With them therefore he marched out of *Placentia*, and arriving, when night already approached, within ſight of the *Po*, repreſented to them the neceſſity of pitching and fortifying their camp againſt any ſudden attack. This toil, which was utterly new to men inured to the gaieties of the city, cooled their courage at once; all over the camp dutiful and ſubmiſſive language was heard; they applauded with one voice the prudent care of their commander, who, for the ſeat of the war, had choſen a colony ſo ſtrong and opulent; and, ſubmitting to orders, ſuffered themſelves te be led back the ſame night to *Placentia*, where the walls were forthwith ſtrengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raiſed, *&c.*[f] In the mean time, *Cæcina*, having paſſed the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, and, after attempting in vain, by many ſecret conferences, and mighty promiſes, to corrupt and debauch *Otho*'s forces, reſolved to lay ſiege to *Placentia*; and accordingly incamped before the place. The firſt day paſſed in mutual reproaches, *Cæcina*'s men marching up to the walls, and upbraiding *Spurinna*'s upon the ramparts, as players, dancers, idle ſpectators of *Pythian* and *Olympic* games, men corrupted by the licentious amuſements of the theatre and circus, who triumphed in the murdering of *Galba*, a naked and diſarmed old man, but were not very forward to face an armed enemy in the field. Theſe reproaches ſo inflamed them, that the next day, when *Cæcina* ordered a general aſſault, they behaved with incredible bravery, made a dreadful ſlaughter of his men, and obliged them to retreat in the utmoſt confuſion.

Cæcina *beſieges* Placentia.

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege.

[f] Idem, c. 19.

In

In this conflict, the amphitheatre of *Placentia*, which ſtood without the walls, and was the moſt ſtately and capacious building in *Italy*, was burnt down. This defeat brought great diſgrace upon *Vitellius*'s party; and *Cæcina*, aſhamed of his diſappointment, immediately repaſſed the *Po*, and bent his march towards *Cremona*, which had ſubmitted to *Vitellius*. Upon his march, *Turullius Cerealis* revolted to him with a great number of marines, and *Julius Briganticus* with a few horſe: the latter a *Batavian* by nation, and commander of a ſquadron of horſe; the other a centurion of the firſt rank, who having ſerved in that character amongſt the forces in *Germany*, was thence well affected to *Cæcina* [g]. About the ſame time, *Martius Macer*, who commanded under *Otho* a body of two thouſand gladiators, having imbarqued them upon the *Po*, landed unexpectedly on the oppoſite ſhore, where he ſurpriſed and defeated the auxiliary troops which belonged to the forces of *Vitellius*, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly for refuge to *Cremona*. *Macer* reſtrained his men from purſuing them, leſt the fugitives, ſtrengthened by freſh ſuccours from the city, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this reſtraint great diſtruſt aroſe amongſt the ſuſpicious ſoldiers of *Otho*, the moſt cowardly urging criminal imputations againſt their leaders, and putting a malevolent conſtruction upon all their proceedings. *Cæcina*, greatly concerned to ſee all his enterpriſes abortive, and fearing leſt *Fabius Valens*, who was now approaching, ſhould rob him of the whole glory of the war, hurried with more impatience than circumſpection to retrieve his honour. At a place about twelve miles from *Cremona*, named *Caſtores*, he ſecretly conveyed the flower of his auxiliaries into the woods, which lay juſt above the great road; the horſe he commanded to march farther on, and, after having engaged the enemy, to betake themſelves to a voluntary flight, and continue it, till the auxiliaries lying in the woods had an opportunity of riſing at once out of their ambuſh and falling upon the enemy. But this ſtratagem being betrayed by ſome deſerters to *Otho*'s generals, *Paulinus* and *Celſus*, they craftily drew *Cæcina*'s forces into the ſame ſnare; for *Paulinus* taking the command of the foot, and *Celſus* that of the horſe, they placed three cohorts in cloſe ranks in the high-road, and on either ſide of it concealed among the woods the firſt legion, the thirteenth, ſix cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. The three cohorts in the high-road were immediately attacked by *Cæcina*'s horſe, who, after having ſtood their ground a while, turned their backs and fled. But *Celſus*, who was aware

Vitellius's *auxiliaries defeated.*

[g] Idem, c. 20—23. PLUT. in Oth.

of the artifice, with-held his men from purſuing them; and in the mean time, the forces, which *Cæcina* had concealed in the woods, roſe out of their ambuſh. Then *Celſus*, pretending fear, retired inſenſibly before them, till they found themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides; for on both their flanks they were attacked by the cohorts and the legions, and the horſe, ſuddenly wheeling about, fell upon them in the rear. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæcina*'s whole army had been cut off, if the legions under the command of *Paulinus* had come up with more expedition; but that general moved too ſlowly, and with more caution than was neceſſary, or indeed conſiſtent with the rules of war. Our hiſtorian charges him with two material overſights on this occaſion: the firſt was, that, inſtead of ſounding the charge and ſupporting his cavalry, by falling briſkly upon *Cæcina*, he ſpent his time in filling the ditches and clearing the grounds, that he might extend his front, thinking it too early to begin to conquer, till he had provided againſt being conquered. By this delay leiſure was given to the enemy to ſhelter themſelves amongſt the vineyards; whence they renewed the charge, and killed the moſt reſolute and forward of the prætorian horſe. The ſecond was his not taking advantage of the diſorder the enemy were in, both in the field of battle and in the camp, but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably. But *Paulinus* was, as our hiſtorian informs us, a man by nature wary and ſlow, better pleaſed with deliberate counſels ſupported by reaſon, than with victory reſulting from chance. The ſoldiery complained loudly of his conduct, and prevailed upon *Otho* to remove him together with *Celſus*, and to place in their room his brother *Titianus* and *Proculus* captain of the prætorian guards. *Titianus* therefore was ſent for, and to him was committed the rule and direction of the war, though *Proculus* bore in all deliberations the greater ſway. The two degraded generals were kept in the camp, rather as counſellors than commanders; for *Otho* entertained a mighty opinion of their experience and abilities in war [h].

Cæcina's forces defeated.

Paulinus and Celſus removed.

In the mean time, *Fabius Valens* arrived with the troops under his command at *Ticinum*, where, while he was fortifying his camp, news was brought of the late unſucceſsful battle. Hereupon his troops accuſing him of treachery, as if he had, by feigned delays, detained them from aſſiſting at the engagement, turned away, without waiting for their general's orders, to join *Cæcina*. Upon the conjunction of the forces of *Valens* with thoſe of *Cæcina*, the officers of *Vitellius* were for coming to a deciſive battle. *Otho*, on the other hand, advancing to a village

[h] Tacit. c. 20—24. Plut. ibid.

between

between *Cremona* and *Verona*, called *Bebriacum*, had recourſe to a conſultation, whether it were adviſeable to protract the war, or riſk the fortune of a battle. Upon this occaſion *Suetonius Paulinus*, the moſt experienced commander of his age, declared, that it was his opinion, that haſte and preſent action were advantageous to the enemy; but to *Otho* procraſtination and delay, ſince the intire army of *Vitellius* was arrived, and in want of many neceſſaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the ſpeedieſt way of ſupplying their preſent want. On the contrary, *Otho*'s army was abundantly provided: *Italy*, the ſenate, and the people of *Rome* were intirely at his devotion, and ready to ſupply him, not only with proviſions, but with treaſure, more prevalent than the ſword in all civil diſſenſions. Moreover, ſeveral provinces had revolted from *Vitellius*; whereas all the countries, which had at firſt declared for *Otho*, continued inviolably attached to him. In his front lay the river *Po*; his cities were ſecure in the ſtrength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was evident from the brave defence of *Placentia*. He added, that were the war protracted till the ſummer, the *Germans*, of all the enemy's forces, the moſt formidable, would never endure ſo great a change of country and climate, but inſenſibly moulder away, and utterly vaniſh with all their terrors. He concluded, that as the legions of *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæſia* were upon their march and would arrive in a few days, the emperor might then reſume the preſent deliberation; and if it were judged adviſeable to engage, he might bring into the field a far greater ſtrength. With the counſel of *Paulinus*, *Marius Celſus* concurred; and *Annius Gallus*, who was abſent, being ill of the hurt which he had received a few days before from his horſe falling with him, declared to thoſe who were ſent to learn his advice, that he entertained the ſame ſentiments, and would have the emperor by all means to wait, at leaſt till the legions from *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæſia* had joined him. But *Otho*, *Titianus* his brother, and *Proculus*, were bent upon engaging. The two latter, hurried by raſhneſs and want of experience, were always averring, that fortune, and the gods, and the deity of *Otho* attended upon his counſels, and would undoubtedly proſper his enterpriſes: to ſuch groſs flattery had they betaken themſelves, that no one might dare to thwart their opinion, which in the end prevailed. Many reaſons are alledged by the antients for this ſtrange determination: ſome writers tell us, that the prætorian guards, diſliking the ſtrict diſcipline they were then under, and longing for the diverſions and gaieties of the city, grew refractory, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy, not doubting, but they ſhould carry all before them. Others write,

Paulinus is againſt engaging the enemy.

Otho reſolves to venture a battle.

write, that, from an averſion to both princes, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity, and agreeing among themſelves to ſet up a proper emperor, or to refer the choice to the ſenate; and that hence *Otho*'s generals had declared for delays and procraſtination; *Paulinus* particularly, who conſidered, himſelf as the moſt antient conſular, as one famous in war, and one who, by his exploits in *Britain*, had gained a great name. There were, no doubt, in both armies a few, in whoſe breaſts cordial wiſhes were entertained for public tranquillity, inſtead of civil diſſenſion, and for a prince worthy and innocent, in the room of two, of all men the worſt, and infamous for every kind of iniquity. But *Paulinus*, as *Tacitus* judiciouſly obſerves, was too wiſe a man to imagine, that in an age abandoned to corruption, the common herd, who, from a paſſion for war, had promoted civil diſcords and violated the public peace, would, for the ſake of peace, extinguiſh a fire of their own kindling and relinquiſh the war; or that two armies, ſo different in manners and language, could ever be brought to agree upon a point of ſuch importance. Beſides, the generals and leaders in both armies, being deeply involved in debt, preſſed with indigence, and for the moſt part guilty of enormous crimes, would have taken care to make choice of ſuch an emperor, as was moſt like themſelves, and ſhould be obliged to them for his election[1].

When an engagement was reſolved upon, it was debated next in the council, whether the emperor ſhould be preſent in the action, or remove elſewhere. *Titianus* and *Proculus* adviſed him to retire to *Brixellum*, now *Berſello*, where, ſecure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he ſhould reſerve himſelf, they ſaid, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of ſovereignty. *Paulinus* and *Celſus*, that they might not ſeem to adviſe expoſing the perſon of the prince to perils, dared not oppoſe his departure. This advice, which *Otho* readily embraced, was attended with two bad conſequences; for he conſiderably weakened the army, by taking with him a numerous detachment of the beſt troops to guard him; and beſides, the forces remaining loſt all courage, ſince they ſuſpected the fidelity of their leaders. In the mean time, the band of gladiators, who ſerved under *Otho*, being attacked and defeated by a detachment of *Germans*, *Macer*, who commanded the former, was by the whole army required to ſlaughter; nay, they had already wounded him with a lance and were falling upon him with their drawn ſwords, when, by the ſudden interpoſition of the tribunes and centurions, he was reſcued. However, *Otho*, being obliged to remove him, ſent *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to

Otho *retires to* Brixellum.

[1] Tacit. c. 38.

Veſpaſian,

Veſpaſian, to take the charge of the forces that had been under his command, to the great joy of the ſoldiers, pleaſed with the change of leaders, while the leaders abhorred the charge of a ſoldiery ſo licentious and unruly. After the departure of *Otho* to *Brixellum*, the name and honour of the generalſhip remained with his brother *Titianus*, but the whole authority with *Proculus*. As for *Celſus* and *Paulinus*, they were on no occaſion conſulted, but only bore the empty title of commanders, and thence ſerved as cloaks for the faults and miſtakes of others. The tribunes and centurions were under the greateſt concern, to ſee men of ſuperior worth and capacity thus neglected, while the very worſt men bore ſway. But the common ſoldiers, who ſuſpected their fidelity, were chearful and elated, though rather diſpoſed to canvaſs and interpret, than to obey and execute, the orders of their commanders. The two armies were encamped on the banks of the *Po*, whence *Otho*'s forces moved their quarters, and retired within four miles of *Bebriacum*, which is by *Tacitus*, as we have hinted above, placed between *Cremona* and *Verona*, but by *Sanſon* between *Cremona* and *Mantua*, upon the river *Oglio*, where the preſent city of *Canete* ſtands. Their march was ſo unſkilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely diſtreſſed for want of water, though it was then the ſpring of the year, about the thirteenth of *April*, and there were rivers on all hands. *Proculus* was for continuing the march the next day, with a deſign to attack the enemy, encamped about ſixteen miles off, at the confluence of the *Adda* and the *Po*. This reſolution was utterly diſapproved by *Celſus* and *Paulinus*, who declared againſt expoſing the army, fatigued with marching and loaded with baggage, to the enemy, who, being themſelves light and unincumbered, and having moved ſcarce four miles, would never loſe the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were fortifying their camp. This point was ſtill under debate, when a *Numidian*, diſpatched by *Otho* upon a ſwift horſe, arrived with letters to the generals, wherein the emperor, having firſt reproached them in a very bitter ſtrain, with want of ſpirit and reſolution, commanded them peremptorily to engage without loſs of time. Such orders as theſe, ſent by princes who are at a diſtance, prove commonly moſt fatal. Of this we have innumerable inſtances; and the reaſon is very obvious: it is impoſſible for a man, who is not upon the ſpot, to make a right choice of the ground, the opportunity, and favourable moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the moſt able commanders, who are upon the ſpot. Upon the receipt of the emperor's letters,

The whole power devolved upon Proculus.

Otho *orders them to engage without delay.*

letters, *Celſus* and *Paulinus* dropped all oppoſition, and the army immediately decamped [k].

The ſame day, two tribunes of the prætorian guards came to *Cæcina*, as he was intent upon building a bridge croſs the *Po*, and deſired a conference. He was already ſetting himſelf to receive their overtures, when the ſcouts, in great haſte, appriſed him, that the enemy was at hand. The diſcourſe with the tribunes being thus interrupted, it remained uncertain, whether they intended to betray their own party, to contrive a plot againſt the enemy, or had ſome deſign truly worthy and honeſt. *Cæcina*, having diſmiſſed the tribunes, immediately quitted his poſt upon the river, and haſtened to the camp, where he found the ſignal of battle already given by *Valens*, and the ſoldiers under arms. While *Valens* was drawing up his legions, his cavalry ſallied forth by themſelves, but were by a party of *Otho*'s forces, much inferior in number, repulſed, and forced to fly for ſhelter to their ramparts; whence the *Italic* legion, with their drawn ſwords, drove them back to the encounter. The legions of *Vitellius* were ranged in order of battle, without the leaſt conſternation or alarm; for though the enemy approached, they were prevented from ſeeing them by a thick coppice. In the army of *Otho* an univerſal confuſion prevailed; the generals diſtruſted the ſoldiery, and the ſoldiery were incenſed againſt their generals. The carriages and retainers to the camp were mixt and crowded amongſt the ranks; from a deep ditch on each hand, the way was too ſtreight even for an army marching, where no danger from an enemy was to be apprehended. No order was obſerved, ſome thruſting themſelves into the front, ſome retiring to the rear, as each found himſelf prompted by bravery or by fear. Beſides, a groundleſs report was ſpread among the foremoſt ranks of *Otho*'s army, that the forces of *Vitellius* had revolted from him and would join them. Upon this report, they accoſted the enemy with the ſalutation of friends; but the others returned the compliment with a hoſtile and threatening murmur, which not only diſheartened them, but gave occaſion to the reſt, who were unappriſed of the cauſe of ſuch greeting, to apprehend that they were betrayed. At the ſame time, the enemy attacked them with great vigour; and *Otho*'s men, tho' fewer in number and fatigued, ſuſtained the charge with great reſolution and intrepidity. As the place was embarraſſed with trees, hedges, and vineyards, they fought with ſmall regularity, bearing down one upon another, body to body, buckler to buckler, with ſwords and axes, after a dreadful manner, each man exerting his might, as if the event of the whole war depended

The battle of Bebriacum.

[k] Idem, c. 39, 40.

pended upon his valour. In the open plain, between the *Po* and the highway, two legions chanced to encounter; the one-and-twentieth belonging to *Vitellius*, and named *Rapax*; and the firſt on *Otho*'s ſide, intitled *Adjutrix*. The former was famous for feats of valour; the latter till then had never been led into the field, but was fierce, reſolute, and eager of acquiring renown. They engaged with incredible fury, rejecting the uſe of darts, and cloſing reſolutely with ſwords and axes. After a long and bloody conteſt, the ſoldiers of the firſt having routed the foremoſt ranks of the one-and-twentieth, carried off their eagle; a diſgrace which ſo enraged this legion, that they returned to the charge, ſlew *Orphidius Benignus*, commander of the firſt, and took ſeveral ſtandards. In another quarter, the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*, was defeated by the fifth. *Alphenus Varius*, at the head of the *Batavians*, having utterly routed the body of *Otho*'s gladiators, attacked his army in flank; which ſtruck the prætorian bands with ſuch dread, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, putting into diſ- Otho's *army routed.*
order ſuch of their own men, as ſtill kept their ranks and faced the enemy. Thus the whole army, no longer able to ſtand their ground, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, bending their courſe towards *Bebriacum*. As the ways were obſtructed by the bodies of the ſlain, (for above forty thouſand fell on both ſides) the enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, it being of no advantage to take priſoners, who in civil wars were not converted into ſale and gain. *Suetonius* and *Proculus* took different routs, both ſhunning that to the camp, out of an apprenſion of the ſoldiery, who had already charged their commanders with the loſs of the battle. *Vedius Aquila*, commander of the thirteenth legion, having with more courage than diſcretion entered the camp, while it was yet broad day, was charged by the troops that had remained there, and by thoſe who were returned from the battle, as a traitor to his cauſe, and abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner; not that he had really committed any crime; but ſuch is the cuſtom of the croud, for every man to caſt upon others his own guilt and diſgrace. *Titianus* and *Celſus* durſt not venture into the camp till night, when the guards were already poſted, and the tumult of the ſoldiery repreſſed. The victorious army of *Vitellius* purſued the fugitives within five miles of *Bebriacum*, where they halted, not thinking it ſafe to attempt forcing the enemy's camp the ſame day; and beſides, they entertained hopes of a voluntary ſurrender. *Otho*'s forces ſeemed diſpoſed to make a vigorous defence, boaſting, that they had been overcome by acts of treachery, and by no ſuperior bravery of the enemy. But the officers, and *Titianus* himſelf, in a council which they held the day following,

Thoſe who fled to the camp ſurrender.

agreed to ſend deputies to *Cæcina* and *Valens* to treat of a ſurrender. Their propoſals were accepted, and, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then both armies meeting, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, burſt into tears, and, at once pleaſed and grieved, uttered their deteſtations of the ſad lot of civil wars. Aſſembling now without diſtinction in the ſame tents, they dreſſed with great tenderneſs one another's wounds; ſome thoſe of their brothers, ſome thoſe of their friends. There were ſcarce any ſo exempt from affliction, as not to have ſome dead friend to bewail. The bodies of *Orphidius* and other officers of diſtinction were ſought for and buried with the uſual ſolemnity. In the end, they all ſubmitted to *Vitellius*, and to him took the oath of allegiance [l].

Otho, in the mean time, waited at *Brixellum* for an account of the battle. The firſt rumours were melancholy, but uncertain, till the fugitives brought a certain account of the utter defeat. The firſt who arrived with the diſmal tidings was a common ſoldier, who being taxed with falſhood and cowardice by ſome perſons about the emperor, to convince them of the truth of his account, and to ſhew that he had not fled for want of courage, fell upon his ſword at *Otho*'s feet; who, admiring his reſolution and fidelity, cried out, *No more ſuch worthy and gallant men ſhall on my ſcore be brought into danger.* This *Suetonius* the hiſtorian tells us he learnt of his father *Suetonius Lenis*, who, in the battle of *Bebriacum*, commanded in quality of tribune the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho* [m]. The battle was no-ways deciſive; for *Otho* had ſtill with him many brave troops inviolably attached to his cauſe and intereſt; his forces beyond the *Po* ſtill remained intire; there were numerous gariſons in *Bebriacum* and *Placentia*; and the legions from *Mæſia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia* were advancing; nay, the *Aſiatic*, *Syrian*, and *Egyptian*, legions were already near the *Adriatic*.

Otho betrays a deſign to lay violent hands on himſelf. The zeal of his ſoldiers on this occaſion.

But nevertheleſs, he was no ſooner informed of the defeat of his army, than he manifeſtly betrayed a fixed purpoſe of ſacrificing his life to the public tranquility. The ſoldiers, appriſed of his deſign, did all that lay in their power to ſupport him under his concern. They preſſed him to take courage, ſince there ſtill remained freſh forces, declaring, without flattery or deceit, that they were ready for his ſake to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers, and ſuffer all extremities. Thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance ſignified their zeal and ardour by ſtretching out their hands; ſuch as were neareſt fell at his knees, kiſſed his hand, and with many tears intreated him to ſtand by them, and to

[l] Tacit. c. 41, 45. Plut. ibid. [m] Suet. in Oth. c. 10.

accept

accept of that duty and fidelity which could never expire, but with their laſt breath. But above all, the intrepidity and fidelity of an obſcure and private ſoldier diſplayed itſelf on this occaſion; but finding the emperor ſtood altogether unſhaken and fixt in his purpoſe, he drew his ſword; and addreſſing himſelf to *Otho*; *From this*, Cæſar, ſaid he, *judge of our fidelity; for there is not a man amongſt us, but would ſtrike thus to ſerve you!* Having thus ſpoken, he turned his ſword againſt himſelf, and fell at the emperor's feet. *Plautius Firmus*, captain of his guards, by repeated inſtances, beſought him not to abandon an army ſo faithful and zealous; ſoldiers ſo ſingularly affectionate and loyal. In bearing calamities, ſaid he, more greatneſs of ſpirit is ſhewn, than in flying from them. To ſupport themſelves with hope, even in ſpite of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and brave, as it was that of the timorous and ſpiritleſs, to be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter deſpair. As during theſe expreſſions *Otho* happened to look chearful or penſive, there followed ſhouts of joy or diſmal groans. Nor was this zeal confined to the prætorian guards, who were inviolably attached to the perſon of *Otho*; but thoſe who had been ſent before the reſt out of *Mœſia*, and were now arrived, declared, that in the approaching army the ſame ſteadineſs prevailed, and that the legions had already reached *Aquileia*. Hence it is evident, that the war might have been renewed, and that its iſſue, notwithſtanding the late overthrow, was altogether uncertain. But neither by perſuaſions and intreaties, nor by all the apparent probability of ſucceſs, could *Otho* be prevailed upon to continue the war, or be diverted from the reſolution he had taken; a reſolution which no one expected from a perſon of his ſoft and effeminate temper. Having commanded ſilence, he ſpoke to them after this manner: This day, my fellow-ſoldiers, which gives me ſuch ſenſible proofs of your affection and loyalty, is far preferable to that on which you ſaluted me emperor. I therefore beſeech you not to deny me the ſatisfaction of laying down my life for the preſervation of ſo many brave men. To expoſe wantonly to freſh perils ſuch virtue and ſo much fortitude, is a price, which I judge too high for the redeeming of my own life. I am well appriſed, that the enemy has neither gained an intire nor a deciſive victory: I have advice, that the *Mœſian* army is not far off; that the legions from *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* are near the *Adriatic*; that the forces in *Judæa* have declared for us; the ſenate favours our cauſe; we have in our power the wives and children of our enemies, *&c.* But alas! it is not with *Pyrrhus*, with *Hannibal*, with the *Cimbrians*, we fight; but it is eagle againſt eagle, and *Rome* againſt *Rome*. *Italy* muſt bleed, whether I vanquiſh or am vanquiſhed;

His fine ſpeech before he dies.

and even he who triumphs will have occaſion to mourn. Shall I ever bear, that ſuch a number of *Roman* youth, that ſo many noble armies be cut off, and raviſhed for ever from the common-wealth? With me let me carry this ſatisfaction, that for my cauſe you were all ready to die; but be content to ſurvive me. *Vitellius* began the civil war, and thence ſprung the ſource of our ſtruggling for the empire by arms. To me will be owing the example of ſtruggling for it no more than once. By this rule let poſterity judge of *Otho*. *Vitellius* ſhall again poſſeſs in ſafety his brother, his children, and his wife. Others have held the ſovereignty longer; in a manner more glorious none ever yet relinquiſhed it. Aſſure yourſelves, it is my free choice to die rather than to reign, ſince I cannot ſo much advance the *Roman* ſtate by war and bloodſhed, as by ſacrificing myſelf to the public peace and tranquility. Nothing but my death can ſeal a laſting peace, and ſecure *Italy* againſt ſuch another unhappy day. But let us no longer retard one another: let not me delay your care of your own preſervation, nor you me in the purſuit of a deſign never to be ſhaken or changed. To multiply words about the ſubject of dying, is the part of a daſtardly ſpirit. How much I am undaunted in this my purpoſe, I deſire you to take this ſignal proof, that I complain of no man; ſince to be blaming the gods or men, upon the approach of death, implies a mean and indirect deſire of living [n].

His calm behaviour.

After this diſcourſe, he deſired thoſe who attended him to leave him, and ſubmit without delay to *Vitellius*. The young men he preſſed with authority, the old by intreaties, addreſſing himſelf to all with great courteſy, in a language ſuitable to their years or dignity. At the ſame time he rebuked, as ill-judged and unreaſonable, the tears and lamentations of his friends, with a countenance calm and compoſed, and a ſpeech flowing and aſſured. To ſuch as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. To thoſe who were abſent, he ſent paſſports, forbidding any one to ſtop them in their journey. All ſuch memorials and letters, as were ſignal for expreſſions of zeal towards him, or for invectives againſt *Vitellius*, he committed to the flames. What money and jewels he had, he diſtributed amongſt his friends. His brother's ſon, *Salvius Coccianus*, one juſt in the bloom of his youth, who was bewailing him with a flood of tears, he endeavoured to comfort with tender expreſſions, bidding him be in no apprehenſion of *Vitellius*, who, he ſaid, could not, for his whole family preſerved in ſafety, refuſe a return of mercy in this ſingle inſtance. The clemency of the conqueror, continued he, I have purchaſed by thus haſtening

[n] Tacit. c. 46, 47. Plut. ibid. Dio. l. lxiv. p. 732, 733. Suet. c. 9.

to

to die, ſince preſſed by no deſperate diſtreſs, but at a juncture when ſo many brave men were demanding to be led to battle, I have, for the ſake of the common-wealth, forborne making a laſt effort. To myſelf I have acquired ſufficient fame; to my poſterity ſufficient luſtre. Into a houſe newly raiſed, I have tranſlated the ſovereignty, after the ſame had been veſted in ſo illuſtrious families, namely, the *Julian*, the *Claudian*, and the *Servian*: but that *Cæſar* has been your uncle, you muſt neither forget, nor too zealouſly remember. After this, he cauſed all thoſe who were about him to retire; and withdrawing into a private room, he wrote conſolatory letters to his ſiſter, and to *Meſſalina*, who had been formerly married to *Nero*, and whom he himſelf had deſigned to marry, recommending to her his memory and aſhes. While he was thus exerciſing his thoughts about his laſt moments, a ſudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was brought him of an uproar among the ſoldiers, who threatened with preſent death all who were about to depart, as traitors and deſerters. Againſt *Verginius* chiefly they were enraged, and had already beſieged his houſe, which for his ſecurity he had ſhut up. Hereupon *Otho*, appearing again, reprimanded the authors of the inſurrection, gave audience to ſuch as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect ſafety. He then withdrew again to his chamber, which he left open till the night was far ſpent, allowing free entrance to all who were deſirous to ſee him. After this, having quenched his thirſt with a draught of cold water, he called for two daggers; and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed the ſharpeſt under his pillow. He next reſolved to be fully aſſured that his friends were all gone; which he no ſooner underſtood, than he lay down, paſſing the night in perfect repoſe, and, as is affirmed, not without ſleep. At break of day he took the dagger, and gave himſelf a mortal ſtab on the left ſide of the breaſt. Upon hearing him groan, his freedmen entered and his ſlaves, with *Plotius Firmus*, captain of his guards, and found no more than one wound. His death was no ſooner divulged, than the whole place reſounded with the mournful cries of the ſoldiers, accuſing themſelves, with the deepeſt concern, for not watching him more carefully, and ſtriving to ſave a life, which was laid down to preſerve theirs. His funeral was diſpatched with great expedition, (for ſuch had been his own deſire) to prevent his head being cut off and expoſed to public deriſion. The prætorian cohorts bore his corpſe, magnificently attired, often kiſſing his wound, and his hand, and even paying him divine honours. At his funeral pile ſome of the ſoldiers ſlew themſelves; and others who were at *Bebriacum*, *Placentia*, and in other quarters, underſtanding the

His death.

Is lamented by the ſoldiery.

His obſequies.

the manner of his death, were ſo deeply and ſenſibly affected, that they ſlew one another, not caring to outlive a prince, whom they ſo tenderly loved. To him they raiſed a tomb of a mean ſtructure, and thence like to remain, with this epitaph only, *To the memory of* Marcus Otho; which they thought the beſt ſecurity againſt any inſults from the conqueror [o]. Such was the end of *Otho*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned, according to ſome three months, according to others three months and five days. He derived his original from the municipal city of *Tarentinum* in *Hetruria*. His father had ſuſtained the dignity of conſul; his grandfather that of prætor. His mother's line was not of equal luſtre; but far from ſordid. He ſpent his tender years in idleneſs, in ſcandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to *Nero*, purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident of his impure pleaſures, *Nero* committed the care of his beloved miſtreſs *Poppæa Sabina*, till he could accompliſh the removal of *Octavia* his wife; but ſoon ſuſpecting him for a rival, he ſent him into *Luſitania*; where the adminiſtration of that province furniſhed a pretence for keeping him from *Rome*. In *Luſitania* he governed with gentleneſs and popularity, was the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, and promoted it with vigor. Thence he conceived hopes of being by him adopted and declared his ſucceſſor; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and ſeeing nothing but deſpair in the quiet and eſtabliſhment of the ſtate, (for he lived in a courſe of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a ſovereign would have proved burdenſome) he revolted from *Galba*, and ſeized the empire in the manner we have related. His death was much applauded, as his life was cenſured; for though he had lived like *Nero*, yet he left this character behind him, that no one ever died more gloriouſly [p]: and indeed nothing can be more glorious in a man, than to ſacrifice his life for the good of his country.

His character.

After the death of *Otho*, the ſoldiers began anew to mutiny; nor was there any one to reſtrain them. They applied to *Verginius*, preſſing him, with many intreaties and menaces, to accept the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to go as their embaſſador to *Cæcina* and *Valens*. Already they were breaking into his houſe, when he, by a back way, ſtole out and eſcaped them. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a perſon of great note, immediately undertook the embaſſy to *Vitellius*'s commanders, and obtained pardon for all the troops that lay at *Brixellum*; and at the ſame time

Otho's *troops ſubmit to* Vitellius.

[o] Tacit. c. 49. Suet. c. 11. Plut. ibid. [p] Tacit. c. 50. Suet. Plut. ibid.

time *Flavius Sabinus* prevailed upon the forces under his command to go over to the conqueror; ſo that war had now every-where ceaſed, and peace was at once re-eſtabliſhed. Many ſenators had accompanied *Otho* from *Rome*, and had been afterwards by him left with a ſmall body of troops at *Mutina*. The ſenators found themſelves expoſed there to great danger; for news being brought thither of the defeat, the ſoldiers ſlighted it as a report void of truth; and ſuſpecting the ſenate to be diſaffected to *Otho*, they watched the words of particulars, and wreſted even their countenances and behaviour to a malignant ſenſe. At laſt they proceeded to inſult them with invectives, and ſeemed only to want a pretence of putting them all to the ſword. On the other hand, they were afraid of being deemed diſaffected to *Vitellius*, whoſe brother was among them, if they ſeemed ſlow and cool in their rejoicings for the victory. They reſolved therefore to return as far as *Bononia*, and wait there for other advices more certain and copious. They poſted men upon the ſeveral roads leading to the city, purpoſely to examine ſuch as paſſed. By theſe one of *Otho*'s freedmen being queſtioned, why he had left his lord? anſwered, That he had about him his lord's laſt will and commands; that he had left him indeed alive, but fixed in his purpoſe of dying, and of ſacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. Hereupon they immediately declared for *Vitellius*, whoſe brother now preſented himſelf to be flattered, as did all the ſenators to flatter him; when on a ſudden one *Cænus*, a freedman of *Nero*'s, arriving, affirmed, that by the arrival of the fourteenth legion, in conjunction with the forces from *Brixellum*, the army, which had lately conquered, was intirely routed, and the fortune of the other party retrieved and changed. What prompted him to ſuch forgery was, that *Otho*'s warrants for poſt horſes, which were now neglected, might by ſuch tidings be reſtored to force: and truly *Cænus* was by this means with great ſpeed carried to *Rome*; but there, a few days after, put to death by *Vitellius*'s orders. The fiction, however, was believed by the ſoldiers, who began anew to threaten the ſenators for having departed from *Mutina*, and declared for *Vitellius*; inſomuch, that they were obliged to conceal themſelves, not daring, for fear of the incenſed ſoldiery, to appear abroad, till letters from *Fabius Valens*, aſſuring them of *Otho*'s death, removed their fright [q].

Rome was, in the mean time, free from all terror and alarm; the interludes, ſacred to *Ceres*, which yearly began on the twelfth, and ended on the nineteenth, of *April*, were cele-

[q] TACIT. c. 53, 54.

brating,

brating, when news was brought into the theatre, that *Otho* had, by a voluntary death, put an end to his life. Hereupon the ſpectators with loud ſhouts applauded the name of the new emperor, uttering againſt *Otho* the ſame invectives which a little before they had uttered againſt *Vitellius*. The troops in the city immediately ſwore allegiance to *Vitellius*. The people carried the images of *Galba* round the temples, crowned with laurels and adorned with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets, after the manner of a ſepulchre, cloſe by the lake of *Curtius*, where *Galba* had been ſlain. In the ſenate the many honours given to former princes at intervals, and during a long courſe of reigning, were at once decreed to *Vitellius*. On the *German* armies high commendations were beſtowed, and an embaſſy ſent to return them public thanks, and congratulate them upon their late victory. The letters addreſſed by *Fabius Valens* to the conſuls *Verginius Rufus* and *Poppæus Vopiſcus*, of whom the firſt was abſent, were publicly read, and found to be conceived in terms no-ways arrogant; but more applauded was the modeſty of *Cæcina*, who had not ſent any, it being deemed aſſuming in any but the emperor to write to the ſenate and magiſtrates[r]. In the mean time, *Italy* was afflicted with greater calamities than ſhe had ſuffered during the war. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, diſtributed amongſt the cities and municipal towns, committed moſt dreadful devaſtations, without ſparing even the temples. Some, in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, killed their particular enemies; and the ſoldiers themſelves, as they were well acquainted with the country, marking out the richeſt inhabitants, plundered their houſes and farms, putting all to fire and ſword without mercy, if any reſiſtance was offered. Their generals durſt not reſtrain them, being themſelves equally guilty and awed by their men. Of the two *Cæcina* was leſs addicted to avarice, but courted the favour of the ſoldiery. *Valens* was himſelf infamous for pillage and rapine, and thence blind to the exceſſes of others. Thus, by ſo mighty a force of foot and horſe, by ſuch acts of violence, ſo many depredations and inſults, was *Italy* quite exhauſted, and many of the moſt wealthy inhabitants reduced to beggary[s].

Honours heaped upon Vitellius *by the ſenate.*

Italy *miſerably afflicted.*

Vitellius, in the mean time, not yet appriſed of the ſucceſs of his own arms, having left *Hordeonius Flaccus* with a ſufficient force to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, was marching towards *Italy* with the reſidue of the *German* army, reinforced with eight thouſand men drawn from *Britain*, and freſh levies haſtily made amongſt the *Gauls*. After a few days march he received the agreeable news of the victory at *Bebriacum* and the death

Vitellius *receives intelligence of the victory at* Bebriacum.

[r] Idem, c. 55. [s] Idem, c. 56.

of

VITELLIUS.



VESPASIAN.



TITUS.









Pomarede Sculpt.

of *Otho.* Hereupon, tranſported with joy, he aſſembled his men, and from the tribunal acquainted them with the intelligence he had received, beſtowing mighty praiſes upon the bravery of his victorious troops. The army, not yielding in the baſe arts of flattery to the ſenate, made him at this juncture a general requeſt, that he would raiſe his favourite freedman *Aſiaticus* to the equeſtrian dignity. The emperor, with ſeeming indignation, rejected their demand; but what in the face of the public he had refuſed, he ſoon after privately conferred at a banquet, honouring *Aſiaticus*, a moſt infamous and rapacious ſlave, with the gold ring, the badge of knighthood. This proceeding was not a little reſented by the ſoldiery. As he was marching through *Gaul*, other meſſengers came with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the *Mauritanias*, *viz.* the *Tingitana* and *Cæſarienſis*; *Lucius Albinus*, who, in quality of procurator, governed there and had declared for *Otho*, being killed by the *Moors*, upon a report, that *Albinus*, ſcorning the title of procurator, intended to uſurp the enſigns of majeſty and the royal name of *Juba*. With him were ſlain *Aſinius Pollio*, who commanded a body of horſe, *Feſtus* and *Scipio*, both captains of cohorts, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. Into theſe tranſactions *Vitellius* made no inquiry, nor took any notice of the murder of ſo many great men, a haſty hearing being all he afforded to any affair, however important. His army he commanded to purſue their march by land; he himſelf ſailed down the *Saône*, without the luſtre and appointment of an emperor, till *Junius Blæſus*, governor of *Lyoneſe Gaul*, a man of great generoſity and proportionable wealth, furniſhed him with a princely train, and accompanied him with great ſtate and magnificence. But this very behaviour provoked *Vitellius* againſt him, though he then diſguiſed his averſion under many courteous expreſſions. At *Lyons* he was met by the generals of both parties, the conquerors and the conquered. *Valens* and *Cæcina* he commended in public, and placed them on each ſide his chair of ſtate. Soon after he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his ſon, yet an infant, who was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour. His father, taking him thus dreſſed in his arms, beſtowed upon him the ſurname of *Germanicus* and all the marks of ſovereignty. He freely forgave *Salvius Titianus*, *Otho*'s brother, the inſtinct and tenderneſs of nature, which had prompted him to eſpouſe his brother's cauſe, and his own want of abilities, pleading for him. Of *Marius Celſus* we are only told, that *Vitellius* reſerved for him the conſulſhip, to which he had been formerly deſigned, and which he was to diſcharge in the month of *July*. He long poſtponed admitting *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Licinius Proculus*,

Both the Mauritanias ſubmit to him.

How he treated the generals of Otho.

keeping them in ſuſpenſe like criminals. At length he heard them, when they both made a defence rather neceſſary than honourable; nay, altogether unworthy of a man of *Paulinus*'s character; for upon themſelves they freely took the ſhame of treaſon, aſcribing to a fraud concerted between them the long march before the battle, the great fatigue of *Otho*'s ſoldiers, the intermixing the carriages among the troops, when drawn up in battle-array, *&c.* *Vitellius* gave credit to the confeſſion of their treachery, and forgave them the crime of fidelity, with which they were charged. *Galerius Trachalus*, who compoſed *Otho*'s ſpeeches, was ſaved by *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*. But all the centurions, who had ſignalized their faith and bravery in the cauſe of *Otho*, were by the new emperor's orders put to the ſword; which eſtranged from him the minds of the ſoldiery, eſpecially of the *Illyrian* legions. However, he ſuffered the laſt wills of ſuch as died fighting for *Otho* to continue in force, and the law in behalf of thoſe who died inteſtate. Before him he ſent an edict to *Rome*, to ſignify, that he deferred receiving the name of *Auguſtus*, and would not at all accept that of *Cæſar*. By another he ordered the aſtrologers to depart *Italy* by the kalends of *October*; which was no ſooner publiſhed, than a libel was hung up in the ſame ſtyle, ordering, in the name of the aſtrologers, *Vitellius Germanicus* to quit the world by the ſame day; which ſo incenſed him againſt all thoſe of that profeſſion, that no ſooner was any of them detected, than he cauſed them, without further inquiry, to be forthwith executed. By a third edict he injoined, under a heavy penalty, that thenceforth no *Roman* knight ſhould debaſe himſelf to fight amongſt the gladiators or with the wild beaſts; a practice which had been greatly encouraged by former emperors. Before *Vitellius* left *Lyons*, he diſpatched orders to *Rome* for the execution of *Dolabella*, who had been confined by *Otho*, as we have related above, to the city of *Aquinum*, and, upon tidings of the death of that prince, was returned to *Rome*. The crimes alledged againſt him were, that he had broke out of priſon, and, preſenting himſelf as a new leader to the vanquiſhed party, had attempted to corrupt the cohort quartered at *Oſtia*. Theſe crimes were urged againſt him before *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of the city, by *Plautius Varus*, a man of prætorian dignity and one of *Dolabella*'s intimate friends. The charge of treaſon could not be proved; but nevertheleſs *Vitellius*, who dreaded a man of his birth and abilities, and likewiſe hated him on account of his having married *Petronia*, his divorced wife, reſolved by all means to get rid of one, whom he looked upon as a competitor. Having therefore ſent for him from *Rome*, and directed him in the letter he wrote to him, not

Sends ſeveral edicts to Rome.

Dolabella *falſly accuſed.*

not to take the *Flaminian* road, but to come round by *Interamna*, now *Terni*, he placed aſſaſſins there, with orders privately to diſpatch him; but they, without waiting till he arrived at the place appointed, cut his throat in an inn upon the way, while he was not under the leaſt apprehenſion of danger [t]. This inſtance of cruelty raiſed great murmurs both among the people and nobility, and upon the new reign derived univerſal hatred and abhorrence.

And maſſacred by Vitellius's order.

FROM *Lyons Vitellius* removed to *Vienne*, where he publicly adminiſtered juſtice and thence continued his rout to *Italy*. As he was a man of a moſt voracious appetite, which *Tacitus* ſtyles quite beaſtly and boundleſs, and greatly addicted to banqueting, from *Rome* and *Italy* were brought him dainties of all ſorts and every incentive to gluttony, the roads from both ſeas being continually filled with carriers loaded with viands for the emperor's table. The chief men of the municipal cities, through which he paſſed, were quite beggared by their magnificent feaſts, that being the only means of making their court to the new prince. The ſoldiers, following the example of their leader, rioted in all manner of exceſſes, plundering and laying waſte, without controul, the cities, villages, and farms, contiguous to the road. The emperor was overtaken on his rout by *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, governor of *Spain*, who came to clear himſelf of the crimes with which he was charged by *Hilarius*, the emperor's freedman, who urged, that, upon advice of the conteſt between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Cluvius* had attempted to eſtabliſh an independent principality, and to appropriate to himſelf both the provinces of *Spain*. But, the charge appearing groundleſs, *Vitellius* ordered his freedman to be puniſhed, and took *Cluvius* into the number of his chief favourites, commanding him to attend him, without depriving him of the government of *Spain*, which he ſtill adminiſtered, though abſent. The like honour was not ſhewn to *Trebellius Maximus*, who had fled out of *Britain*, frightened by the menaces of the ſoldiers there. In his room was ſent *Vettius Bolanus*, then attending at court. *Vitellius* arriving in *Italy*, found the country filled with troops, thoſe of his own army and the army of *Otho*, diſperſed amongſt the villages and municipal towns, and mixed together; which occaſioned continual quarrels and innumerable diſorders; for the vanquiſhed legions continued ſtill in their former diſaffection, and breathed nothing but war. The emperor therefore reſolved to ſeparate them, and deliver *Italy* from ſo heavy a burden. The fourteenth legion was accordingly remanded back to *Britain*, from whence they had been by *Nero* called over. With

Vitellius' gluttony.

He receives Cluvius Rufus in favour.

[t] Idem, c. 63—65.

them were ſent the *Batavian* cohorts, who had fought for *Vitellius*; whereas the legion had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Otho*; and hence a ſource of perpetual quarrels. At *Turin* eſpecially a tragical battle had enſued, while a *Batavian* inſulted an artificer, as having defrauded him, and a ſoldier of the legion protected the artificer, as his hoſt, had not two prætorian cohorts quartered there, by eſpouſing the party of the legionaries, intimidated the *Batavians* as the weaker. The emperor, when informed of their diſagreement, ordered the *Batavians*, as men in whom he could confide, to be incorporated with his own army, and the legion to be led forthwith over the *Alps*, bending their rout ſo as to avoid *Vienne*; which city was thought to be diſaffected to *Vitelllus*. But notwithſtanding this order, they no ſooner deſcended from the *Alps*, than they turned their enſigns to *Vienne*, and were marching thither, till ſuch as were prone to mutiny were by the better-diſpoſed prevailed upon to march back, in compliance with the emperor's orders, and purſue their rout to the coaſt of the ocean, whence they were tranſported in a body to *Britain*. In the next place, the prætorian cohorts were firſt ſeparated, and then diſcharged; but ſweetened with the rewards which were beſtowed upon ſuch as had fully ſerved their term of warfare. The firſt legion of marines was ſent into *Spain*, to be there tamed with tranquillity and repoſe. The ſeventh and eleventh were ſent back to their old quarters in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. The thirteenth was kept in *Italy*, and there employed in erecting two amphitheatres, ſince *Cæcina* and *Valens* were preparing each a public combat of gladiators, the former at *Cremona*, the other at *Bononia*. Thus *Vitellius* parted and diſperſed, without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance, the diſaffected troops which had ſerved under *Otho*; but had not authority enough to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his own army. As the officers, and even the common ſoldiers, uſually adopt the manners of their emperors, about *Vitellius* was ſeen only univerſal diſorder, univerſal drunkenneſs, and all things rather reſembling nocturnal revellings and the debauches of *Bacchanals*, than a *Roman* army and military diſcipline. In this ſituation a tumult aroſe, which derived its beginning from matter of paſtime, but was not quelled without much bloodſhed. Two ſoldiers, one of the fifth legion the other from amongſt the auxiliary *Gauls*, having, while they ſported together, provoked each other to wreſtle, the legionary was thrown down, and the *Gaul* triumphed over him with great ſcorn. This immediately divided thoſe, who had aſſembled only as beholders, into two parties; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers of the legions, falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two cohorts to the ſword. But this tumult was in the end compoſed

He ſeparates the diſaffected forces.

Frequent diſturbances amongſt the troops of Vitellius.

compoſed by another; for duſt and the luſtre of arms being diſcerned at a diſtance, a general cry ran in an inſtant through the whole army, that the fourteenth legion had returned, and was approaching with hoſtile minds; for they were known to be diſaffected to *Vitellius*. Hereupon they all joined to oppoſe the common enemy. But their fear was ſoon allayed; for it proved the rear of their own army. However, as they chanced, in the mean time, to meet a ſlave belonging to *Verginius*, they charged him as one employed to aſſaſſinate *Vitellius*; and ruſhing into the banqueting room, inſiſted, that *Verginius* ſhould be put to death. Tho' *Vitellius* entertained not the leaſt doubt about the innocence of *Verginius*, yet it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he prevailed upon the enraged ſoldiery, to forbear ſhedding the blood of one, who had borne the ſupreme dignity of conſul, and been once their own general [u].

THE next day, *Vitellius* gave audience to the embaſſadors from the ſenate, whom he had ordered to wait for him at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; then he entered the camp of the victorious army, where he was received with loud ſhouts and joyful acclamations. After he had commended the zeal and bravery of the conquering legions, and promiſed them their uſual rewards, he ſent back to their own country the eighteen *Batavian* cohorts, which had attended him in his journey, having found by experience, that they were altogether ungovernable and too prone to mutiny. He likewiſe diſmiſſed to their ſeveral territories all the auxiliary *Gauls*, who had been levied in the beginning of the war. At the ſame time, that the revenues of the empire, already exhauſted, might be able to ſupply his wild extravagancies, he ordered the number of men in the legions and auxiliaries to be retrenched, put a ſtop to further levies, and granted diſcharges to all who required them; which, to thoſe who continued in the ſervice, proved matter of great diſguſt, ſince upon them, now reduced to a few, reſted all the military duties before ſhared amongſt many. From *Ticinum* the emperor bent his rout to *Cremona*, where he beheld the public ſports, exhibited with extraordinary magnificence by *Cæcina*. While he was there, he conceived a deſire of viewing the field at *Bebriacum*, and ſurveying the ſcene of the recent victory. As the battle had been fought not quite forty days before, the field was ſtill covered with bodies all rent and deformed, with torn and mangled limbs, carcaſes of horſes and men putrified, and the ground dyed with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, the corn trod down, and the whole a ſhocking ſcene of cruelty, ſlaughter, and deſtruction. The emperor, however, perſiſted

He diſbands ſeveral troops.

He ſurveys the field of battle.

[u] Idem, c. 65—69.

in

in his reſolution, and with a great retinue ſet out for *Bebriacum*; the people of *Cremona* ſtrewing the road with flowers and laurel, rearing altars, and ſacrificing victims, even where the ghaſtly remains of their ſlaughtered countrymen were ſtill to be ſeen. *Cæcina* and *Valens* accompanied him, and pointed out the ſeveral quarters of the combat: Here the legions began the onſet; here the horſe in a body ruſhed upon the enemy's ſquadrons; from thence the auxiliaries fell upon the rear; in this place the one-and-twentieth legion engaged and routed the firſt; in that the thirteenth was put to flight by the fifth, *&c.* The tribunes and commanders of the ſeveral legions recounted and heightened, by boaſts and invention, their own feats of bravery. The common ſoldiers too, turning aſide from the road to review the field, from ſpace to ſpace, called to mind the ſeveral conflicts paſſed, ſome with ſhouts of joy, but many not without concern, and even tears, in beholding the bodies of the ſlain, mingled in heaps with the carcaſes of horſes and other beaſts of burden. As for *Vitellius*, he turned not once his eyes from a ſpectacle ſo tragical, nor ſhewed he the leaſt horror at the ſight of ſo many thouſand *Roman* citizens ſlain and unburied; nay, he even teſtified joy, and offered a pompous ſacrifice to the tutelar gods of the place [w]. *Suetonius* writes, that ſome of his train being offended with the ſtench of the half-putrified bodies, the emperor was ſo imprudent as to tell them, *A dead enemy ſmells well, but a dead citizen better*; evidently betraying, by that impious ſaying, his natural bent to cruelty and bloodſhed. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards calling for a large quantity of wine, he firſt drank plentifully himſelf, and then cauſed the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers [x]. From *Bebriacum*, *Vitellius* purſued his rout to *Bononia*; and the nearer he advanced to that place, his march proved the more looſe and debauched. Amongſt his military bands were blended bands of comedians and herds of eunuchs, agreeable to the genius in *Nero*'s reign: for of him *Vitellius* always ſpoke with admiration and praiſe. At *Bononia* he aſſiſted at the combat of gladiators exhibited by *Valens*, which was extremely pompous and magnificent, all the decorations of the entertainment having been brought from *Rome*. Before he ſet out from thence, that he might to *Valens* and *Cæcina* procure ſome vacant months for exerciſing the conſulſhip, he abridged the term appointed for others, and *Valerius Marinus*, deſigned conſul by *Galba*, he poſtponed to a farther time, for no offence given, but becauſe *Valerius* was a man apt to acquieſce under any injury. As he was on his march from *Bononia*, he received let-

A ſingular inſtance of the cruelty of Vitellius.

[w] Idem, c. 70, 71. [x] Sᴜᴇᴛ ibid. c. 9.

ters

ters from his friends in *Syria* and *Judæa*, informing him, that the provinces in the eaſt had taken the oath of fidelity to him. As he dreaded *Veſpaſian*, and upon the very mention of his name was frequently obſerved to ſtart, he no ſooner received theſe tidings, than both he and his army, having now no rival power to fear, abandoned themſelves to all the exceſſes of cruelty, luſt, and rapine. In all the great towns through which he paſſed, every pleaſure, and every diverſion, proved a bait to ſtop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and ſtirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiouſly adorned with garlands of flowers, and plentifully ſtored with the moſt exquiſite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threeſcore thouſand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immenſe multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, ſingers, charioteers, *&c.* for in ſuch diſgraceful familiarities he took great pleaſure. Among theſe there was no order or diſcipline; nay, their rapines and daily diſorders, however inſupportable, proved to the emperor matter of ſport and diverſion. Hence, not ſatisfied with free quarters where-ever they came, they infranchiſed ſlaves, plundered the houſes of their hoſts, inſulted their wives and children, and, where any reſiſtance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleaſure; for though they were conſtantly quarrelling among themſelves, yet, in conteſt with the peaſants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were conſumed by furniſhing ſuch vaſt ſupplies of proviſion; but as the grain was then ripe, the lands were ſtript and laid waſte. As the emperor drew near *Rome*, the croud, great in itſelf, was mightily increaſed by the arrival of the ſenators and *Roman* knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which ſome paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within ſeven miles of *Rome*, *Vitellius* cauſed a quantity of meat ready dreſſed to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the mean time, the populace, who came in droves to the camp and were ſcattered all over it, while the ſoldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived; which it ſeems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the ſoldiers, who were ſtrangers to ſuch jokes and could not brook them, upon being aſked by way of deriſion, what was become of their belts? ran to arms, and with their drawn ſwords falling upon the diſarmed multitude, ſlaughtered great numbers of them, which occaſioned a general alarm and conſternation in the city. When the tumult in the

His army let themſelves looſe to ſpoil and ravage.

The populace ſlaughtered by the ſoldiery.

camp

camp was compoſed, *Vitellius*, mounted upon a ſtately courſer and in his coat of armour, with his ſword by his ſide, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the ſenate and people to march before him. But being adviſed by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dreſs, as if it had been taken by ſtorm, he put on the ſenatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, ſurrounded with ſtandards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops; the whole a glorious ſight, and an army worthy of a better emperor [y]. In this ſtate he went to the capitol, to offer ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and there finding his mother *Sextilia*, embraced and honoured her with the title of *Auguſta*. From the capitol, he marched in the ſame pomp to the imperial palace. The next day, he aſſembled the ſenate, and made a public ſpeech, in which he promiſed extraordinary advantages from his adminiſtration, uttered high and pompous things of himſelf, and chiefly inlarged upon his temperance, tho' all *Italy* had ſeen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptuouſneſs and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtleſs multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wiſhes; and, as he refuſed the title of *Auguſtus*, they preſſed him ſo, that he accepted it at laſt with as much vanity as he had before refuſed it. He likewiſe took upon him the office of chief pontiff; but was ſo ignorant of the religious rites, that a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of *July*, he publiſhed an edict concerning the celebration of certain ſolemnities, tho' that day had been always held unlucky, becauſe on it had happened the tragical overthrows at *Cremera* and *Allia*. His chief ſtudy was to gain the good graces and applauſe of the rabble. With this view he frequented the theatre and circus, exhibited public ſhows, and did all that lay in his power to keep them in good humour. He went often to the ſenate, even when the deliberations were about things of ſmall moment. As *Helvidius Priſcus*, prætor elect, chanced to offer his ſentiments againſt thoſe of the emperor, he ſeemed at firſt to reſent it; but afterwards returning to himſelf, he anſwered the ſenators who interpoſed, that it was nothing new nor ſurpriſing, that two ſenators ſhould be of different opinions; and that he himſelf had often oppoſed *Thraſea*; a compariſon which was generally ridiculed. In room of the prætorian cohorts, which he had diſcharged, he raiſed ſixteen new ones and four city cohorts, each containing a thouſand choſen men. For captains of the prætorian guards, he appointed *Publius Sabinus*, raiſed from the command of a cohort, and *Julius Priſcus*, then only a centurion. *Priſcus* owed his preferment to the intereſt

The emperor's entry into Rome.

His conduct.

[y] Tacit. c. 87—89.

of *Valens*, and *Sabinus* his to that of *Cæcina*; for by theſe two favourites all the functions of ſovereignty were diſcharged, and no portion of power left to *Vitellius*. They ſtrove to excel each other in credit and ſway, in greatneſs of train, in numerous levees and dependents; and hence were ever at variance with one another, their antient and mutual hatred, which, even during the war, had been ill-diſguiſed, being inflamed by the malignity of their ſeveral friends. However, this their animoſity did not render them more remiſs in ſeizing for themſelves fine houſes and gardens, and the wealth of the empire. *Aſiaticus* too, formerly the emperor's pathic and now his freedman, had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration; for, before four months were elapſed, he is ſaid to have equalled in wealth all former imperial freedmen. As for *Vitellius*, he quite abandoned the functions of an emperor, reſigning himſelf entirely to riot, luxury, and gluttony. In his court no man ſtrove to riſe by virtue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, namely, by means of conſuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the emperor, ever craving, and never ſatiated. He eat conſtantly three, and often four and five, meals a day, having brought himſelf to a habit of diſcharging his ſtomach by vomiting when he pleaſed. All his meals were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited himſelf to his friends houſes to breakfaſt in one place, to dine in another, and to ſup in a third, all on the ſame day. He was everywhere entertained in a moſt ſumptuous and expenſive manner: but of all theſe entertainments, the moſt memorable was made for him by *Lucius* his brother; in which, if *Suetonius* [z] and *Eutropius* [a] are to be credited, two thouſand different diſhes of fiſh and ſeven thouſand of fowl were ſerved up; the choiceſt of both ſorts that the ſea and land afforded. His own profuſeneſs fell not much ſhort of his brother's at the dedication of a charger, which, by reaſon of its vaſtneſs and capacity, he termed *the target of Minerva*. It was nevertheleſs filled with the ſounds of the fiſh called *ſcari*, the brains of pheaſants and peacocks, the tongues of birds called *phœnicopteri*, and the ſmall guts of lampries, brought from the *Carpathian* ſea and the farthermoſt coaſts of *Spain*. As he judged it ſufficient to enjoy preſent pleaſures, without troubling himſelf about future events, he ſquandered away in banquets above ſeven millions of our money in four months time [b]; nay, *Joſephus* tells us, that if he had reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have been ſufficient to ſupply the expences of his table. Beſides the vaſt ſums he conſumed by his riotous living, he erected at a

His favourites uſurp all the power.

His gluttony and profuſion.

[z] SUET. c. 13. [a] EUTROP. p. 720. [b] TACIT. c. 95.

great charge ſtables for the uſe of charioteers, exhibited almoſt daily ſhows in the circus, combats in the theatre and amphitheatre, thoſe of gladiators, theſe of wild beaſts, and in the moſt flowing plenty wantonly ſcattered treaſure. But nothing gave greater diſguſt to the virtuous, tho' it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his ſolemnizing with great pomp in the field of *Mars* the obſequies of *Nero*, and obliging the *Auguſtal* prieſts, an order by *Tiberius* conſecrated to the *Julian* family, to aſſiſt at that ceremony [c].

The ſtate of affairs in the eaſt.

While *Vitellius* was thus waſting the wealth of the empire in voluptuouſneſs and conſuming banquets, fortune, or rather providence, was raiſing him a competitor in a diſtant part of the world. *Veſpaſian* had been ſent by *Nero*, as we have related elſewhere, with three legions and a conſiderable number of auxiliaries, to make war upon the *Jews*, which he was carrying on with great ſucceſs, when news was brought him of the death of that prince and the acceſſion of *Galba* to the empire. Hereupon he immediately diſpatched his ſon *Titus* to pay homage to the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the proſecution of the war. But receiving upon his arrival at *Corinth*, as he had been long ſtopped by contrary winds, certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, and at the ſame time underſtanding that *Vitellius* had taken up arms and deſigned to diſpute the empire with *Otho*, he reſolved to return to *Judæa*, to receive there further inſtructions from his father. Having therefore left *Greece*, he ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Rhodes*, to that of *Cyprus*, and thence to *Syria*. In the iſland of *Cyprus* his curioſity prompted him to viſit the temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, which was at that time highly renowned amongſt the natives as well as foreigners. After he had ſurveyed the ſignal wealth of the temple, the donations of princes, and other curioſities, he began to conſult the oracle, firſt concerning the ſecurity of his voyage, and then propoſed, but in dark terms, queſtions concerning himſelf. The prieſt, by name *Soſtratus*, returned him in public a ſhort anſwer, but deſired a ſecret interview, wherein he diſcloſed to him his future grandeur. Hereupon, full of hopes, he proceeded to his father; but before his arrival the armies in the eaſt had already ſworn fidelity to *Otho*. In *Judæa*, three legions, as we have hinted above, were under the command of *Veſpaſian*; men thoroughly exerciſed in war. *Mucianus* governed *Syria* at the head of four legions. Between theſe two commanders, as they ruled in two bordering provinces, great animoſities had reigned; which, however, they dropped upon the death of *Nero*, and agreed to act in concert for their mu-

[c] Idem ibid

tual

tual ſecurity and intereſt. This union was firſt begun by the interpoſition of their common friends, and afterwards accompliſhed by *Titus*. Into the ſame confederacy were gained the tribunes, the centurions, and by degrees the common ſoldiers, who, upon hearing that *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the empire, began to rage and complain, that while others enjoyed rewards for beſtowing the empire, they alone were doomed ſlaves to every emperor. The ardour of the ſoldiery was well known to the generals; but they judged proper to wait the iſſue of the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*. Nay, even after *Otho*'s death, *Veſpaſian* took the uſual oath to *Vitellius*, and wiſhed him a proſperous reign in preſence of his army, as a precedent for them to follow. His troops heard him with diſguſt and ſilence, and were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to take the ſame oath, thinking themſelves no leſs able to create and ſupport an emperor, than the *German* legions or the prætorian bands. They were ſeven legions, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two provinces of *Syria* and *Judæa* were in their poſſeſſion: to them lay contiguous that of *Egypt*, which was governed by *Tiberius Alexander*, by birth an *Egyptian*, at the head of two legions. Several forces were quartered in *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, upon the frontiers of *Armenia*, in *Aſia*, and the other provinces. The governor of *Egypt*, who was intirely addicted to *Veſpaſian*, accounted for his own the third legion then in *Mæſia*, ſince it had been tranſlated thither out of *Egypt*. Hopes too were entertained, that the other legions in *Illyricum* would eſpouſe the ſame intereſt. *Veſpaſian*, however, continued ſtill in ſuſpenſe, conſidering with himſelf, how dangerous it was to caſt himſelf, at the age of ſixty, and his two ſons *Titus* and *Domitian* in the prime of their years, upon the caprice of fortune and fate of war: in private purſuits, room was always left for retreat; but to thoſe who ſtrive for the ſovereignty, no middle lot remains; they muſt either reign or periſh. At the ſame time, he had before his eyes the great ſtrength of the *German* army; a thing perfectly known to him, who was a man of great experience in war. However, he yielded at length to the ſolicitations of *Mucianus* and the other officers, promiſing to aſſume the title of emperor, when a proper opportunity offered. Hereupon the two commanders, after having ſpent ſeveral days in private conferences, parted, *Mucianus* to *Antioch*, and *Veſpaſian* to *Cæſarea*, the former the metropolis of *Syria*, the latter of *Judæa*. In the mean time, at *Alexandria* was begun the example of acknowledging *Veſpaſian* for emperor, through the haſte and zeal of *Tiberius Alexander*, who brought the legions there to ſwear allegiance to him on the firſt of *July*, which was the day ever afterwards kept and

Veſpaſian and Mucianus enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

Veſpaſian proclaimed emperor.

ſolemnized as the firſt of his reign. The army in *Judæa* took to him in perſon the ſame oath on the third of *July*, with ſuch ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of *Titus*, who was then on his journey back from *Syria*, where he had been concerting meaſures with *Mucianus*. Theſe glad tidings no ſooner reached *Syria*, than *Mucianus* adminiſtered to his ſoldiers, who were themſelves well-diſpoſed, the oath to *Veſpaſian*. Before the fifteenth of *July* the whole province of *Syria* had taken the ſame oath. To the party too acceded *Sohemus* king of *Edeſſa*, *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Agrippa* king of *Ituræa*, who was returned with great expedition from *Rome*, upon private intelligence conveyed to him by his friends concerning the tranſactions in the eaſt. Allegiance was likewiſe ſworn by all the maritime provinces, extending to *Aſia* and *Achaia*, and by all the inland regions bordering upon *Pontus*, and the two *Armenias* [d].

He eſtabliſhes a council at Berytus.

Veſpaſian, having now taken upon him the imperial authority, eſtabliſhed in the firſt place, at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*, a council for the direction of all important affairs. Thither repaired *Mucianus*, with a train of general officers and tribunes, and of all ſuch centurions and private men as made a ſignal appearance. From the army too in *Judæa* came a great number of the principal officers, who, while they ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in pomp and parade, furniſhed the appearance of the court and grandeur of an emperor. The firſt ſtep taken for proſe-

His preparations for war.

cuting the war was, to inliſt men, and to recal to the ſervice the diſmiſſed veterans. Fortified cities were allotted for forging of arms. At *Antioch* money was coined, gold and ſilver. All theſe undertakings were, in their ſeveral quarters, diligently diſpatched by careful and capable inſpectors. To the kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, *Vologeſes* and his brother *Tiridates*, embaſſadors were ſent; and at the ſame time proviſion was made, that, when the legions were withdrawn to proſecute the civil war, the countries behind ſhould not be left naked and defenceleſs. It was reſolved in a council of all the chief officers, that *Titus* ſhould carry on the war in *Judæa*, *Veſpaſian* ſeize the ſtraights leading into *Egypt*, and *Mucianus* with part of the forces encounter *Vitellius*. To all the generals and armies letters were ſent, with orders to invite to arms, with the promiſe of rewards, the prætorian ſoldiers who had been diſbanded by *Vitellius*. In the mean time, *Mucianus*, at the head of the ſixth legion and thirteen thouſand veterans, began his march, acting rather like a collegue, than a miniſter, of the emperor.

[d] Tacit. c. 72—Suet. in Veſp. c. 9. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv c. 3 5.

His

He bent his rout through *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia* to *Byzantium*, where he had ordered the fleet to attend him. He loaded the countries, through which he paſſed, with exorbitant taxes; for which, however, the craving neceſſities of war furniſhed an excuſe. Out of his own treaſure too he helped to ſupport the war; thus liberal of a private ſum, which he was ſure to repay himſelf with uſury out of the public. The reſt contributed after his example; but few were found who recovered their ſhare [c].

The Illyrian *army declares for* Veſpaſian.

IN the mean time, the *Illyrian* army, upon advice that the legions in the eaſt had declared *Veſpaſian* emperor, eſpouſed the ſame party with extraordinary zeal. The third legion, then in *Mœſia*, was the foremoſt; the eighth and the ſeventh, intitled *Claudiana*, followed the example of the third, being both devoted to *Veſpaſian*, though they had not been in the laſt fight. They had indeed advanced as far as *Aquileia*, and there hearing melancholy tidings of *Otho*, inſulted thoſe who brought them, rent the ſtandards bearing the name of *Vitellius*, and, ſharing the public money amongſt themſelves, acted with open hoſtility. Hence, conſidering that they might urge to *Veſpaſian* theſe acts of violence as matter of ſervice and merit, whereas they muſt expect to be puniſhed for them by *Vitellius*, they not only declared for the former, but by letters ſolicited the army in *Pannonia* into the confederacy, and were preparing to have recourſe to force, if they refuſed. In *Pannonia* the thirteenth legion and the ſeventh, called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without heſitation to the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*, being chiefly inſtigated by *Antonius Primus*. He was a native of *Toloufe*; and there, while he was a youth, known by the nickname of *Beccо*, or rather *Becccc*, which, in the language of the *Gauls*, ſignified *the bill of a cock*. He had been degraded under *Nero* from the ſenatorial dignity, for forging a will; but reſtored to his rank by *Galba*, who likewiſe preferred him to the command of the ſeventh legion. He was believed to have made frequent applications to *Otho* by letters, offering to ſerve him in the capacity of general; but being by him neglected, he had borne no ſhare in that war. When he found, that *Veſpaſian* was likely to prevail, abandoning *Vitellius*, he betook himſelf to him, and proved a mighty addition to the cauſe; for he was a man of great perſonal bravery, daring, and enterpriſing, a prompt ſpeaker, powerful in popular tumults, and, though rapacious, profuſe, and in peace altogether wicked and corrupt, yet very uſeful in war. The *Maſſian* and *Pannonian* armies drew after them the forces in *Dalmatia*. Into *Britain* two

And the Pannonian *legions.*

The character of Antonius Primus.

[c] TACIT. c. 82—84. JOSEPH. ibid. c. 40.

diſpatches

diſpatches were ſent to the fourteenth legion, others into *Spain* to the firſt; for they had both engaged for *Otho* againſt *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, letters were diſperſed over all the territories of the *Gauls* [f].

Vitellius *hears of the revolt.*

Vitellius was firſt informed of the revolt of the third legion in *Mæſia*; which intelligence was conveyed to him by *Aponius Saturninus*, who commanded in that province, but much ſoftened and qualified. The emperor's friends too, ſoothing him with flattering ſpeeches, took care to put favourable conſtructions upon the ill tidings. *Vitellius* himſelf, in a harangue to the ſoldiers, inveighed againſt the prætorians lately diſcharged, as if they had publiſhed lying reports, and aſſured both the ſoldiery and people, that there was no ground to fear a civil war. The name of *Veſpaſian* he took care to ſuppreſs, and diſperſed ſoldiers all over the city, with directions to ſilence the rumour among the populace; a precaution which greatly increaſed the public alarm. From *Germany*, however, from *Britain*, and from both *Spains*, he ſent for ſuccours, but in a very negligent manner, the better to conceal the neceſſity which preſſed him. In the provinces, and commanders of the provinces, no leſs remiſneſs was found: *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded in *Germany*, and *Vettius Bolanus*, governor of *Britain*, were wavering in their fidelity to *Vitellius*; nor in *Spain* was there any forwardneſs or expedition ſhewn, the commanders of the three legions there, men equal in authority (for over thoſe provinces preſided then no ruler of conſular dignity), watching the fortune of the war, and being ready to follow it. In *Africa*, the legion and cohort levied by *Clodius Macer*, and afterwards diſcharged by *Galba*, upon orders from *Vitellius*, returned to the ſervice. The youth too of the province offered themſelves to be inliſted with ſignal alacrity, *Vitellius* having ruled there as proconſul with great uprightneſs, as had *Veſpaſian* in the ſame quality with ignominy and public hatred. *Valerius Feſtus*, governor of the province, promoted at firſt the inclinations of the people with exemplary zeal; but ſoon after beginning to waver, while he aſſerted in public the cauſe of *Vitellius*, by ſecret intelligence he encouraged that of *Veſpaſian*, being reſolved, whatever party prevailed, to maintain the juſtice of the ſtronger [g].

Sends for ſuccours.

Africa *faithful to him.*

The meaſures concerted and agreed on by *Veſpaſian* and *Mucianus* were, that the *Illyrian* army ſhould advance as far as *Aquileia*, poſſeſs themſelves of the *Pannonian Alps*, and there wait, till their forces from all quarters behind them came up,

[f] Tacit. c. 85—87. Suet. c. 18. Dio. l. lxviii. p. 737.
[g] Tacit. c. 96—98.

in

in order to enter *Italy* the following year in a body. In the mean time, the fleet was to keep conſtantly cruizing both in the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* ſeas, in order to prevent the conveying of corn to *Rome* from *Egypt*, and proviſions from *Achaia* or *Sicily*. By this means they did not doubt, but *Italy* would be obliged to ſubmit without bloodſhed. But theſe orders did not reach the *Illyrian* army, till it was too late to put them in execution; for the leaders of *Veſpaſian*'s party in *Illyricum*, having held a council at *Petovio*, now *Pettaw* in *Stiria* upon the *Drave*, to deliberate, whether they ſhould content themſelves with guarding the paſſes of the *Pannonian Alps*, till the forces behind them advanced, or, by a reſolution more daring, march forward and venture a ſtruggle for *Italy*, ſome indeed thought it adviſeable to wait the arrival of ſuccours, magnifying the fame and renown of the *German* legions; but *Antonius Primus*, who was againſt all delay, argued, that to themſelves diſpatch was altogether advantageous, and to *Vitellius* only pernicious; ſince the *German* legions, once indeed formidable, were, by haunting the circus and theatres, and following the idle diverſions of the city, at preſent utterly ſoftened and debauched, and dreadful to none but their hoſts; whereas if time were allowed them, their antient vigour would ſtill return, by their application to the cares and purſuits of war. Not far from them, added he, lies *Germany*, from whence a ſure recruit of forces; beyond the *Channel*, *Britain*; juſt by, *Gaul*, as alſo both *Spains*; from all a ready ſupply of men, horſes, and contributions. *Italy* itſelf is in their poſſeſſion, with the immenſe treaſures of *Rome*. The protracting of the war therefore to another ſummer will prove highly advantageous to them; but in this interval where ſhall we find proviſions? where money? Let us therefore delay no longer, but, with a bold puſh, make an irruption into the boundaries of *Italy*. The meaſures which I adviſe, I am reſolved to purſue. You, who are yet free to follow fortune on either ſide, ſtay, and with you detain the legions. To me a few cohorts, lightly equipped, will be ſufficient. You ſhall ſoon hear that I have opened my way into *Italy*, and ſhaken the power of *Vitellius*. You will then be glad to follow in the track of one who has conquered for you. This ſpeech, uttered with eyes darting fire and a fierce and thundering voice, moved even ſuch as were moſt cautious and wary. The common ſoldiers, who, together with the centurions, had conveyed themſelves into the council, ſcorning the reſolution of others as cold and ſpiritleſs, extolled him as the only brave man, the only reſolute leader. His reſolution being generally approved of, to render the march into *Italy* ſecure, letters were forthwith diſpatched to *Apenius Saturninus*, who had

Antonius Primus is for invading Italy with the Illyrian army.

His propoſal approved of

had already joined the party of *Veſpaſian*, with directions to follow in haſte with his army from *Mæſia*. That the provinces, thus bereft of their armies, might not be expoſed to the incurſions of the bordering nations, the chiefs of the *Jazyges*, a *Sarmatian* nation, were taken into the ſervice and retained in pay. Into the party too were drawn *Sido* and *Italicus*, kings of the *Suevians*, men noted for their attachment and fidelity to the *Romans*. On the ſide towards *Rhætia* guards of auxiliaries were poſted, that country being governed by *Portius Septimius* the procurator, a man unſhaken in his fidelity to *Vitellius*. *Sentilius Felix* was ordered to poſſeſs himſelf of the bank of the *Oenus*, now the *Ins*, flowing between *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. Theſe precautions being taken, *Primus* marched with great expedition to invade *Italy*, at the head of a choſen body of infantry and part of the horſe. He was accompanied by *Arvius Varus*, an officer of great bravery and experience in the art of war, which he had learned under the renowned *Corbulo*, whom he was ſuppoſed, in ſecret conferences with *Nero*, to have accuſed, and thereby occaſioned the ruin of that celebrated commander. By favour, thus infamouſly gained, he was raiſed to the rank of a principal centurion. *Primus* and *Varus*, advancing to *Aquileia*, were admitted into the city, and likewiſe into the neighbouring towns of *Opitergium* and *Altinum*: *Padua* too and *Abeſte*, now *Eſte*, received them with great demonſtrations of joy. In the latter place they learned, that three cohorts of *Vitellius*'s army, with the ſquadron of horſe called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at *Forum Allienum*, now *Ferrara*, and were poſted there. At break of day therefore they attacked them, before they were appriſed of their approach, put ſome of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt either to ſave themſelves by flight, or to change their allegiance. In the mean time, two legions arriving at *Padua* from *Pannonia*, *viz.* the ſeventh, ſurnamed *Galbiana*, and the thirteenth, named *Gemina*, *Primus*, after having allowed them a few days for repoſe, bent his march to *Verona*, with a deſign to ſeize that city, and make it the ſeat of war, as it was ſituated among ſpacious plains, fit for encounters of horſe, in which his prime force lay. In their march they became maſters of *Vicetia*, an acquiſition, which, tho' ſmall in itſelf, paſſed for one of great moment; ſince in it *Cæcina* was born, and from the general of the enemy the place of his nativity was ſnatched. The ſeizing of *Verona* was deemed a more important conqueſt; for it was a wealthy and flouriſhing city, and beſides, the key of *Germany* and *Rhætia*: ſo that now all communication between *Vitellius* and thoſe countries was cut off. In the mean time, letters arrived from *Veſpaſian*, with orders to his generals not to venture beyond *Aquileia*,

He ſeizes Aquileia, *and ſeveral other cities.*

Takes Verona.

Aquileia, but to wait there the coming of *Mucianus*. To his authority he added reaſoning, *viz.* that ſince *Egypt*, ſince the magazines for ſupplying *Italy* with proviſions, ſince the revenues of the moſt opulent provinces, were all under his power, the army of *Vitellius*, through want of grain and pay, might be forced to come over. *Mucianus* in his letters urged the ſame counſels; but he was prompted by a paſſion for gaining all the glory, and reſerving for himſelf the whole honour of the war. But from quarters of the world ſo diſtant, the counſels arrived when other meaſures were already taken [h].

Vitellius orders Cæcina and Valens to take the field.

THE diſmal tidings of the irruption of the enemy into *Italy* no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Vitellius*, at length thoroughly alarmed, ordered his two generals, *Cæcina* and *Valens*, to prepare with all expedition for taking the field. New levies were raiſed, and to all, who ſhould voluntarily liſt themſelves, not only diſmiſſion was promiſed after the victory, but the ſame rewards that were paid to veterans after a long courſe of warfare. As *Valens* was juſt then recovered from a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, *Cæcina* alone was ſent forward at the head of the *German* army.

The bad condition of the German army.

But the appearance of thoſe forces, ſo awful upon their late entry, proved far different upon their departure. They had, by imitating the exceſſes of their emperor, by ſurrendering themſelves to the voluptuous entertainments of the city, and following other practices too abominable to be named, quite waſted their martial ardour and enfeebled their bodies. Their march was lazy and ſlow, their ranks thin, great numbers, eſpecially of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, having been ſwept off by diſtempers ariſing from their riotous living. Their horſes were quite lifeleſs, and the men grown too delicate to bear the ſun, the duſt, or the weather; but the more averſe they were to military toils, the greater propenſity they had to diſobedience and mutiny.

Cæcina wavers in his fidelity.

It was generally believed, that *Cæcina*, who commanded them, out of jealouſy and hatred to *Fabius Valens*, *Vitellius*'s chief favourite, had already reſolved to change ſides, and ſignified his intention to *Flavius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſian*'s brother, whom *Vitellius* had not yet removed from the government of *Rome*. *Cæcina*, after *Vitellius* had embraced and diſmiſſed him with high marks of honour, leaving the city, ſent forward part of the cavalry to poſſeſs themſelves of *Cremona*, ordering the reſt to repair to *Hoſtilia*, a place of ſome ſtrength, and about thirty miles from *Verona*. He himſelf turned away to *Ravenna*, to confer there with *Lucius Baſſus*, who, from the command of a ſquadron of horſe, had been by *Vitellius* preferred at once to that of the two fleets, the one riding at *Ravenna*, the other at

[h] TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—5.

Miſenum; but was nevertheleſs highly diſſatisfied, becauſe he was not appointed captain of the prætorian guards. It is uncertain, whether he drew *Cæcina* off from *Vitellius*, or *Cæcina* him. Thoſe who compoſed the relation of this war, while the *Flavian* family was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, tell us, that they were both guided by a ſincere concern for the public tranquillity, and affection for the commonwealth. But our hiſtorian is of opinion, that as they were men of no faith or principles, they were prompted by jealouſy and ſpite; and that, rather than others ſhould ſurpaſs them in intereſt with *Vitellius*, they choſe to overthrow *Vitellius* himſelf [i]. *Cæcina* having rejoined the legions, employed many devices to alienate the affections of the centurions and common ſoldiers from *Vitellius*, to whom of themſelves they were ſtrongly devoted. *Baſſus* undertook the ſame taſk with the fleet, and accompliſhed it without much difficulty; for, as they had lately ſerved under *Otho*, they were ready to abandon their faith to *Vitellius*. *Cæcina* advanced to *Hoſtilia*, and pitched his camp between that village and the marſhes formed by the river *Tartarus*, being defended behind by the river, and on each ſide by the marſh. As he had with him ſix legions and a great number of auxiliaries, it was in his power to have utterly defeated *Primus*'s two legions, (for his other forces were not yet arrived) and to have forced them, by a ſhameful flight, to abandon *Italy*. But framing delays, he privately carried on a correſpondence with the enemy's generals, till, by intercourſe of meſſengers, he agreed with them upon the articles of his treachery. In the mean time, arrived at *Verona* the ſeventh legion, named *Claudiana*, under the command of *Vipſanius Meſſala*, a man of a moſt illuſtrious family, and the only one who engaged in the war upon worthy deſigns. The ſeventh legion was ſoon after followed by the third and the eighth; and then it was judged proper to draw an intrenchment round *Verona*. In the mean time, the fleet at *Ravenna*, revolting from *Vitellius*, tore his images, and openly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*; which *Cæcina* no ſooner underſtood, than aſſembling all the principal centurions and ſome of the common ſoldiers, he repreſented to them the deplorable condition of *Vitellius*'s affairs, exhorted them to gain betimes the favour of the new prince, and then forthwith gave them the oath to *Veſpaſian*. Thoſe who were his accomplices ſetting an example, the reſt, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden an event, took it after them. At the ſame inſtant, the images of *Vitellius* were pulled down and defaced, and meſſengers diſpatched to acquaint *Antonius Primus* with the whole. But as ſoon as news of the defection was ſpread

His treachery.

The fleet at Ravenna declares for Veſpaſian.

Cæcina revolts, and is by his troops put in irons.

[i] Idem, c. 6.

through

through the camp, the ſoldiers flocked to the quarter where the images of *Veſpaſian* were ſet up, and, with the utmoſt indignation, flung them down, and replaced thoſe of *Vitellius*; then chuſing for their leaders *Fabius Fabullus*, commander of the fifth legion, and *Caſſius Longus*, prefect of the camp, they put *Cæcina* in irons, cutting in pieces certain marines, who by chance fell in their way, abandoned their camp, and, breaking down the bridge, marched back to *Hoſtilia*, and thence to *Cremona*, to rejoin there the firſt legion named *Italica*, and the one-and-twentieth, ſurnamed *Rapax* [k].

THESE tranſactions were no ſooner known to *Primus*, than he reſolved to attack the enemy, thus divided in their affections, ere the leaders had recovered their authority, the ſoldiers their diſcipline and obedience, or the legions their former ſpirit and boldneſs. He imagined, that *Fabius Valens*, who was inviolably attached to *Vitellius*, and a commander of great experience, had ere now left *Rome*, and would, upon learning the deſertion of *Cæcina*, travel with great expedition. With his whole army therefore he marched from *Verona*, and the next evening incamped at *Bebriacum*. The day following he ſent out his auxiliaries to forage in the territories of *Cremona*, and marched himſelf at the head of eight thouſand horſe to ſupport them. When he had advanced about eight miles from *Bebriacum*, news was brought him, that the enemy approached. While *Primus* was conſulting what meaſures to take, *Arrius Varus* ruſhed out with a party of the moſt reſolute horſe, and put the enemy's van-guard into confuſion; but many advancing to ſupport their comrades, the fortune of the encounter changed, and *Arrius* was put to flight. This haſty ſtep had been taken without the approbation of *Primus*, who judged, that the iſſue would be ſuch as it proved. He now exhorted thoſe about him to prepare for battle; to the legions he diſpatched orders to arm, and notice to the auxiliaries ſpread over the country, to quit their pillage, and haſten by the ſeveral neareſt ways to the combat. In the mean time, *Arrius*'s routed troops arriving, communicated their dread to the reſt; inſomuch, that the whole body of horſe under the command of *Primus* betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. During this conſternation, *Primus*, diſcharging the duty of an experienced commander and a moſt courageous ſoldier, ſtrove to animate ſuch as were diſmayed, to ſtop ſuch as were flying, readily aſſiſting here with his counſel and orders, there with his ſword, where-ever the greateſt efforts were required, where-ever any hope was preſented. With his javelin he pierced a ſtandard-bearer who

Arrius Varus *put to flight by the troops of* Vitellius.

The gallant conduct of Primus.

[k] Idem, c. 7——14.

was flying, and ſeizing the ſtandard, turned it againſt the enemy. Hereupon an hundred horſe, aſhamed to deſert their general, returned to the fight. With theſe, drawn up in cloſe ranks, he ſuſtained the onſet, till the reſt of his men, finding the bridge behind them broken and their flight interrupted, re-

Vitellius's *cavalry routed.*

turned to the charge. Hereupon conſternation and diſmay ſeized the enemy; they began to give ground, and at laſt, *Primus* preſſing them with freſh vigour, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The conquerors purſued them within four miles of *Cremona*, where they met, attacked, and routed two legions, that called *Rapax* and that named *Italica*, who were advancing to the relief of their cavalry. *Primus* forbore purſuing them, mindful of the condition of his men and horſes, quite ſpent with the fatigue of the day. In the cloſe of the evening arrived the reſt of *Primus*'s forces; and as they marched over heaps of ſlain, they concluded from thence, that the war was ended, and demanded to be led directly to *Cremona*, being well appriſed, that by ſtorming the town in the dark, they ſhould have a greater latitude for plundering; whereas if they waited the return of day, ſupplications would be offered, and terms granted: by which means the wealth of *Cremona* would accrue to the commanders of the legions and principal officers; for the plunder of a town taken by ſtorm belonged to the ſoldiers, but to the leaders when gained by ſurrender. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that *Primus* (for they utterly ſlighted the other commanders) prevailed upon them to delay the attack for one night. In the mean time, ſome horſemen, who had advanced cloſe to the walls of *Cremona*, having ſeized ſome ſtragglers from thence, learnt of them, that ſix legions of *Vitellius*, and the whole army that had incamped at *Hoſtilia*, having that day marched thirty miles, were juſt approaching in

The battle of Cremona.

battle-array. Hereupon *Primus* immediately drew up his men according to the nature of the ground, and made the neceſſary preparations to receive the enemy, who, as they wanted a leader of experience, inſtead of reſting at *Cremona*, attacked, ſpent as they were with a long march and faſting, *Primus*'s forces, and began the engagement at the third hour of the night; that is, about nine in the evening. The combat laſted the whole night, fortune ſometimes favouring one ſide, ſometimes another. As they fought in the dark, and the watch-word of each, by being frequently aſked and repeated, became known to the other, they could not diſcern friend from foe. In this dreadful confuſion, the ſeventh legion, called *Galbiana*, was ſorely beſet. Out of it ſix centurions of principal rank were ſlain, and ſome of the enſigns taken. The eagle, however, was preſerved by *Atilius Verus*, the chief centurion, who, in defend-

ing

ing it, ſlew heaps of the enemy, and at laſt fell himſelf. *Primus*'s men were chiefly annoyed by a baliſta of amazing bulk, which, being placed upon the ridge of the highway, ſwept away whole ranks, by diſcharging againſt them great, maſſy ſtones; but at length two common ſoldiers, paſſing undiſcovered through the midſt of the enemy, cut the ſprings of the engines, and by that means, at the expence of their own lives, (for they were immediately cut in pieces) ſaved part of the army from utter deſtruction. To neither ſide was fortune yet leaning, when, the night being near ſpent, the moon riſing diſcovered the two armies to each other. More favourable, however, ſhe proved to that of *Veſpaſian*, as ſhe ſhone upon their backs, and full in the enemy's faces. *Primus*, now that he could diſtinguiſh his own men and be by them diſtinguiſhed, applied himſelf to animate them, ſome by ſhame and reproof, others by applauſe and exhortation, all by hopes and promiſes. There enſued from every quarter cries and ſhoutings; and juſt then the third legion, according to the cuſtom in *Syria*, where they had been long quartered, paid their adoration to the riſing ſun. This incident gave birth to a report, which flew in an inſtant through the whole army and reached the enemy, that *Mucianus* was arrived, and between his forces and the third legion mutual ſalutations had paſſed. This diſheartened the troops of *Vitellius*; which *Primus* perceiving, made a laſt effort, puſhed them with great vigour, and utterly broke their ranks; which they attempted indeed to reſtore, but in vain, being embarraſſed by their own carriages and engines. Being therefore no longer able to keep their ground, they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and ſtrove to gain *Cremona*, *Primus*'s men purſuing them with great ſlaughter. *Vitellius* is ſaid to have loſt, what in the engagement, what in the flight, about thirty thouſand men. But the ſight of ſo many dead bodies lying together in heaps, and covering the fields and ways, did not occaſion ſo much horror, as the death of a father ſlaughtered by his own ſon. The fact is thus related by our hiſtorian, upon the authority of *Vipſanius Meſſala*, who, in this engagement, commanded the ſeventh legion, named *Claudiana*: *Julius Manſuetus*, a native of *Spain*, liſting in the legion called *Rapax*, left behind him a ſon, then a boy, who afterwards being under *Galba*, inrolled in the ſeventh legion called *Galbiana*, happened in this battle to engage his father and killed him; but being known by his parent juſt expiring, as he was rifling him, and knowing him again, he embraced with a flood of tears his pale corpſe; charged with a ſad and doleful voice the public with the crime of parricide; and lifting up the body, digged a grave, and, under the utmoſt affliction, diſcharged towards his parent

Vitellius's army defeated.

A father killed in the battle by his ſon.

parent the laſt duty. Thoſe who were neareſt obſerved what paſſed, and in a moment the tragical accident was divulged throughout the whole army, with many lamentations and bitter execrations upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous; yet they continued to butcher and ſpoil their kinſmen, their relations, nay, their brethren, at the ſame time relating what a crying iniquity had been committed, and committing it themſelves [1].

They attack the enemy's camp.

As the conquerors approached *Cremona*, they found the enemy incamped quite round the walls, and defended by a deep ditch, which had been dug in the war againſt *Otho*, and ſince ſtrengthened with freſh works. To proceed to the aſſault with an army already weary with the continued toil of a day and a night, ſeemed to the leaders an enterpriſe full of danger and difficulty; but the ſoldiers, more apt to brave perils than bear delays, demanded to be forthwith led on to the attack; and *Primus*, yielding to this humour, ordered them, in the form of a ring, to inveſt the intrenchments, and begin the aſſault; which they did with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, raiſing their ſhields over their heads, and thence forming a teſtudo, under the ſhelter of which they advanced to the foot of the ramparts. But *Vitellius*'s men, by hurling down upon them huge ſtones, looſened the teſtudo, beat to the ground the men beneath, and made a dreadful havock of them, thus naked, and expoſed to vollies of ſtones and arrows. The onſet began to ſlacken, when the leaders, finding their men exhauſted and unmoved by exhortations, pointed to *Cremona* as the price of their victory. Thus encouraged, they renewed the aſſault, all obſtinately combined to ſucceed or die: regardleſs of wounds and blood, they ſtrove to demoliſh the rampart, battered the gates, ſtood upon the ſhoulders of one another, and upon the teſtudo now reſtored, and thence ſeized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, and the hands too which held them; ſo that the hale and the maimed, ſuch as were half-dead, and ſuch as were juſt expiring, tumbled headlong together and periſhed. When *Vitellius*'s men were no longer able to ſuſtain the ſhock, and found that all the diſcharges from the baliſta were rendered ineffectual by the teſtudo below, they at laſt hurled down the engine itſelf, huge and ponderous as it was, which failed not to cruſh thoſe upon whom it fell; but at the ſame time drew with it the battlements, the upper part of the rampart, and the adjoining tower. In this confuſion, *Caius Voluſius*, a ſoldier of the third legion, having mounted the rampart, puſhed down all who reſiſted, and cried aloud, That the camp was taken. The reſt then having broke the gate with their ſwords and axes, burſt in, *Vitellius*'s

And force it.

[1] Idem, c. 15—25. Dio. l. lxv. p. 740.

men

men being utterly diſmayed, and leaping with great hurry from the battlements. The whole ſpace between the camp and *Cremona*, whither the enemy retired, was covered with dead bodies. And here again was preſented a new ſcene of difficulties, the walls of the city very high, ſtrong towers of ſtone, the gates ſecured with vaſt bars of iron, the gariſon numerous, the inhabitants devoted to the party of *Vitellius*, and at this time a great part of *Italy* aſſembled in the town on occaſion of a fair. *Primus* ordered fire to be immediately ſet to the moſt ſumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the city, hoping by that means to oblige the people of *Cremona* to abandon the party of *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, he conveyed all his braveſt men into ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, from whence, with vollies of darts, arrows, and ſtones, they drove away all who made oppoſition, while the legions, forming a teſtudo, advanced to the foot of the walls. *Vitellius*'s men ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, till their officers, fearing that, were the city taken by ſtorm, all the fury of the conquerors would vent itſelf upon them, began to deliberate about ſurrendering. Having therefore agreed to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the conquering army, they razed the name and defaced the images of *Vitellius*; then diſcharging *Cæcina* from his bonds, beſought him to plead in their behalf. Thus were ſo many brave men reduced at length to implore the aid and protection of a traitor. At his requeſt *Primus* granted them their lives, ordering them to ſurrender their arms and march out of the town; which they did accordingly, *Cæcina*, who was then conſul, walking before them, attended by his lictors, and arrayed with the enſigns of the conſular dignity. This the conquerors could not bear; they upbraided him in bitter terms with his pride, with his cruelty, nay, and with his treaſon, and would have proceeded to violence, had not *Primus* checked them, and furniſhing *Cæcina* with a guard, ſent him away to *Veſpaſian* [m]. For the city of *Cremona*; as it had, even in the war againſt *Otho*, ſupported the cauſe of *Vitellius*, and ever ſhewed a paſſionate zeal for his intereſt, both *Primus* and his army were highly incenſed againſt it; but nevertheleſs the general did not think it adviſeable to deliver it immediately up to be plundered, great part of the wealth of *Italy* being at this time lodged in it on occaſion of the fair. In a ſpeech therefore which he made to his ſoldiers after the ſurrender of the place, he commended their bravery, exhorted them to uſe mercy towards their fellow-ſoldiers, who had ſubmitted; but purpoſely avoided making any mention of the city, or its inhabitants.

Cremona attacked.

It ſurrenders.

[m] TACIT. c. 16—31.

bitants. Having ended his ſpeech, and diſmiſſed the troops, he went to a bath to waſh off the blood with which he was ſtill ſtained; for he had, during the ſeveral engagements and attacks, commanded as a general, and fought like a common ſoldier. In the bath he happened to drop a word, which was remarked and quickly divulged; for finding the water ſomewhat too cool, he complained of it, adding, It will ſoon prove abundantly hot. This ſaying, though pleaſantly uttered to his ſlaves, was inſtantly ſpread all over the camp, and by the ſoldiery, greedy of plunder, interpreted as the watch-word for ſetting fire to *Cremona*. Accordingly forty thouſand ſoldiers ruſhing into it, and a greater number of ſervants and retainers to the camp, more abandoned to acts of cruelty and licentiouſneſs than the ſoldiers themſelves, pillaged, murdered, raviſhed, &c. without reſtraint, for four days together, and then ſetting fire to the empty houſes, reduced them to aſhes. Such was the end of *Cremona*, two hundred and eighty-ſix years after its foundation (W). *Primus*, aſhamed of the barbarities committed by his ſoldiers, iſſued an order, that no one ſhould preſume to hold captive any citizen of *Cremona*. Hereupon ſuch as had any began to murder them; which inhumanity obliged their relations to redeem them. Soon after, ſuch of the inhabitants as had outlived the general maſſacre, returned to *Cremona*, and rebuilt the city, being therein countenanced by *Veſpaſian*. *Joſephus* tells us, that of *Vitellius*'s men there fell in the battle thirty thouſand and two hundred, and four thouſand five hundred on *Primus*'s ſide [n]; and *Xiphilinus* writes, that, what in the field, what in the city of *Cremona*, there periſhed fifty thouſand perſons. The conquerors, not able to bear the ſtench of the putrified carcaſes, having lodged one night on the ruins in which the city was buried, retired the next day three miles from thence. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, ſcattered and diſperſed

Is pillaged and burnt.

[n] Joseph. bell. l. iv. c. 41.

(W) *Cremona* was founded, according to *Tacitus* (58), *Polybius* (59), and *Livy* (60), in the conſulſhip of *Tiberius Sempronius* and *Publius Cornelius*, when *Hannibal* was ready to invade *Italy*, as a barrier againſt the *Gauls* on the other ſide of the *Po*, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the *Alps*. It grew and flouriſhed by the convenience of rivers, the richneſs of its territory, and affinities with other nations of *Italy*. In no foreign war it had ever been hurt, but, in the civil diſſenſions, ſuffered more than any other city.

(58) *Tacit.* c. 3. (59) *Polyb.* l. iii. c. 40. (60) *Liv.* epit. l. xii.

over

over the country, were aſſembled again, placed under their former banners, and, as the war ſtill ſubſiſted, ſent into *Illyricum*. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched into *Britain* and both *Spains*, to acquaint the troops there with the victory, as was *Julius Calenus*, a tribune, into *Gaul*, and *Alpinus Montanus*, commander of a cohort, into *Germany*, two officers choſen for oſtentation, as the latter was of *Treves*, the former an *Æduan*, and both partizans of *Vitellius*. At the ſame time, guards were poſted upon the paſſes of the *Alps*, to cut off all communication between *Germany* and *Italy*; for it was reported, that the *Germans* were arming with a deſign to aſſiſt the vanquiſhed party [o]. Let us now return to *Vitellius*.

Vitellius reſigns himſelf up to voluptuouſneſs.

HAVING diſmiſſed *Cæcina* in the manner we have related, and a few days after ordered *Fabius Valens* to take the field, he buried himſelf in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, ſtriving to ſmother all his cares in voluptuouſneſs and all manner of exceſſes. From *Rome* he retired to the grove at *Aricinum*, where, while he paſſed his time intirely reſigned to ſloth and gluttony, he was alarmed with tidings of the defection of the fleet at *Ravenna*. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that *Cæcina* had revolted, but was by the army put in irons. Hereupon he returned to the city, and in a full aſſembly extolled the fidelity of the ſoldiery; but ordered *Publius Sabinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to be caſt into bonds, on account of his intimacy with *Cæcina*, and named in his room *Alphenus Varus*. The ſenate, informed of the deſertion of *Cæcina*, inveighed againſt him in a ſtyle of indignation well ſtudied; for not a man dropped a bitter expreſſion againſt the leaders of the oppoſite party, and all with great circumſpection avoided mentioning *Veſpaſian*. Though one day only remained of *Cæcina*'s conſulſhip, he was depoſed, and *Roſcius Regulus* named in his room, who, upon the laſt day of *October*, began his magiſtracy, and with the day ended it. In the mean time, *Valens*, who was upon his march to join the troops at *Hoſtilia* and *Cremona*, being informed, that the fleet at *Ravenna* had revolted to the enemy, inſtead of quickening his march, halted, and wrote to *Vitellius* for ſuccours. The emperor immediately diſpatched after him three cohorts, with the ſquadron of horſe from *Britain*. Theſe *Valens* ſent forward to *Ariminum*; but he himſelf turning aſide, bent his courſe to *Umbria*, and from thence to *Hetruria*. Having there learnt the iſſue of the battle at *Cremona*, he conceived a deſign, which, had it been put in execution, would have been attended with very dreadful conſequences: he propoſed to imbarque for *Nar-*

Valens retires to Hetruria.

Deſigns to raiſe Gaul.

[o] TACIT. c. 35, 36.

honne Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coaſt, rouſe thoſe powerful provinces and all the *Roman* forces there, as alſo the ſeveral nations of *Germany*, and thence renew the war. With this deſign he imbarqued in the port of *Piſa*; but was, by contrary winds, forced to land at *Monaco*, where he was kindly received by *Marius Maturus*, procurator of the maritime *Alps*, who, though all the country round eſpouſed the oppoſite party, had never ſwerved from his allegiance. By him *Valens* was informed, that *Valerius Paulinus*, procurator of *Narbonne Gaul*, an officer of known bravery and *Veſpaſian*'s intimate friend, had declared for him, and held with a ſtrong gariſon the city of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, which commanded all acceſs from the ſea. Upon this intelligence *Valens* returned directly to his veſſels, with four ſoldiers of the prætorian guards, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving to *Maturus* and the reſt full liberty to ſtay, and ſwear, if they pleaſed, fidelity to *Veſpaſian*. As he roamed about, hovering on the coaſts of *Gaul*, he was, by contrary winds, driven upon the *Stæchades*, iſlands near *Marſeilles*, and there by ſome galleys belonging to *Paulinus* taken priſoner; which was no ſooner known, than firſt the neighbouring, and ſoon after the more diſtant, provinces, eſpouſed, without heſitation, the cauſe of the conqueror.

Is taken priſoner.

Gaul, Spain, *and* Britain *declare for* Veſpaſian.

In *Spain*, the firſt legion, named *Adjutrix*, which had ſerved under *Otho*, declared for *Veſpaſian*, and drew over with it the tenth and the ſixth. In *Britain* the ſecond legion, which *Veſpaſian* had commanded there in the reign of *Claudius*, acceded to his party, though not without ſome oppoſition from the other legions, in which many centurions and many ſoldiers had been promoted by *Vitellius*. However, they were all brought at length to acknowledge *Veſpaſian* [p].

Vitellius *ſmothers all bad tidings.*

In the mean time, the diſmal tidings of the overthrow at *Cremona* reaching *Rome*, *Vitellius*, inſtead of deliberating with his friends about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a conjuncture, with a ſtupid diſſimulation, ſmothered the news of the calamity, feigning that all his proceedings proſpered, and by ſuch falſe repreſentations leaving his condition quite deſperate. About his perſon was obſerved a wonderful ſilence concerning the war; and through the city all diſcourſes about it were prohibited, which for this very cauſe grew more frequent. However, he privately ſent perſons, in whom he could confide, to view the enemy's camp; but upon their return, when he had ſecretly examined them, he cauſed them all to be murdered, that they might not divulge what they had ſeen. *Julius Agreſtis*, a centurion, having attempted in vain to awaken the

[p] Tacit. c. 41——45.

emperor

emperor out of his lethargy, at laſt prevailed with him, that he himſelf might be ſent to ſurvey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the tranſactions at *Cremona*. *Agreſtis* did not aſſume the behaviour of a ſpy, nor attempted to eſcape the notice of *Primus*; but declaring to him the inſtructions from the emperor and his own deſign, he demanded to view the whole in perſon. *Primus* readily ſent certain perſons with him to ſhew him the field of battle, the deſolation and remains of *Cremona*, and the legions taken priſoners. *Agreſtis* having carefully examined the whole, returned to *Rome*; but as *Vitellius* gave no credit to his accounts, nay accuſed him of corruption and infidelity; Since then, ſaid he, ſome remarkable confirmation is neceſſary, and ſince neither my life nor my death can avail you, I will furniſh you with an evidence which you may credit. Having thus ſpoken, he left his preſence, and fell upon his own ſword at the gates of the palace [q]. In the mean time, ſome of *Veſpaſian*'s troops, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuſcus*, advancing as far as *Ariminum*, beſieged that place, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the plains of *Umbria* and the territories of *Picenum*, all along the *Adriatic* ſea. Thus between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* all *Italy* was ſhared, and the ridges of the *Apennine* become the common boundary. As winter approached and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the *Po*, *Primus* ſent the legions back to *Verona* with the aged and wounded; and paſſing the *Po* at the head of the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry, advanced as far as the temple of *Fortune*, at preſent a city on the *Adriatic* gulph, known by the name of *Fano*. There he halted, upon intelligence, that the prætorian cohorts had already left *Rome*, and that guards were poſted upon the *Apennine* to oppoſe his paſſage. And truly *Vitellius*, rouſed at length, as it were, out of a profound ſleep, had ordered *Julius Priſcus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with fourteen prætorian cohorts, a legion of marines, and other forces, to ſeize the paſſes of the *Apennine*. They were all choſen men, and able to have made an offenſive war, had they been under the command of a different general. They encamped at *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, in the neighbourhood of *Toligno*; but *Vitellius*, without departing in the leaſt from his wonted courſe of debauchery, continued at *Rome*, where he ſettled a ſucceſſion of conſuls for ten years, diſcharged ſome nations from all tribute, conferred upon others freſh immunities, and, in ſhort, without any regard to futurity, rent and exhauſted the empire with ſuch wild bounties, as could neither be granted nor accepted by men of ſenſe, but were highly applauded by the unthinking herd. At length, moved by the re-

A remarkable inſtance of the fidelity of Julius Agreſtis.

Vitellius *ſends an army to ſecure the paſſes of the* Apennine.

[q] Idem, c. 54.

He arrives at the camp.

peated ſolicitations of the army, he left *Rome*, and repaired to the camp at *Mevania*, attended by a great number of ſenators, which only ſerved to expoſe him to public contempt and deriſion (X). For as he was quite unacquainted with the military art, he was continually applying for information how to draw up the army, how to procure intelligence, by what meaſures he might defeat the deſigns of the foe, *&c.* Upon every flying report of the approach of the enemy, he was ſure to betray great fear, and never failed to get drunk. In the end, ſurfeited with the camp and learning the revolt of the fleet at *Miſenum*, he returned to *Rome* in the utmoſt conſternation. The fleet was drawn to revolt by *Claudius Faventius*, who was only a centurion, and had been degraded by *Galba* with marks of ignominy. By forging letters from *Veſpaſian*, and in his name tempting the officers with great rewards, he prevailed upon them to change their allegiance. To reclaim them, *Vitellius* made choice of *Claudius Julianus*, who had lately commanded the fleet, and was highly eſteemed by the marines. But he, without heſitation, went over to the party of *Veſpaſian*; and, putting himſelf at their head, took the city of *Terracina*. Hereupon *Vitellius* diſpatched meſſengers to the army, with orders to retire from *Mevania*, and drawing nearer *Rome*, to encamp at *Narnia*, now *Narni*. From it he detached ſix cohorts and five hundred horſe, whom he ſent under the command of his brother *Lucius*, to make head againſt the ſoldiers of the fleet. He himſelf remained at *Rome*, where he aſſembled the people by their tribes, and to all, who deſired to be liſted, adminiſtered the oath of fidelity. As he moved compaſſion by his ſad countenance, his doleful expreſſions, and many tears, and was liberal, nay extravagant, in his promiſes, vaſt multitudes gave in their names; and to this daſtardly crowd, only daring in words, he gave the awful name of legions. To himſelf he aſſumed, at this juncture, the title of *Cæſar*, which he had hitherto rejected, as if the *Cæſars* alone were deſtined to hold the ſovereign power[r].

The fleet at Miſenum *revolts.*

Vitellius *takes the title of* Cæſar.

[r] Idem, c. 55—58.

(X) *Tacitus* ſays, that while he was diſcourſing to an aſſembly of the ſoldiers ſoon after his arrival in the camp, there flew over his head a flock of ravenous birds, ſo numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. He adds, that a bull eſcaped from the altar; and overturning the utenſils for the ſacrifice, was at laſt ſlain at a diſtance from thence, and not in the place where it was cuſtomary to kill the victims. This the ſuperſtitious pagans looked upon as the worſt of omens (61).

(61) *Tacit.* c. 56.

The

THE army no ſooner left *Mevania*, than the *Samnites*, the *Pelignians*, and the *Marſians* embraced the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*. At the ſame time, *Primus*, informed of the enemy's motions, haſtened to paſs the *Apennine*, where, while his troops were ſorely annoyed with the cold, and ſtruggling with difficulty out of the deep ſnow, he conſidered what dangers he muſt have undergone, had not *Vitellius*'s army abandoned their poſt. *Primus*, having paſt the *Apennine*, encamped at *Carſulæ*, between *Mevania* and *Narnia*, and there waited the arrival of the legions from *Cremona*, which were in full march to join him. As the forces of *Vitellius* were only ten miles diſtant, the troops which *Primus* had with him were for attacking them before the legions arrived, whom they conſidered rather as ſharers in the prey, than partakers in the peril. But *Primus* found means to calm their fury, and in the mean time the legions arrived, and ſoon after their arrival poſſeſſed themſelves of *Interamna*, now *Terni*; which ſo terrified *Vitellius*'s army, that they began to fly over to the enemy in whole companies and troops, being encouraged thereunto by their tribunes and centurions. However, ſome of the common ſoldiers perſiſted inflexible in their adherence to *Vitellius*; and a report was induſtriouſly ſpread all over the camp, that *Valens* had eſcaped into *Germany*, and was there aſſembling a mighty army. To confute this rumour, and prevent their cheriſhing any farther hopes, *Valens* was put to death at *Urbinum*, where he was detained in priſon, and his head ſent to the camp, and diſplayed to the view of *Vitellius*'s troops. At this ſight, they ſunk into utter deſpair; and ſeeing themſelves on all ſides bereft of hope, paſſed over in a body to the party of *Veſpaſian*. Upon this general defection, *Primus* and *Varus* neglected not, by repeated meſſages, to make offers to *Vitellius* of ſafety to his perſon, of revenues, of any private retirement in *Campania*, or elſewhere, if he would reſign the ſovereignty and ſubmit to *Veſpaſian*. *Mucianus* likewiſe ſent him letters with the like offers; to which he would have yielded, had he not been diſſuaded by his friends from ever leading a private life, after he had been emperor. To him now remained only the city of *Rome*, which *Flavius Sabinus* might have eaſily raiſed againſt him; but he, either out of a natural abhorrence to the ſpilling of blood, or becauſe he envied the grandeur of his brother's fortune, neglected to act with any warmth or alacrity. It is true, he often conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of reſtoring public peace, but could not be prevailed upon to uſe violence. In one of theſe conferences, he agreed to reſign the empire upon certain conditions, which *Sabinus* aſſured him ſhould be ratified by his brother *Veſpaſian*; which was no ſooner known, than his followers exerted their utmoſt efforts

Primus *paſſes the* Apennine.

Valens *put to death.*

The whole army paſſes over to Veſpaſian.

Vitellius *deſigns to abdicate.*

efforts to divert him from his reſolution; repreſenting to him, how ignominious, how inſecure the terms of peace were, ſince the performing them entirely depended upon the wanton humour of the conqueror. But, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to rouſe him to ſome attempt daring and brave, having learnt on the eighteenth of *December* the defection of his army at *Narnia*, he went forth from the palace in deep mourning, attended by his domeſtics, with his little ſon, a helpleſs infant; and paſſing in this forlorn condition through the ſtreets of the city, arrived at the place where the people uſed to aſſemble; and there to the multitude, which had flocked from all quarters, declared his reſolution in a few words, ſuch as ſuited his preſent condition, that he voluntarily withdrew for the ſake of the public peace and the good of the commonwealth; and that he only deſired they would remember him, and to his brother, to his wife, and to his innocent and tender children, ſhew compaſſion and mercy. At the ſame time, extending his arms, with his little ſon in them, he recommended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At laſt, burſting into tears, he ungirt his ſword from his ſide, and preſented it to the conſul *Cæcilius Simplex*, who ſtood juſt by him, as thus reſigning the power of life and death over the citizens. As the conſul refuſed to receive it, and the aſſembly with loud clamours oppoſed his reſignation, he departed, declaring, that he intended to diveſt himſelf of the badges of the imperial dignity in the temple of *Concord*, and thence to ſeek a private retirement in his brother's houſe. But the people, ſenſibly affected with this doleful ſcene, declared with one voice againſt his withdrawing to a private dwelling, called him back to the palace, and even ſhut up every other way. Hereupon, not knowing what to do, nor how to proceed, he returned to the palace [s]. But as the rumour had already flown all over the city, that *Vitellius* had abdicated the empire; all the principal ſenators, great numbers of knights, with the city guards and thoſe of the night-watch, crowded to the houſe of *Flavius Sabinus*. Thither news was brought them, that *Vitellius*, encouraged by the people and his *German* guards, was returned to the palace. As *Sabinus* had advanced too far to retreat, all who were about him adviſed him to take arms, and force *Vitellius* to ſtand to the treaty he had made. *Sabinus*, though of himſelf hefitating and backward (Y), yielded

But is not permitted.

Flavius Sabinus *takes arms, but is defeated.*

[s] Tacit. c. 60—69. Suet. c. 15. Dio. l. lxv. p. 740.

(Y) The nobility of *Rome* did all that lay in their power to rouſe *Flavius Sabinus*, and encourage him to ſhare with the other generals of the party, the glory of placing his brother upon the throne. As he

yielded to their advice; but ſome of the boldeſt of *Vitellius*'s men meeting him as he advanced to the palace, attacked with great reſolution, and put him to flight. *Sabinus* under this diſtreſs had no other reſource but to ſhut himſelf up in the capitol; which he did accordingly, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, ſome ſenators, and a few *Roman* knights. The ſoldiers of *Vitellius* immediately inveſted the capitol, but with ſtations ſo looſe and ill-guarded, that *Sabinus*, during the dead of the night, found means to acquaint *Primus* with his danger, and to cauſe his own children *Sabinus* and *Clemens*, and his brother's ſon *Domitian*, to be brought to him. The next morning, as ſoon as day began to dawn, before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, *Sabinus* ſent *Cornelius Martialis*, a centurion of the firſt rank, to put *Vitellius* in mind of the treaty, and expoſtulate with him about his thus violating ſuch ſolemn ſtipulations. *Vitellius* threw the whole fault upon the ſoldiers, whoſe ardour he ſaid, it was not in his power to reſtrain. He even warned *Martialis* to retire by a private way, that he might not be aſſaſſinated by the ſoldiers, as the mediator of a peace which they abhorred. He was ſcarce returned to the capitol, when *Vitellius*'s ſoldiers approached, and began the attack with great fury. The beſieged, with ſhowers of ſtones and tiles, ſtrove to overwhelm the aggreſſors; but the latter, advancing boldly to the

He retires to the capitol.

The capitol beſieged.

he was governor of *Rome*, the cohorts there immediately depended upon him, and conſequently would not fail to join; and moſt of the ſenators offered to aſſiſt him with their ſlaves. The cohorts remaining with *Vitellius* were few, and thoſe quite diſheartened with diſmal tidings, from all quarters. The populace were wavering; and from them, if he once preſented himſelf as their head, he would find the ſame flattery and zeal, which they had ſhewn for *Vitellius*, inſtantly turned upon *Veſpaſian*. With theſe and the like reaſonings, the grandees of *Rome* ſtrove to rouſe *Sabinus*, but could not by any means prevail upon him to take arms; and hence ſome entertained private ſuſpicions againſt him, as if through malignity and emulation he ſtudied to thwart the deſigns formed in behalf of his brother. For *Flavius Sabinus* was both elder than *Veſpaſian*, and greatly ſurpaſſed him in wealth and reputation. He was even believed to have upheld his brother's credit otherwiſe ſinking, and for the money lent him to have received in pledge his houſe and poſſeſſions. Hence, though between them an appearance of unanimity ſubſiſted, private grudges were apprehended to remain. But our hiſtorian is of opinion, that *Sabinus*, naturally merciful and gentle, abhorred all ſlaughter and ſpilling of blood; and therefore frequently conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of reſtoring public peace, and laying down arms by mutual agreement and treaty (62).

(62) *Idem*, c. 64.

very

very gates of the citadel, ſet fire to them, and muſt have entered, had not *Sabinus* pulled down the ſtatues on all hands, and, with theſe glorious monuments of antiquity, raiſed in the very entrance a new wall. Then they ſtrove to force a paſſage from the oppoſite avenues of the capitol, climbing over the contiguous buildings, which, during a long peace, had been ſuffered to be raiſed to the height of the foundations of the capitol. Here the aſſault was cloſe and fierce; and the adjoining roofs being ſet on fire, whether by the aſſailants or the beſieged is uncertain, the flame ſpread from thence to the porticoes of the capitol; and being there nouriſhed by the timber, which was very old, ſpread every way with terrible impetuoſity; nor did the conflagration ceaſe, till that glorious and ſtately edifice was burnt to the ground and laid in aſhes; the moſt deplorable misfortune, ſays *Tacitus*, that had happened ſince the founding of the city, and to the *Roman* people the moſt reproachful, ſince by them, and not by a foreign enemy; the ſacred ſeat of the great *Jupiter*, reared by their anceſtors with ſolemn benedictions and auſpices, as the pledge and centre of future empire, was thus impiouſly profaned and reduced to aſhes[t].

And burnt to the ground.

While the capitol was yet burning, *Vitellius*'s bands, burſting in, put all who oppoſed them to the ſword: of theſe the moſt ſignal were *Cornelius Martialis*, *Æmilius Pacenſis*, *Caſperius Niger*, and *Didius Scæva*. *Flavius Sabinus* and *Quinctius Atticus* the conſul, were taken and loaded with irons. The reſt, by divers ſtratagems, eſcaped, having learnt the word by which the ſoldiers of *Vitellius* were diſtinguiſhed by one another. Young *Domitian* was ſaved by the contrivance of one of his freedmen, under the diſguiſe of a linen robe, as if he had belonged to the tribe of the prieſts who offered ſacrifices in the capitol (Z). *Sabinus* and *Atticus* were carried to *Vitellius*, who did all that lay in his power to appeaſe the fury of the populace

Sabinus *taken priſoner.*

[t] Tacit. c. 70—72.

(Z) *Domitian* paſſing among the ſacrificers undiſcovered to the houſe of *Cornelius Primus*, a dependent of his father's, near the place called *Velabrum*, lay there concealed, till *Rome* was taken by *Primus*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, demoliſhed the houſe where he had lain concealed, and raiſed upon the place a ſmall chapel dedicated to *Jupiter the protector*, with an altar, and the account of his adventure engraved upon marble. When he arrived at the ſovereignty, he erected a vaſt temple ſacred to *Jupiter the guardian*, with himſelf held in the arms of the god (63).

(63) *Idem*, c. 74.

and

and ſoldiery, crying aloud for their execution. They were chiefly incenſed againſt *Sabinus*; and therefore, inſtead of hearkening to the emperor's intreaties, they run him through in his preſence; then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk through the ſtreets to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, where the bodies of malefactors were uſually expoſed. He had, for the ſpace of five-and-thirty years, carried arms for the common-wealth, had governed *Mœſia* ſeven years, and *Rome* twelve, bearing both in peace and war a ſignal reputation. The only failing, which even his enemies could object to him, was his talkativeneſs. As to the innocence of his life and juſtice of his actions, he was altogether blameleſs. All agree, that before *Veſpaſian* became emperor, *Sabinus* was looked upon as the chief ornament of the *Flavian* family, and the ſupport of *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who was his younger brother: when the people demanded the doom of the conſul *Atticus*, *Vitellius* perſiſted in oppoſing them, being entirely reconciled to him, in regard of his openly confeſſing, that he had ſet fire to the capitol; and by thus aſſuming the odium of the crime, though the whole was by ſome thought a fiction, acquitted as innocent the party of *Vitellius*. About the ſame time, *Lucius Vitellius*, the emperor's brother, defeated in *Campania* the marines, who had declared for *Veſpaſian*, and retook *Terracina*. Six ſmall galleys eſcaped, and in one of them *Apollinaris* commander of the fleet. All the other veſſels were ſeized by the ſhore, or, ſurcharged by the flying crowd, ſunk to the bottom. *Julianus*, who had been ſent by *Vitellius* to reclaim the fleet, and had gone over to *Veſpaſian*, was taken priſoner, and by *Lucius*'s orders firſt inhumanly ſcourged and then executed. Had *Vitellius*'s men, now elated with ſucceſs, proceeded directly to *Rome*, a dreadful ſtruggle muſt have enſued; nor could it have been decided without the deſtruction of the city. But while *Lucius* was deliberating, whether he ſhould return forthwith to *Rome*, or purſue the reduction of *Campania*, the troops of *Primus*, informed of the danger of *Sabinus*, haſtened to his relief. *Petilius Cerealis*, one nearly allied to *Veſpaſian*, and a commander of no mean character, upon the firſt news that the capitol was beſieged, was ſent forward with a thouſand horſe, and ordered to croſs the *Sabine* territories and enter *Rome* through the *Salarian* way. *Primus* himſelf advanced along the great *Flaminian* road, and when the night was far ſpent, arrived at a place called the *Red Rocks*. There he received diſmal tidings, that *Sabinus* was murdered, the capitol reduced to aſhes, the city under dreadful conſternation, the populace and ſlaves all under arms for *Vitellius*, &c.

And murdered.

Lucius Vitellius *takes* Terracina.

Primus *marches to* Rome.

&c. (A). *Petilius Cerealis*, meeting not far from the city a party of the enemy, attacked them briſkly, but was by them received with equal reſolution, and, after a long and bloody conteſt, put to flight and purſued as far as *Fidenæ*. This ſucceſs heightened the zeal and partiality of the people for *Vitellius*; they betook themſelves to arms, moſt of them ſnatching up whatever fell firſt in their way, and, thus armed, demanded to be led out againſt the enemy. *Vitellius* commended their zeal, but at the ſame time ſent embaſſadors both to *Cerealis* and *Primus* to renew the former treaty. The ſoldiers of *Cerealis* inſulted the deputies, and even wounded the prætor *Arulenus Ruſticus*, a man of great merit and diſtinction, and ſlew his principal lictor, for daring to open a paſſage through the croud. Thoſe who went to *Primus* were better received. They were attended by the *Veſtal* virgins, who brought letters from *Vitellius* to *Primus*, wherein the emperor deſired, that the battle, which was to be the laſt, might be ſuſpended for one day, ſince during that interval all things might be eaſily accommodated. *Primus* diſmiſſed the virgins with all demonſtrations of honour; but to *Vitellius* returned anſwer, that, by the murder of *Sabinus* and the burning of the capitol, all means of ending the war by

Vitellius *ſends embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation.*

Primus's *anſwer.*

(A) *Primus*'s forces might have reached *Rome* before the capitol was beſieged; but, inſtead of purſuing their march to the city after they had left *Narnia*, they diverted themſelves at *Ocriculum*, now *Otricoli*, in celebrating the annual feaſt of *Saturn*, which laſted many days. There were not wanting ſome, who on this occaſion entertained ſuſpicions of *Primus*, and charged him, as if, through treachery, he thus lingered, in conſequence of the letters ſecretly ſent him from *Vitellius*, with offers of the conſulſhip and of his daughter then marriageable, and with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from *Veſpaſian*. Others alledged, that all this charge was no more than a fiction, and that it was a reſolution concerted amongſt all the leaders, rather to terrify the city with a terrible diſplay of war, than to carry the war thither, ſince the chief ſtrength of the prætorian bands had already deſerted *Vitellius*, who was likewiſe precluded from receiving any reinforcements; ſo that it was preſumed he would quietly yield up the empire. But the true cauſe of ſo prepoſterous delay was, according to our hiſtorian, their waiting the coming of *Mucianus*, who was advancing full march with the forces of the eaſt, and by frequent letters retarded the motion of the conquering army, being ſtung with envy at the ſucceſs of *Primus*, and thinking that he ſhould be deprived of all ſhare in the glory of the war, were he not preſent at the entry into *Rome*. But the news, that the capitol was beſieged, rouſed *Primus*, and put the whole army in motion (74).

(74) *Idem*, *c.* 78).

treaty

treaty were cut off (B). The embaſſadors were ſcarce gone, when the whole army moved, advancing in three bodies to the walls of *Rome*, where the forces of *Vitellius* expected them, divided likewiſe into three bodies. The weak and unwarlike populace was routed at the firſt onſet; but *Vitellius*'s other troops, ſallying out againſt the enemy as they approached the walls of the city, attacked them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Primus*'s men ſtood their ground with equal reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the moſt cruel and bloody battle enſued that the *Romans* had ever ſuſtained. The conflict laſted ſeveral hours with various ſucceſs; but in the end proved favourable to *Primus*'s men, as ſuperior in the abilities of their leaders. The *Vitellians* were with great ſlaughter driven into the city, where they aſſembled again; and, though vanquiſhed and routed, renewed the battle with freſh vigour, and continued it to the cloſe of the day. The people gathered about the combatants as ſpectators; and as if they had been only attending the repreſentation of a fight exhibited for public amuſement, they ſometimes favoured one party, ſometimes another, with theatrical ſhouts and clappings: nay, as often as either ſide turned their backs, or particulars fled into houſes, or concealed themſelves in ſhops, they inſiſted upon their being dragged out and ſlain. The people, as *Tacitus* obſerves, were ſo little affected with this tragical ſpectacle, that at the ſame time were ſeen in one place cruel conflicts and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious banqueting and voluptuous revellings; every-where ſtreams of blood and heaps of carcaſes; and hard by wanton debauchees and lewd harlots: in ſhort, all the abominations of a moſt diſſolute and riotous peace, and all the barbarities of a moſt dreadful and cruel captivity. *Primus*'s men, having in the end prevailed and made themſelves maſters of the city, marched in the next place to ſtorm the camp of the prætorian guards, whither the moſt determined amongſt the enemy had retired. As they conſidered the camp as their laſt hope and reſource, they exerted their utmoſt efforts in defending it; and, though in number inferior, often repulſed the aggreſſors; and at length, when the gates, in ſpite of all oppoſition, were burſt open, uniting together,

Vitellius's men driven into the city;

which is taken with the camp.

(B) *Muſonius Ruſus*, by rank a *Roman* knight, by profeſſion a *Stoic*, joining himſelf to the embaſſadors, endeavoured, by philoſophical diſcourſes about the advantages of peace and the dangers attending war, to quell the fury of men in arms; but was derided by ſome, outrageouſly inſulted by others, and at laſt, partly by menaces, partly by the perſuaſions of the more moderate, prevailed upon to forbear his unſeaſonable leſſons of wiſdom (75).

(75) *Idem*, *c.* 81.

they made a laſt effort; but being overpowered by numbers, they all fell, facing the enemy and wounded only before [u].

Vitellius abandons the palace, but returns to it.

Vitellius, ſeeing the city taken, cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's houſe upon mount *Aventine*, with a deſign to lie there concealed during the day, and fly by night to his brother, then at *Terracina*. But as to one who is under dread, and fears all things, the preſent affairs ſeem moſt dangerous, he ſoon changed his mind and returned to the palace. *Suetonius* writes, that he altered his reſolution upon a groundleſs and uncertain report, that a treaty and a peace was concluded. Be that as it will, he found the palace now quite deſolate and abandoned; all his ſlaves and domeſtics having ſlipped away, or carefully avoiding to meet him. Terrified with the diſmal ſolitude and ſilence, he tried to enter ſeveral apartments; but finding them all ſhut, and being at laſt weary with ſuch miſerable and ſolitary wandering to and fro, he thruſt himſelf into the porter's lodge, and concealed himſelf behind the bed. In the mean time, a party of *Primus*'s men entering the place, ſearched all places and corners, till at laſt they diſcovered the emperor and dragged him out. As they knew him not, they inquired who he was, and whether he could acquaint them what was become of *Vitellius*. He deceived them at firſt; but being ſoon known by *Julius Placidus*, tribune of a prætorian band, he pretended to have matters of the utmoſt importance to impart to *Veſpaſian*, and with great earneſtneſs begged to be kept, though it were in priſon, till his arrival. But the tribune and ſoldiers, deaf to all intreaties, tied forthwith his hands behind him, threw a halter about his neck, rent all his apparel, and dragged him half-naked into the forum through the great ſtreet called the *Sacred Way*, forcing him, with their ſwords pointed at his throat, to hold up his head, and preſent his face to the indignities offered him by the rabble, who now reviled him in a moſt outrageous manner. They forced him to behold his own ſtatues thrown down, and to view the place where *Galba* had been murdered. While he was thus haled along, a *German* ſoldier meeting him, drew his ſword and diſcharged a violent blow, whether at *Vitellius* to revenge ſome former injury, or at the tribune, or to releaſe the emperor from inſults and deriſion, is uncertain. The tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himſelf inſtantly ſlain. *Vitellius* they puſhed forward, the populace the whole time upbraiding him with his gluttony, his *target of Minerva*, his lewdneſs, and even the imperfections of his body; for he was enormouſly

He is diſcovered,

Inſulted by the populace,

[u] Idem, c. 73—8_7. Dio. l. lxv. p. 742. Suet. c. 15. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

tall

tall, corpulent, and ſomewhat lame, having been hurt by a chariot, while he was attending *Caligula* at the races in the circus. He bore all the inſults and indignities offered him without uttering a ſingle word, except to the tribune, to whom, while he treated him in a manner altogether unbecoming, he anſwered, that nevertheleſs he had been his emperor. They dragged him at laſt to the *Gemoniæ*, the common charnel of malefactors, where the body of *Flavius Sabinus* had lain expoſed, and there with many wounds put an end to his unhappy life. His head was cut off, and carried on a pole through the chief ſtreets of the city. His body was dragged with a hook, and with all poſſible ignominy thrown into the *Tiber*, but afterwards buried by his widow *Galeria Fundana*. Thus died *Aulus Vitellius*, the ninth emperor of *Rome*, according to ſome in the fifty-fourth, according to others in the fifty-eighth, year of his age, after having reigned a year, wanting ten or twelve days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Cologn*, and eight months and a few days after the death of *Otho*. He was raiſed to the firſt dignities in the ſtate by no parts or merit of his own, but in regard of the luſtre of his family, which was one of the moſt conſpicuous in *Rome*. By his extravagant bounties and largeſſes, he gained the affections both of the ſoldiery and people. Of the former, many adhered to him with unſhaken fidelity to the laſt, tho', in the opinion of our hiſtorian, he had not one good quality to recommend him to ſuch as wiſhed well to the republic, having been ſtained, even from his tender years, with all manner of crimes and moſt infamous and abominable iniquities [w]. The day being already far ſpent, the ſenate could not be aſſembled, the ſenators and magiſtrates having either privately withdrawn from the city, or concealed themſelves in the houſes of their dependents. *Domitian*, apprehending now no further danger, preſented himſelf to the leaders of the party, and was by the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted *Cæſar*, and by them conducted in a kind of triumph to his father's houſe.

And executed.

Domitian *ſaluted* Cæſar.

IN the mean time, *Lucius Vitellius* was with his cohorts advancing from *Terracina* to the relief of his brother. The cavalry was therefore ſent forward to *Aricia*, and the legions ordered to advance to *Bovillæ*. But *Lucius* was no ſooner informed of the unhappy doom of the emperor, than he ſurrendered himſelf and his bands to the pleaſure of the conquerors. The ſoldiers were diſarmed and led through the city, guarded on each ſide by files of armed men, without betraying a ſupppliant look, or dropping a mean expreſſion, though outrageouſly

Lucius Vitellius *ſurrenders himſelf and his troops, and is put to death.*

[w] TACIT. c. 85, 86. SUET. c 4, 5, 15, 18. DIO. p. 743.

inſulted

inſulted by the mocking and petulant vulgar. They were all committed to priſon, but ſoon after releaſed. As for *Vitellius*, he was put to death; a puniſhment which he well deſerved, being no leſs addicted to all kinds of vices than his brother. But for all his vices, he wanted neither courage nor activity, and ſupported the cauſe with great reſolution and vigilance [x]. By the death of the emperor and his brother, war was rather ſeen to ceaſe, than peace to commence; for the conquerors, continuing in arms, hunted all over the city after the conquered, filling with carnage and mangled bodies the ſtreets, the places of public reſort, the temples, and even the private houſes, which they burſt open and pillaged, pretending, that there ſome *Vitellians* were concealed. The indigent part of the populace failed not to join the ſoldiers in the general violence and ſpoil; ſo that on all hands nothing was heard but diſmal complaints and outcries, and nothing ſeen but the dreadful calamities of a city ſtormed and ſacked. *Domitian*, who already enjoyed the name and reſidence of *Cæſar*, inſtead of ſtriving to check the inſolence of the ſoldiery, attended his infamous pleaſures, and only by his diſſolute life ſhewed himſelf the ſon of an emperor. *Primus*, in whoſe hands the whole power was lodged, made uſe of it only to plunder more freely, being wholly taken up in conveying from the palace treaſure, moveables, and domeſtic ſlaves, as if he were ſtill ſeizing the ſpoil of *Cremona*. When the fury of the ſoldiers began to abate, the ſenate met, and confirmed the ſovereignty of *Veſpaſian*, decreeing to him with great alacrity all the titles and prerogatives ever inveſted in former princes. They declared him conſul, giving him his ſon *Titus* for collegue in that dignity: *Domitian* they honoured with the prætorſhip and conſular authority: they preſented *Primus* with the conſular ornaments, and *Cornelius Fuſcus* and *Arrius Varus* with thoſe of the prætorſhip. All theſe decrees were paſſed at the motion of *Valerius Aſiaticus*, conſul elect [y].

The miſerable condition of the city.

The ſovereignty of Veſpaſian *acknowledged by the ſenate.*

During theſe commotions in *Italy*, the *Batavians* revolted, under the conduct of the celebrated *Claudius Civilis*; but of the cauſes and events of this war, which continued long, we ſhall ſpeak in the following reign. The people of *Dacia* too roſe up in arms; a people never well-affected to the *Romans*, and then by no forces reſtrained, ſince the army was withdrawn out of *Mœſia*. They ſtormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary cohorts, paſſed the *Danube*, and were proceeding to demoliſh the entrenchments of the legions, when *Mucianus* happened to march through *Mœſia* with the forces of the eaſt. As that commander was already appriſed of the victory at *Cremona*, he

The Dacians *in arms are quelled by* Mucianus

[x] Tacit. l. iv. c. 2. [y] Idem ibid.

detached

detached the ſixth legion to oppoſe the barbarians, and appointed *Fonteius Agrippa* governor of *Mœſia*, with part of the troops which had ſurrendered at *Cremona*, and which it was thought adviſeable to engage in a foreign war, that they might not diſturb domeſtic peace. *Agrippa* obliged the enemy to repaſs the *Danube*; and, to prevent any farther attempts of the like nature, built a great number of forts on the banks of the *Danube*, and ſtrengthened them with numerous gariſons. In *Pontus* likewiſe great diſturbances were raiſed by one *Anicetus*, formerly freedman to king *Polemon*, under him in great power, and commander of the royal navy. As he was highly provoked againſt the *Romans* for changing the kingdom into a province, which happened in the reign of *Nero*, and by that means depriving him of all his authority, he laid hold of the preſent opportunity, and, levying forces under colour of aſſiſting *Vitellius*, ſeized the city of *Trebizond*, burnt the fleet which guarded the coaſts, and, entering into an alliance with the neighbouring barbarians, ſcoured the ſea with ſcorn and inſult, and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Aſia*. Againſt him *Veſpaſian* ſent a choice body of legionaries, under the command of *Virdius Geminus*, an officer diſtinguiſhed in war; who, attacking the enemy while they were roving about in queſt of booty, drove them into their veſſels; then, with ſome galleys built with great expedition, chaced *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he relied upon the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, a people of *Colchis*. That prince ſeemed at firſt determined to defend his ally; but, as ſoon as a reward for his treachery was propoſed and a war threatened, he betrayed *Anicetus* and all his followers to the conqueror. Thus ended that ſervile war; and *Veſpaſian* received an account of the ſucceſs which had attended his arms, a few days before the joyful tidings were brought him of the great victory gained by his forces at *Cremona* [z].

Diſturbances in Pontus.

Anicetus taken.

[z] TACIT. l. iii. c. 46, 47.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

From the death of Vitellius, *to the death of* Domitian, *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *in whom ended the* Flavian *family.*

The deſcent, birth, and actions of Veſpaſian, *before he attained the ſovereignty.*

THE *Flavian* family, now raiſed to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, was no-ways conſpicuous, either for its luſtre or antiquity. *Titus Flavius*, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, in the country of the *Sabines*; and in the civil wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, ſerved under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of *Pharſalia*; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himſelf to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His ſon, *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, followed the ſame profeſſion, and acquitted himſelf in it with ſuch integrity, that by ſeveral cities of *Aſia*, where he was collector of the tax called *quadrageſima*, ſtatues were erected to him with this inſcription, *To the honeſt publican.* Afterwards he withdrew into the country of the *Helvetii*, where he acquired a conſiderable fortune by lending money upon intereſt. He married *Veſpaſia Polla*, whoſe father had been military tribune and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, *Sabinus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and *Veſpaſian*, who was born on the ſeventeenth of *November* of the ninth year of the common chriſtian æra; that is, five years before the death of *Auguſtus*; ſo that he was raiſed to the empire in the ſixtieth year of his age. He was, amongſt many other new men choſen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the ſenate by the emperor *Caligula*. He indeed at firſt declined that dignity, but was at laſt, in a manner, conſtrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards ſerved in quality of military tribune in *Thrace*, was quæſtor of the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Crete*, ædile, and prætor. He attended the emperor *Claudius* into *Britain*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner, as we have related in the reign of that prince. He was conſul during the two laſt months of the eleventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and by *Nero* appointed governor of *Africa* in quality of

of proconſul he married *Flavia Domitilla*, a native of *Africa*, at firſt ſlave to *Statilius Capella*, but afterwards manumiſed and made free of the city. By her he had two ſons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named *Domitilla*, who died, as did alſo her mother, before his acceſſion to the empire. *Veſpaſian* was, as *Tacitus* obſerves, of all the emperors the only one by power changed for the better. While he was in a private ſtation, he uſed to court the favour of the princes by the meaneſt flattery. During his prætorſhip he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary ſports in honour of *Caligula*, on account of the pretended victory in *Germany*. He was one of the few ſycophants who were of opinion, that thoſe who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt that prince ſhould be publicly executed, and that their bodies ſhould be left unburied. In the preſence of the whole ſenate he returned *Caligula* thanks for having done him the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to *Narciſſus*, the freedman of *Claudius*, for the conſulſhip, and the two ſacerdotal dignities which he enjoyed; what dignities theſe were, we are no-where told. After the death of *Narciſſus*, his great patron, he withdrew and led a private life, dreading the violent ſpirit of *Agrippina*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to that miniſter and all his friends. It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by *Nero* appointed proconſul of *Africa*, in which government he acquitted himſelf, according to *Suetonius* [a], with honour and integrity; according to *Tacitus* [b], with ignominy and public hatred. The former writer acknowledges, that, during a ſedition at *Adrumetum*, he was outrageouſly inſulted by the populace; and, on the other hand, it is well known, that no province eſpouſed the cauſe of *Vitellius*, and oppoſed the preferment of *Veſpaſian*, with more ardour than that of *Africa*; a manifeſt proof that his government had not been popular. Soon after his return from *Africa*, his affairs being in a bad condition and his credit at ſtake, he was obliged to mortgage his houſe and poſſeſſions to his brother *Sabinus*, and in the mean time to ſupport himſelf and his family with the mean gain he earned by ſelling and changing horſes, nay, and by other means ſtill more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the ſum of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, for employing his intereſt in procuring him a place in the ſenate, againſt the inclination and expreſs will of his father. He attended *Nero* into *Achaia*, where he incurred that prince's diſpleaſure, and was forbid the court, for his inattention while the emperor was ſinging; a crime, which had nigh coſt him his life

[a] SUET. in Veſp. c. 4. [b] TACIT. l. ii. c. 37.

at *Rome*, as we have related elſewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every moment his laſt doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by *Nero* to command in the war againſt the *Jews*, as a perſon of great military abilities, and one, who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage. He was therefore ſent into *Judæa* with three legions, eight ſquadrons of horſe, and ten auxiliary cohorts, his ſon *Titus* ſerving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the courſe of that war, which proved ſo fatal to the *Jewiſh* nation, *Veſpaſian* acquired ſignal reputation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a ſoldier, he was indefatigable: it was he who always led the march; he who always choſe the ground for incamping. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he ſpent nights and days, and was ever ready upon any exigency to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and dreſs he varied little from a common ſoldier. In ſhort, had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equalled the moſt famous commanders of antient times. With that vice he is charged by moſt writers; among the reſt by *Tacitus*, who owed to him his firſt promotion in the ſtate; but nevertheleſs declares, as becomes an impartial hiſtorian, againſt admitting perſonal hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*, while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the ſovereignty, he began to cheriſh hopes of obtaining it himſelf, relying on ſeveral prodigies, prophecies, and propitious reſponſes of oracles (C). Of the many predictions,

His character as a general.

(C) The antients take notice of many prodigies preſaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, ſays *Tacitus* (10), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypreſs-tree, ſignally tall, fell ſuddenly; but the day following roſe again, and reſumed freſh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring teſtimonies of the ſoothſayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the ſtate; yet at firſt the whole preſage ſeemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of conſul, and by his renown in vanquiſhing the *Jews*. But when he had paſſed through thoſe honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing preſaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the anſwer returned him by *Baſilides*, prieſt of the god *Carmel*, ſo called from mount *Carmel*, on which ſtood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* obſerves, not diſtinguiſhed by any ſtatue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Veſpaſian* offered ſacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Baſilides* the prieſt, having diligently ſur-

(10) *Tacit. l.* ii. *c.* 78.

veyed

ons, that of *Joſephus* the hiſtorian is the moſt famous, who ſaluted *Veſpaſian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero*'s reign, and aſſured him, he ſhould be ſoon inveſted with the ſovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himſelf [c], but likewiſe by *Suetonius* [d], who tells us, that *Joſephus*, being by *Veſpaſian*'s orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a ſhort time he ſhould by him be ſet at liberty; but that he ſhould be emperor firſt. However, that the empire was by the dark laws of fate, by predictions, and prophecies, foretold and ordained to *Veſpaſian* and his ſons, was, ſays *Tacitus*, what we believed, after we had ſeen them emperors [e]. *Veſpaſian*, being encouraged by *Mucianus*, governor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not to neglect the preſent opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the moſt unworthy, were contending for the empire, he at length yielded, as we have already related, and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the firſt of *July* of the ſixty-ninth year of the chriſtian æra; on the third of the ſame month in *Judæa*, where he then was; on the fifteenth in *Syria*; and a few days after in all the provinces of the eaſt. He was not in himſelf any-ways changed by ſo ſudden and ſo mighty a turn of fortune: no loftineſs appeared in his aſpect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour, under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raiſing ſome to military commands, others to be governors of provinces, ſeveral to the rank of ſenators, moſt of them men of ſignal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the higheſt honours in the ſtate. As he thought it below him to court the ſoldiers by largeſſes, he promiſed them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he eſtabliſhed at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was reſolved, that *Titus* ſhould purſue the war againſt the *Jews*, and

Is acknowledged emperor in the eaſtern provinces.

[c] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. [d] SUET. c. 5. [e] TACIT. l. i c. 86. & l. ii. c. 78.

veyed the intrails, addreſſed him thus: Whatever deſign it is which you meditate, O *Veſpaſian*, whether to build a houſe, or extend your domains, or to inlarge your train of ſlaves, to you is granted a mighty and large ſettlement, infinite bounds, and multitudes of men. Theſe myſterious words were immediately ſpread abroad by fame, and by all explained as prefaging the empire to *Veſpaſian*. Many reſponſes of oracles and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (11), and *Dion Caſſius* (12); but we ſhall not treſpaſs upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(11) *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 5. (12) *Dio. l.* lxvi. *p* 744.

Mucianus march with part of the forces againſt *Vitellius*. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*, with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Mucianus*, made himſelf maſter of *Rome* and all *Italy*, and cauſed the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which tranſactions we have already related at length. In the mean time, *Veſpaſian*, having paſſed ſome time at *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he haſtened to *Alexandria*, with a deſign to diſtreſs *Rome* by famine, ſince from *Egypt* chiefly the city was ſupplied with corn. He was at the ſame time preparing to invade *Africa* by ſea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their proviſions, the calamity of hunger, with that of diſſenſion. But, in the mean time, many perſons of all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of *Vitellius*; which were no ſooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithſtanding it was then winter, to court the favour of the new emperor; inſomuch, that *Alexandria*, the greateſt city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too ſmall for the vaſt numbers of embaſſadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, &c. who flocked thither. Among the reſt, embaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes* king of *Parthia*, who offered to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand *Parthian* horſe. *Veſpaſian* returned him thanks, and, deſiring he would ſend embaſſadors to the ſenate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-eſtabliſhed in peace [f]. The news of the death of *Vitellius* made *Veſpaſian* alter his meaſures; for inſtead of diſtreſſing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he diſpatched thither a great number of veſſels laden with corn; which arrived very ſeaſonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public ſtores above ten days proviſion of grain [g]. As the winter-ſeaſon was far advanced, *Veſpaſian* continued ſome months at *Alexandria*, waiting a ſafe paſſage from the gentle weather returning with the ſummer.

Receives news of the fate of Vitellius.

Mucianus *arrives at* Rome.

In the mean time, *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Joſephus* [h], the day after the death of *Vitellius*, and in a moment drew to himſelf, as he had been inveſted by *Veſpaſian* with an uncontrouled power, the whole ſway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a ſtrange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtineſs and complaiſ-

His character.

[f] Idem, l. iv. c. 51. Joseph. ibid. l. iv. c. 42. [g] Dio. Val. p. 702. Tacit. ibid. [h] Joseph. bell. l. iv. c. 42.

ance;

ance; when unemployed, exceſſively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when buſineſs required them. Hence his equal ſhare of praiſe and reproach; as a public miniſter admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. He was a great maſter in the ſeveral arts of engaging, an able orator, well verſed in civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing events, dexterous at concerting ſchemes, mighty in credit with thoſe who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in ſhort, ſuch a man as could eaſier create an emperor than be one. *Veſpaſian*, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, inveſted him with an unlimited power, and is even ſaid to have truſted him with his ſignet, as if he had been his partner in the ſovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's collegue, than as a ſubordinate miniſter. Quite ſunk was the power of *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well diſſemble his animoſity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herſelf to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addreſſes were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but incompaſſed with guards, and attended with an equipage becoming a ſovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions of ſovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he cauſed *Aſiaticus*, the late emperor's freedman, to atone for his late wicked ſway, by ſuffering the death of a ſlave. His doom was by every one expected and even wiſhed for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occaſioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the ſon of *Caius Piſo*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aſpired at the ſovereignty; but had himſelf no ſhare in that conſpiracy, nor had ever offered to diſturb the ſtate. However, as he was of an illuſtrious family, of a graceful perſon, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the cuſtody of a band of ſoldiers, ſent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins opened [1].

He bears univerſal ſway.

He cauſes Calpurnius Galerianus *to be murdered.*

WHILE *Mucianus* was thus ruling with abſolute ſway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war againſt the *Romans* with ſtupendous ſucceſs in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we ſhall here, as in its proper place (for it was happily concluded this year, the firſt of *Veſpaſian*'s reign), briefly recount the cauſes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the ſame people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being

[1] TACIT. l. iv. c. 11. JOSEPH. l. v. c. 42.

driven

The Batavians *revolt from the* Romans, *under the conduct of* Claudius Civilis.

driven thence by a domeſtic inſurrection, ſettled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an iſland formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*. According to this deſcription, the *Batavians* poſſeſſed *South Holland*, part of the country of *Utrecht*, and the iſland of *Betaw*, in the dukedom of *Guelderland*. They were not ſubjects, but allies, of the *Romans*, being obliged to aſſiſt them only with troops commanded by men of the firſt rank amongſt them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exerciſed in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. Theſe *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great ſhare they had in the victory at *Bebriacum*; but proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviſeable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal deſcent, greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in credit and quality. The former was ſlain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falſly charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons and ſent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and ſet at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treaſon: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen againſt them. However, as he was a man of great addreſs, leſt the *Romans* ſhould look upon him as a public enemy, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to ſtop and drive back the forces ſummoned to ſuccour *Vitellius*. *Civilis* therefore, determined to revolt, but, concealing for the preſent his main drift, contented himſelf with diverting the *Batavian* youth from liſting themſelves, purſuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he aſſembled the chiefs of the nation and the moſt daring amongſt the populace, in a ſacred grove, where, when they had carouſed till far in the night, and were warmed and bold, he acquainted them with his real deſign, diſplayed the praiſes and renown of their nation, enumerated the inſults they had ſuffered, the oppreſſion they groaned under, and all the miſeries attending upon a ſtate of ſervitude. As he was heard with great applauſe, he bound them all with many barbarous ceremonies in a combination. He then diſpatched meſ-

Civilis *is joined by the* Caninefates *and* Friſians.

ſengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the iſland, to engage them in the ſame cauſe and aſſociation. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his meaſures; and chuſing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and being joined by the *Friſians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter incampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the ſtrong-holds in the iſland, and maſſacred all the *Roman* victuallers

victuallers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the maſk, and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Friſians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilius*, had retired to the upper part of the iſland. The conflict was ſcarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who ſerved under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the ſame time, the *Roman* fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four veſſels, the rowers being for the moſt part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's ſhore. By this means the *Roman* forces were eaſily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the *Germans* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Civilis*, with offers of ſuccours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Lupercus* to march out forthwith againſt the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a ſquadron of *Batavian* horſe, men long ſince debauched in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning great zeal for their cauſe, purpoſely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly the two armies having joined battle, the *Batavian* cavalry, deſerting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to *Civilis*; then inſtantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, through preſſed on all ſides, ſtill kept their ranks and ſtood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themſelves to a ſcandalous flight, diſperſing all over the fields. Againſt them the *Batavians* bent their fury and purſuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with ſafety to the *old camp*, which, as we have obſerved in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by moſt geographers near the preſent city of *Stanten* in the dutchy of *Cleves*. About the ſame time, the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen and the advantages by them already gained, returned and took their rout towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppoſe the paſſage of the *Batavians* at the head of three thouſand legionaries and ſome cohorts haſtily raiſed; but was by them defeated with great ſlaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologn*, purſued their march, without committing any hoſtilities, and joined *Civilis*, who ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a regular army, but ſtill dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to ſwear allegiance to *Veſpaſian*, and diſpatched embaſſadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take

Puts the Romans to flight.

Eight Batavian cohorts go over to Civilis.

the

the ſame oath. The anſwer they returned was, That they would not follow the counſels of a known traitor, nor thoſe of a public enemy; and that a *Batavian* fugitive muſt not interfere in the affairs of the *Roman* ſtate, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this anſwer, rouſed to arms the whole *Batavian* nation, and, being joined by the *Bructerans* and the *Tencterans*, attacked the camp with a numberleſs multitude and a fury hardly to be expreſſed. But the *Romans*, though ſcarce five thouſand men, made ſo vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, deſpairing of ſucceſs by the method of force and ſtorming, changed his meaſures, and blocked them up on all ſides, not doubting, but they would be ſoon conſtrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, underſtanding that the camp was beſieged, immediately diſpatched *Dillius Vocula*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful ſuccours to the relief of the two legions. But while theſe two commanders were ſtill incamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a ſmall village near *Ordingen*, in the territory of *Cologn*, news was brought him of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremona*; whereupon the officers immediately declared for *Veſpaſian*, forced the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him, and ſent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and deſire him to lay down his arms and diſband his troops, if with them he meant to aſſiſt *Veſpaſian*, ſince they all had already acknowledged him emperor. But *Civilis* had ſomething elſe in view, and therefore openly declared, that he would never ſheath his ſword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans*; and that inſtant diſpatched againſt *Vocula* the veteran cohorts and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus* and and *Claudius Victor*, huſband to his ſiſter. Theſe coming upon the *Romans* quite unprepared, put them to flight and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in the mean time, ſome *Gaſcon* bands, lately raiſed by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilſt earneſtly purſuing the defeat, filled them with diſmay, and inſpired the *Romans* with freſh courage; ſo that they returned to the charge, and, with the aſſiſtance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the braveſt men of the *Batavian* infantry were cut off; but their horſe eſcaped with the *Roman* ſtandards and priſoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched againſt the enemy beſieging the old camp, and, after a moſt bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall of his horſe,

Civilis *beſieges the old camp.*

Defeats Vocula *the* Roman *commander, and is defeated by the* Vaſcones.

horſe, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerouſly wounded, or ſlain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, when broken and in diſorder, applied himſelf to fortify the old camp; and, having ſtrengthened it with ſome new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Noveſium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay incamped with part of the army. But *Vocula* was ſcarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid ſiege to the old camp, and advancing with a ſtrong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himſelf maſter of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Noveſium*. But, in the mean time, the ſoldiers began to mutiny, and claim preſent payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money was already ſent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but diſtributed the money in the name of *Veſpaſian*. The ſoldiers no ſooner received it, than they abandoned themſelves without controul to debauchery and good chear, to nocturnal revellings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their antient fury and rage againſt *Hordeonius*, who was by them ſuſpected of favouring *Civilis*, becauſe, from a mind well diſpoſed towards *Veſpaſian*, he had not oppoſed his firſt attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage they violently burſt into the bed-chamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have undergone the ſame fate, had he not made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a ſlave. They then reſtored the images of *Vitellius*, tore thoſe of *Veſpaſian*, and committed, during that night, innumerable diſorders. But their rage being appeaſed upon the return of day, dread and conſciouſneſs took place; the firſt, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were eaſily reclaimed by *Vocula*, and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Veſpaſian*, againſt *Civilis*, who had laid ſiege to *Moguntiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival the beſiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans* coming up with them, as they marched careleſly and appriſed of no danger, fell upon them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſperſed and diſorderly multitude [k].

The Roman *ſoldiers mutiny.*

Murder Hordeonius Flaccus *their general.*

IN the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both theſe nations ruſhed into open hoſtilities againſt the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Cattans*, *Uſipians*, *Mattiacians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying hold of the preſent opportunity,

The Gauls *revolt.*

[k] TACIT. l. iv. c. 12—36.

portunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by ſuch ſucceſſive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, being ſtrongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the diſſolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they ſaid, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but the manſion of *Jupiter* having eſcaped, the empire had thence continued to ſubſiſt. The *Druids* too animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the empire of the world was portended. The chief ſway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Claſſicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Treverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. Theſe three, having in private conferences ſounded the minds of the reſt, and engaged in their deſigns ſuch as they judged proper, came at length to a reſolution of throwing off all diſguiſes, and openly declaring againſt *Rome*. The only heſitation which occurred was, how to diſpoſe of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for maſſacring them all, others for putting to the ſword only their commanders, ſince the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be eaſily inticed into the confederacy. The latter opinion prevailed; and this was the ſubſtance of their firſt conſultation. The conſpirators then diſpatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouſe them to war; but, in the mean time, feigned great obſequiouſneſs and reſpect to *Vocula*, who was well appriſed of their deſigns; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to diſſemble in his turn, and to purſue the ſame artifices which were purſued againſt him. With this view he repaired to *Cologn*; but *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horſe, incamping by themſelves and ſeparating the firſt time from the legions, he returned back, and with the legions alone proceeded to *Noveſium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place. To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hoſtilities were not yet begun on either ſide, daily reſorted great numbers of *Roman* ſoldiers; and there, as they found themſelves ſurrounded with terrors on all ſides, they agreed to purchaſe their own ſafety, by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*, which was to ſwear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and promiſe either to murder or deliver up in chains their officers. *Vocula* was not unappriſed of what paſſed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, aſſembled the ſoldiery, and having in vain attempted to divert them from ſo monſtrous an iniquity, he retired with a deſign to put a preſent period to his life; but being reſtrained by his freedmen and ſlaves, he was ſoon after murdered by *Æmilius Longinus*, a deſerter from the firſt legion, ſent by *Claſſicus* for that purpoſe. His lieutenants, *Herennius* and *Numiſius*, were only

The Roman *legions murder* Vocula, *and ſwear allegiance to the* Gauls.

only put in irons. After this, *Claſſicus*, aſſuming the badges of a *Roman* magiſtrate, entered the camp, and adminiſtered the new oath to the legions there, every one ſwearing allegiance to the ſovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Claſſicus* was ſhared the charge of managing the war. The former laid ſiege to *Cologn*, and forced the inhabitants to take the ſame oath, as he did all the ſoldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Claſſicus* ſtrove to gain over by fair promiſes the two legions that were ſhut up in the antient camp, and were obliged, for want of proviſions, after having conſumed in food their horſes and other beaſts of burden, to ſupport themſelves by plucking ſhrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which ſprouted amongſt the ſtones of the walls. But at length, upon ſo much glory and patience, they brought a foul ſtain, by ſending deputies to *Civilis* to beg their lives. Neither were their ſupplications received, till they had ſworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reſerved the plunder of the camp to himſelf, appointing guards to ſecure the money, ſlaves and baggage, and others to convoy the ſoldiers thus departing diveſted of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* ruſhed upon them out of an ambuſh, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in firebrands, ſet on fire, ſo that ſuch of the unhappy *Romans*, as had ſurvived the late ſlaughter, were now all to a man conſumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the ſucceſs of his arms, ſoon reduced all the neighbouring cities, ſome of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power [1].

Cologn *and other cities take the ſame oath.*

IN the mean time, *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*; and, leading a huge hoſt of his countrymen the *Lingones*, ſuddenly invaded the adjacent ſtate of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but being by them put to flight, in order to raiſe a report that he had periſhed, he ſet on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means ſaved his life yet for nine years. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him in the ſequel of this hiſtory. By this victory of the *Sequanians* the fury of the war was ſtayed in *Gaul*. The ſeveral ſtates began by degrees to recover coolneſs and judgment, the reſt following the example of the people of *Rheims*, who publiſhed all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for aſſembling their ſeveral deputies, to conſult which conduced moſt to the good of the whole, war or peace. The aſſembly was held at *Rheims*,

Julius Sabinus *defeated.*

[1] TACIT. c. 67. JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 11.

where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the embaſſadors of the *Treverians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was oppoſed by *Julius Auſpex*, one of the chiefs in the ſtate of *Rheims*, who diſplayed at length the power of the *Romans* and the bleſſings of peace. They all extolled the courage and reſolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counſel of *Auſpex*, moſt of them being deterred from purſuing a general confederacy, by the mutual jealouſy and competition of the ſeveral provinces. It was aſked, Where muſt be the head of the war? whither muſt they recur for ſupreme authority? and, ſhould all their purſuits proſper, what place would they chuſe for the ſeat of empire? Some boaſted their alliances, ſome their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all theſe each claimed ſuperior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquieſce in their preſent condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately diſpatched in the name of the ſtates of *Gaul*, adviſing them to lay down their arms, while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if they ſhewed remorſe. But *Valentinus*, a better ſpeaker than commander, oppoſed this counſel, and ſhut the ears of the nation againſt it. What chiefly diſpoſed the *Gauls* to peace was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march againſt them, conſiſting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two ſignal commanders, *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had diſpatched from *Rome* to put a ſtop to the further conqueſts of *Civilis* and *Claſſicus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having at the head of ſome auxiliary cohorts forced a paſſage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themſelves the twenty-firſt legion, and the ſquadron of horſe ſurnamed the *Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*; but hated by his uncle, and hating him. With theſe forces *Felix* attacked and routed the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen*, and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercatians*, and the *Nemetians*, to deſert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himſelf maſter of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the preſent city of *Baſel*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Veſpaſian*; and leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Metz*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time, *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Moguntiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was poſted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigol*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever ſoldiers he found at *Moguntiacum*, with the forces he had

The Gauls *reſolve upon peace.*

The Treverians *routed by* Sextilius Felix;

had brought over the *Alps*; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' inclosed by the mountains and the river *Moſelle*, and ſtrengthened with deep trenches and barricades of huge ſtones. The *Treverians* fought for ſome time with great reſolution; but were in the end forced to abandon their camp, and ſave themſelves by flight over the mountains. The *Romans* purſued them, and in the purſuit took many perſons of great diſtinction, and amongſt them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves*; which city the ſoldiers were paſſionate for razing, as the birth-place of *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his ſoldiers to licentiouſneſs and cruelty, checked their rage; for ſince the civil wars had ceaſed, the ſoldiery were more tractable in ſuch as were foreign. Their attention was likewiſe diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared ſad and dejected, keeping their eyes immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by ſilence and weeping, till *Cerealis* comforted them, aſcribing their deſertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and aſſuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their paſt offences. At the ſame time he cauſed an order to be publiſhed throughout the camp, that no one ſhould, upon any diſpute, reproach his fellow ſoldier with mutiny or deſertion [m].

And by Cerealis, *who takes* Valentinus *their general.*

The return of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the Gauls.

IN the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Claſſicus*, having from different quarters aſſembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and ſeized the bridge of communication over the *Moſelle* in the midſt of the city. News of this general rout and havock being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, nay in his bed, (for he paſſed not the night in the camp) he ſtarted up, and, undaunted by all this confuſion and diſtreſs, ſtrove with his own hand to ſtop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and heading ſuch as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and ſecured it by a guard of armed men. Then haſtening to the camp, and there rallying the diſperſed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the ſame day forced their intrenchments, and recovered the city of *Cologn*, where he found the wife and ſiſter of *Civilis* with the ſon of *Claſſicus* [o]. *Civilis*, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, poſted himſelf in the old camp, where he was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the acceſſion of three legions. But as the fields round about were naturally

The Roman *intrenchments ſurpriſed and taken.*

The gallant conduct of Cerealis.

[m] TACIT. c. 71—77. [o] TACIT. c. 78.

turally marſhy, and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the courſe of the *Rhine*, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the *Romans* were eaſily repulſed, and their cavalry put to flight by ſome *German* ſquadrons ſallying out againſt them. By the iſſue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the iſſue of a general battle; *Civilis* eager to purſue his good fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his diſhonour. Accordingly the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and reſolution. After the conflict had laſted many hours, the *Germans* were in the end put to flight, and the war had been finiſhed that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching and a ſudden ſtorm, from purſuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis* withdrew to the iſland of the *Batavians*: *Claſſicus*, *Tutor*, and a hundred and thirteen ſenators of *Treves* croſſed the *Rhine* to raiſe new forces; wherein they were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſoon after they returned with a vaſt multitude, and at the ſame time made a fourfold aſſault upon the *Roman* forces poſted at *Arenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wageningen*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerſtede*. They were every-where repulſed with great ſlaughter, and forced to caſt themſelves precipitately into the river. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the *Roman* ſoldiers, while, appriſed of no danger, they were repoſing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half awake and almoſt naked, eſcaped through a miſtake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ſhip, diſtinguiſhed by its flag, from a belief that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had paſſed that night elſewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Cologn*. The centinels borrowed an excuſe for their negligence from the diſhonour of their general, alledging, that they were injoined to keep ſilence for fear of interrupting his repoſe; ſo that, as ſpeaking was reſtrained, they had dropped aſleep. But, notwithſtanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own iſland, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the iſland of the *Batavians*; but, through policy uſual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the ſame time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promiſe of pardon, which he reſolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the deſolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to puniſhment. Having therefore deſired a conference, the bridge upon

Civilis receives a total overthrow.

He ſurpriſes the Romans *in their camp.*

But is obliged in the end to abandon his own iſland, and ſubmit to the Romans.

upon the river *Wahal* was broken down in the middle; and the two generals ſtepping forwards on each ſide, ſtood upon the oppoſite extremities. The iſſue of this conference was, as we learn from *Joſephus*, the reſt of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory being loſt, an entire ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and an unreſerved pardon on the other. The *Batavians* remained in the ſame condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to ſupply the *Romans* with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty [p].

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* commenced conſuls, the former the ſecond time, and both abſent. The ſenate was therefore aſſembled on the firſt of *January* by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks ſhould be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having eſpouſed with ſo much zeal the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorſhip, for having forſaken his legion, when it was about to declare for *Veſpaſian*, and transferred that dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Veſpaſian*'s freedman, they conferred the equeſtrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* reſigned, for what motive we are no-where told, his office, which was aſſumed by *Domitian*, whoſe name was prefixed to all letters and edicts, but the whole ſway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the inſtigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will [q]. Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that in one day he diſpoſed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces; and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his ſon, returned him thanks for not having diſplaced him too, and ſent one to ſucceed him. But *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the ſoldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was beſides reported to have ſolicited *Scribonianus Craſſus*, the brother of *Piſo* whom *Galba* had adopted, to aſſume the ſovereignty. *Mucianus* therefore, ſeeing he could not openly cruſh *Primus*, pretended a great friendſhip and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praiſes upon him in the ſenate, made him great promiſes in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hither Spain*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he diſmiſſed the ſeventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter-quarters, at a great diſtance from *Rome*; and at the ſame time ſent the third legion back into *Syria*, and

[p] JOSEPH. bell Jud l. ii. c 11. [q] TACIT. l iv. c. 39.

the

the reſt of the forces into *Germany*, to ſerve there under *Cerealis*. Having by this means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and diſburdened the city of thoſe who were apt to raiſe tumults and diſorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws reſumed their force, and the magiſtrates their wonted functions [r].

Domitian *goes the firſt time to the ſenate.*

Domitian, appearing now for the firſt time in the ſenate, ſpoke, in few words and with great modeſty, of the abſence of his father and that of his brother, and alſo concerning his own youth and inſufficiency. Then he propoſed, that all the honours which had been beſtowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, ſhould be reſtored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that ſome public honour ſhould be likewiſe paid to the memory of *Piſo*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piſo* nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commiſſioners, who were to cauſe reſtitution to be made of whatever had been uſurped by violence during the war, and to reſtrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as ſoon as it was known that he had fled to *Veſpaſian*, the office of prætor was reſtored; but *Griphus* ſtill retained the enſigns of that dignity. Before the aſſembly broke up, one of the ſenators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made ſuit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the ſenate the regiſters of the late emperors, that they might thence diſcover who had ſolicited to be admitted accuſers, and againſt whom. But the young prince judiciouſly replied, that in an affair of this ſort the ſentiments of the emperor muſt be firſt learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuſer of the celebrated *Sorranus Borea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impreſſions of all reſentment, and forget the grievances ariſing from the neceſſity of the late times, all further proſecutions were dropt [s].

Mucianus *ſpeaks in behalf of the accuſers.*

This year *Mucianus* ordered the ſon of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil diſcord would never ceaſe, unleſs the ſeeds of war were utterly extinguiſhed.

Antonius Primus *repairs to* Veſpaſian.

He treated *Antonius Primus* with ſuch haughtineſs, that he forced him to retire from *Rome* and recur to *Veſpaſian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendſhip or diſfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one ſide ſwayed by the great ſervices of that commander, by whoſe conduct the war was accompliſhed, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the ſame time combined to diſgrace him, charging him with arrogance, over-bearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raiſe to himſelf new enemies by his haughty car-

[r] Idem, c. 11. [s] Idem, c. 40—44.

riage

riage; for with exceſſive oſtentation he uſed to recount his own exploits and deſerts, treating the other commanders with the utmoſt contempt, eſpecially *Cæcina*, whom he uſed to revile as a captive, and a man of no ſpirit, who had tamely ſubmitted. Hence by degrees he ſunk in his character; but from the emperor retained to the laſt ſome appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by the antient writers. *Mucianus* likewiſe diſplaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and to make him ſome amends for the loſs of this employment, beſtowed upon him another, that of ſupplying the city with grain, which had been formerly diſcharged by perſons of the firſt quality. To ſoften *Domitian*, who had a great kindneſs for *Varus*, he beſtowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the houſe of *Veſpaſian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had diſcharged the ſame truſt with great credit under *Caligula*, whence his name was well-pleaſing to the ſoldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a *Roman* knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a ſenator[t].

Veſpaſian, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, where he is ſaid to have worked ſome miracles. A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, proſtrating himſelf at his feet, implored a cure for his want of ſight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beſeech him, that with his ſpittle he would condeſcend to waſh his cheeks, and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the ſame god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Veſpaſian* at firſt derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one ſide the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes, through the intreaties of the ſuppliants, and the arguments of flatterers. At length, conſidering himſelf as an inſtrument choſen by the gods to accompliſh the cure, he undertook the taſk with a chearful countenance, before a vaſt multitude intent upon the iſſue. Inſtantly the lame hand recovered full ſtrength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. *Tacitus* aſſures us, that even in his time both theſe events continued to be recounted and averred by thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Veſpaſian* was hence ſeized with an eager deſire of viſiting the reſidence of the deity, in order to conſult him about the ſtate and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himſelf. While he was there, he ſuddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Baſi-*

Veſpaſian works ſome miracles.

[t] Idem. c. 68.

lides, ſtanding by him, though he knew him to be then at a great diſtance from *Alexandria*, and confined by ſickneſs. However, he examined the prieſts, whether *Baſilides* had that day entered the temple; aſked ſuch as he met, whether he had been ſeen in the city; then by horſemen, purpoſely diſpatched, he fully learnt, that *Baſilides* was at that inſtant eighty miles from thence [u]. St. *Auſtin*, without queſtioning the truth of theſe facts, atteſted by ſeveral writers of great authority, obſerves, that *Veſpaſian*, according to *Tacitus*'s account, ordered the phyſicians to examine firſt, whether ſuch lameneſs and blindneſs were curable by human aid; who reported, that in the one the power of ſight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obſtacles removed; and in the other the joints were only diſtorted, and might be reſtored with regular preſſure. Hence St. *Auſtin* concludes, that ſuch cures were not above the power of men, and much leſs above that of the evil ſpirits, endowed with a ſuperior knowledge, and on this occaſion exerting it, to eclipſe, if poſſible, the miracles wrought by the apoſtles and their diſciples [w]. As for the viſion in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and ſtrong imagination.

Arrives in Italy.

Veſpaſian, imbarquing at laſt in the port of *Alexandria*, ſailed for *Italy*; and, having viſited in his paſſage the iſland of *Rhodes* and ſeveral cities of *Aſia Minor*, landed, according to *Joſephus*, on the ſouth ſide of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brunduſium* he was met by *Mucianus* and a great number of ſenators and *Roman* knights; and at *Beneventum* by his ſon *Domitian*. On his rout to *Rome*, he was received everywhere with loud ſhouts of joy, with applauſes, and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one ſent by the gods to reſtore the empire to its former luſtre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the ſtreets through which he paſſed being ſtrewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raiſed, and victims ſlain, with ſupplications to the gods, that *Veſpaſian* might rule the empire many years, and his ſon *Titus* after him; that the ſovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flouriſh under them [x].

How received at Rome.

Great things were expected of *Veſpaſian* by all ranks of men, and no one was diſappointed in his expectation: for he

[u] Tacit. l. iv. c. 81. Dio l. lxvi. p. 748. Suet. in Veſp. c. 7. [w] S. Aug. civit. Dei, l. x. c. 16. [x] Joseph. ibid. l. vii. c. 25.

made

made it his whole buſineſs to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth, and reſtore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and ſee that all others conformed to them; to conſult the good of the whole and of particulars; to prevent oppreſſion, and to puniſh it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the obſervance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people by his faithful care of them. His firſt care was, to revive the antient diſcipline in the army; for the ſoldiery had abandoned themſelves to all manner of licentiouſneſs, and committed innumerable diſorders, not only in the colonies and municipal towns, but in *Rome* itſelf. He therefore diſcharged great numbers of them, eſpecially of ſuch as had ſerved under *Vitellius*, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiouſneſs; in the others he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, not ſparing even thoſe to whoſe valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the antient diſcipline; of which *Suetonius* gives us the following inſtance: A young nobleman, to whom he had given a conſiderable command, waiting upon him to return him thanks, and ſmelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expreſſing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had ſmelt of garlick*, and took away the commiſſion, which he had given him a few days before. He was no leſs ſevere with the marines, who were appointed to carry letters and diſpatches from *Puteoli* and *Oſtia* to *Rome*; for upon their petitioning him to have ſome allowance beſides their uſual pay for ſhoes, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he ordered, that for the future they ſhould diſcharge their duty bare-foot, and cauſed this ordinance to be immediately put in execution [y]. He ſcarce ever failed to aſſiſt at the debates and deliberations of the ſenate, without aſſuming to himſelf any authority above the other ſenators, whom he frequently exhorted to ſpeak their ſentiments with freedom, telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleaſure, but to receive their counſel, to truſt, and to follow it. Having taken upon him, ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, the office of cenſor, he degraded ſuch of the ſenators and knights as he found unworthy of their dignities; and ſupplied their places with ſuch perſons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increaſed the number of ſenators to a thouſand, which by infinite maſſacres had been exhauſted and reduced to two hundred [z]. He likewiſe ſtrictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed in-

Revives the antient diſcipline.

His conduct towards the ſenate.

[y] SUET. c. 8. [z] Idem, c. 9. DIO. l. vi. p. 666.

numerable abuſes and grievances, appointed new judges, and cauſed the laws to be reduced and digeſted into a far leſs compaſs. He frequently adminiſtered juſtice himſelf in the forum, with great impartiality and univerſal applauſe. As *Rome* had loſt much of its ſplendour by the late conflagration, and many houſes lay ſtill in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, allowing any one to take poſſeſſion of the ground, if the edifices were not raiſed within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Veſtinus*, a *Roman* knight, to direct and overſee the work. By him were aſſembled the ſoothſayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple ſhould be removed into the marſhes; that upon the ſame foundations the new ones ſhould be raiſed; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, ſhould be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raiſed in a ſhort time; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had deſtroyed many public records, he reſtored three thouſand tables of braſs, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains found out their true copies. In theſe were recorded all the decrees of the ſenate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any perſon or city, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. In theſe and the like works, he expended vaſt ſums. He was ſo far from ſeeking the deſtruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many ſighs and tears, even the greateſt criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing perſons of every rank to accoſt him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept conſtantly open. He was ſo far from concealing the meanneſs of his former condition, that he frequently diſcourſed of it himſelf, and uſed to deride thoſe who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*, and the companions of *Hercules*. He deſpiſed titles, and with much ado was prevailed upon to accept that of *the father of his country*; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having wrote to him thus; *Arſaces, king of kings, to Flavius Veſpaſianus*; he, without finding fault with the title, or reſenting it as an affront, directed his anſwer thus; *Flavius Veſpaſianus, to Arſaces, king of kings*; ſhewing thereby in what contempt he had ſuch titles. He was ſo far from taking delight in public honours, that when he triumphed with his ſon *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to ſay, that he deſervedly ſuffered for having at his age deſired a triumph, as if ſuch an honour had ever been due to his anceſtors, or hoped for by himſelf.

Imbelliſhes the city.

His clemency, good nature, and other commendable qualities.

himſelf. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were diſperſed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philoſophers, whom he had baniſhed the city. One of theſe, by profeſſion a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a moſt outrageous manner; but the good emperor, inſtead of chaſtiſing him for his inſolent behaviour, contented himſelf with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed! He gave no ear to whiſperers, nor ever put any one to death, whoſe crimes were not notorious and plainly proved. His friends having one day admoniſhed him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, who was born, they ſaid, under a conſtellation that promiſed him the empire, he immediately named him conſul, adding pleaſantly, *When he is inveſted with the ſovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn and requite it.* Tho' ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to puniſh the conſpirators with death, ſaying, that they deſerved rather pity than puniſhment, ſince they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower. He never ſought to revenge the affronts which he had ſuffered in the reign of *Nero*, but generouſly forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourſe to *Phœbus*, the emperor's freedman, aſking him, whither he ſhould go. *Phœbus* returned him no other anſwer, but that he might go hang himſelf, and thruſt him out of his room. The freedman coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Veſpaſian* was provoked no farther than to bid him be gone in the ſame terms. Tho' *Mucianus* aſſumed far greater authority than was ſuitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with great haughtineſs towards the emperor himſelf, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely beſtowed it upon *Veſpaſian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with theſe remarkable words, *Yet I myſelf am but a man, and conſequently not free from blame* [a].

He forgets injuries.

THE only fault with which he is charged by the antients is, his immoderate love of money, which he was not aſhamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old impoſitions and taxes, which had been ſuppreſſed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes, bought commodities, that he might ſell them to advantage, and

Is generally charged with avarice.

[a] SUET. c. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.

deſcended

deſcended to ſome very low and unuſual impoſts, laying one even upon urine, which gave occaſion to his ſon *Titus* to remonſtrate to him the meanneſs of ſuch an impoſition; but he preſenting to his ſon the firſt money that thence accrued to him, aſked him, whether the ſmell offended him? Neither did he ſcruple the ſelling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a ſum of money redeem himſelf from the deſerved puniſhment. He is ſaid to have preferred to the moſt profitable employments ſuch of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciouſneſs, and to have made uſe of them as ſponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and ſqueezing them when they were wet* [b]. He often ſtrove to diſguiſe his ſhameful avarice by ſome humourous joke. Thus certain embaſſadors having acquainted him, that, by the council of their nation, a conſiderable ſum of money was decreed for erecting him a ſtatue in the form of a coloſſus, *Here is the baſis*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand; *lay the money down here, and the ſtatue is reared.* One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the ſuperintendence of his houſhold for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the preſent; and ſending afterwards for the perſon whom he had recommended, he received of him the ſum which was to have been paid to the other for his intereſt, and beſtowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to ſolicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You muſt find out another brother*, anſwered the emperor; *for the perſon, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours.* One day while he was travelling in a litter, the muleteer ſtopped, under pretence of having his mules ſhoed, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accoſting the emperor and craving ſome favour. Of this *Veſpaſian* was appriſed, and therefore having pleaſantly aſked the muleteer what he had received for ſhoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the ſum [c]. Some writers think, that he was covetous by nature, and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdſman, who earneſtly intreating the emperor, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ranſom, and being denied it, cried out ſo as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities.* But other authors excuſe him on account of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate, and the emptineſs of the exchequer when he firſt came to the government; for he then publicly declared in the ſenate, that the republic could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without a ſupply of a hundred and forty millions of ſeſterces.

Several inſtances of it.

It by many cleared from that blame.

[b] Suet. c. 16. [c] Idem ibid.

ſterces. This is by the generality of writers thought the moſt probable opinion, becauſe he always employed his revenue to great and noble purpoſes, and laid it out with uncommon generoſity. His public works and edifices were very expenſive; his preſents and penſions numerous; his feaſts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, *&c.* He ſupported a great number of poor ſenators; allowed five hundred ſeſterces a year to every decayed conſular; reſtored to their former luſtre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, *&c.* He was likewiſe a great encourager of learning, and the firſt who ſettled ſalaries upon the profeſſors of rhetoric, both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the moſt celebrated poets, but ſuch artificers and workmen as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one, well ſkilled in mechanics, having offered to convey certain columns of vaſt weight into the capitol at a very ſmall charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, ſaying, We muſt not debar the common people from earning their livelihood [d]. Such was in general the conduct of *Veſpaſian*. We ſhall now proceed to the moſt remarkable actions of his reign, digeſted according to the order of time.

Inſtances of his generoſity.

THOUGH *Veſpaſian* had, during his firſt conſulſhip, reſtored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not reſign the faſces on the firſt of *January*; but chuſing for his collegue *M. Cocceius Nerva*, afterwards emperor, continued to diſcharge that office till the kalends of *March*, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Caſtus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jeruſalem*, quite reduced the *Jewiſh* nation, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate both to him and his father; for *Veſpaſian* had begun that war with great ſucceſs. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, diſplaying on that occaſion all the wealth of the *Jewiſh* nation. To *Titus* was likewiſe decreed a triumphal arch, deſcribing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almoſt intire, as a laſting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no ſooner over, than *Veſpaſian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be ſhut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after the temple of *Peace* was begun, but not finiſhed, or at leaſt not conſecrated, till four years after; that is, till the year ſeventy-five of the chriſtian æra, when the

Triumphs over the Jews *with his ſon* Titus.

[d] Idem, c. 17, 18.

rich

rich ſpoils of the temple of *Jeruſalem* were depoſited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his collegue in the tribunitial power; ſo that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he diſcharged all the functions of ſovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* obſerves, the moſt honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that *Veſpaſian* this year built ſome aqueducts, repaired the ſtreets of *Rome*, and at a vaſt charge made high-ways in *Spain* [e].

To whom he imparts the tribunitial power.

The following year, *Ceſennius Pætus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had appointed governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, having wrote to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and his ſon *Epiphanes*, had held private conferences with *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, and were diſpoſed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Joſephus* ſuſpects to have been quite groundleſs, allowed *Pætus* to take what meaſures he thought moſt proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore ſome private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in a hoſtile manner; and, being joined by *Ariſtobulus*, king of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* king of *Emeſus*, ſeized *Samoſata* the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two ſons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himſelf to take ſhelter in *Cilicia*, where he poſſeſſed ſome domains. The young princes found a ſafe aſylum at the court of *Vologeſes*, who entertained them in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but *Antiochus* was by *Pætus*'s orders ſeized in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains; which *Veſpaſian* no ſooner knew, than he commanded him to be ſet at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a *Roman* province, known by the name of *Auguſteuphrateſiana*, or *Euphrateſiana*, becauſe it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed ſoon after to *Rome*, where both he and his two ſons, whom *Veſpaſian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were ſupported ſuitable to their rank at the public charge [f]. The ſame year, the *Alani*, a people dwelling between the river *Tanais* and the *Palus Mæotis*, made a ſudden irruption into the territories of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. *Tiridates* king of *Armenia* narrowly eſcaped being taken, while he attempted to oppoſe them; and *Pacorus* king of the *Medes* was obliged to abandon his kingdom to the mercy

Comagene *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

The Alani *invade* Media *and* Armenia.

[e] Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Germ. p. 350. Onuph. in faſt. p. 207.
[f] Joseph. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. Sulp. l. viii. c. 8. Chron. Alexand. p. 587.

of

of the barbarians, who carried off an immenſe booty and a great number of captives; among the reſt the wife of *Pacorus*. *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, alarmed at this ſudden irruption, wrote to *Veſpaſian*, begging ſuccours againſt ſo formidable an enemy, and deſiring one of the emperor's ſons to command them. *Domitian* earneſtly ſolicited his father for that command; but the emperor did not think it adviſeable to ſuccour the *Parthians*, who rivaled the *Romans* themſelves in power; and the barbarians retired of their own accord, without offering to invade the *Parthian* dominions. However, the refuſal of the emperor occaſioned ſome miſunderſtanding between the two powers; and on this occaſion it was, without all doubt, that *Vologeſes* wrote to *Veſpaſian*, ſtyling himſelf *king of kings*, as we have hinted above, without deigning to give *Veſpaſian* even the title of emperor [g].

THE following year, *Domitian* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Valerius Meſſalinus*, *Veſpaſian* reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, and likewiſe *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces, alledging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, ſince they only made uſe of it to undo themſelves by their inteſtine diſſenſions. *Pauſanias* ſeems to acknowledge the truth of this charge [h]. *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other iſlands were made one province, called, *The province of the iſlands*, or, *of the* Cyclades, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of a ſedition, which, according to him, was raiſed at *Alexandria*, in the beginning of this year, by ſome *Jews*, who had fled from *Jeruſalem*. *Veſpaſian* treated the authors of it with great mildneſs; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demoliſh the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Heliopolis* [i]. This ſame year, *Veſpaſian* condemned to baniſhment the celebrated *Helvidius Priſcus*. He was a native of *Terracina*, and the ſon of a centurion; but, by his bright and ſignal parts, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, not, as many did in thoſe days, to diſguiſe indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public adminiſtration with a mind thoroughly fortified againſt all diſaſters. Ere he had riſen higher than the quæſtorſhip, he was choſen by the famous *Thraſea Pætus* for a huſband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing ſo ſtudiouſly, as his undaunted liberty in ſpeaking his ſentiments, never to be ſhaken by fear, and ever unmoveable

Veſpaſian *reduces* Greece. Lycia, *&c. to* Roman *provinces.*

Helvidius Priſcus *baniſhed.*

[g] JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 29. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 757. [h] PAUS. in Acha. p. 222. [i] EUSEB. in chron.

in what he judged conducing to the public welfare. When *Thraſea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Veſpaſian* in the firſt year of his reign with the prætorſhip. As he was a zealous ſtickler for liberty, he ſpoke with great freedom in the ſenate againſt the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he ſpare *Veſpaſian*, but inveighed againſt him with as much bitterneſs as his father-in-law had ever done againſt *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to ſolemnize the birth-day of *Brutus*, and that of *Caſſius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty; then *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be ſeized, but ſoon after diſmiſſed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindneſs the emperor had ſhewn him, purſued his former courſe; and was thereupon again accuſed and condemned to baniſhment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt the emperor, he was at length by the ſenate ſentenced to death. *Veſpaſian* ſtrove to ſave him, and ſent to countermand the executioners; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the meſſengers, under various pretences, till the ſentence was put in execution *.

His ſtrange behaviour.

Helvidius, notwithſtanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly cried up by *Tacitus* [k], *Pliny* the younger [l], and *Juvenal* [m]. As many other philoſophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, ſtrove to ſtir up the populace to ſedition, they were all driven out of *Rome* [n].

The following year, *Veſpaſian* was conſul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, except the cenſus, which was performed by them in quality of cenſors, the emperor having aſſumed his ſon for his collegue in that dignity. This is the laſt cenſus we find mentioned in hiſtory [o]. They both retained the faſces till the kalends of the *April* of the following year, when *Veſpaſian* reſigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor conſecrated the temple of *Peace*, and raiſed a coloſſus of braſs one hundred and ten feet high, which had been deſigned for *Nero*; but inſtead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the ſun [p]. The

The laſt cenſus.

* Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. Suet. c. 15. Juvenal. ſatir. 5. Plin. l. vii. ep. 19. [k] Tacit. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Plin. l. iv. ep. 21. [m] Juvenal. ſat. 5. [n] Suet. c. 8. Dio. l. lxvi. p. 751. [o] Censorinus de die natali. Plin. l. vii. c. 43. Onuph. in faſt. p. 208. [p] Suet. c. 19. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7. Dio. ibid.

two

two following years, *Veſpaſian* being conſul the ſeventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and ſixth, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. We read indeed in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that in the eighth conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian*, a woman, by name *Alcippe*, was delivered at *Rome*, of an elephant; and in the chronicle of *Euſebius*, that a plague raged in the city with ſuch violence for ſome time, as to ſweep away above twenty thouſand perſons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of ſo dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the antients, not even by *Pliny* the elder, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian* and was in great favour with him.

Julius Agricola *ſent into* Britain.

THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priſcus* being conſuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was ſent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this renowned commander, we ſhall here briefly recount his courſe of life and purſuits, before he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his mighty exploits in this iſland. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equeſtrian order. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, was a ſenator, famous for his eloquence and philoſophy, but put to death by *Caligula*, for refuſing to accuſe *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modeſty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he ſtudied philoſophy and law in the city of *Marſeilles*, with more avidity, as he himſelf uſed to declare, than became a *Roman* and a ſenator, till the diſcretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reaſon and age afterwards qualified his heat; ſo that he contented himſelf with a limited meaſure of philoſophy. He learnt the firſt rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greateſt commanders of his age, by whom he was diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He was not one of thoſe young men who turn warfare into riot, but ſtudied to acquaint himſelf with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of ſuch as had experience, to follow ſuch as were worthy and brave, to ſeek for no exploits out of oſtentation, to refuſe none through fear. He would not aſſume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himſelf well qualified for that command; neither did he make uſe of it, as many did in thoſe days, to indulge his pleaſures with more liberty, or to abſent himſelf from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profeſſion of arms. As *Pauli-*

His birth, education, &c.

nus was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we have ſpoken in the reign of *Nero*, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himſelf in the knowledge of military affairs under ſo great a maſter. Departing from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was firſt ſent into *Aſia* as quæſtor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconſul. But neither the province, in itſelf very rich, nor *Titianus*, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the ſmalleſt encouragement, to have purchaſed a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but paſſed the year of his tribuneſhip in repoſe and inactivity, being well appriſed, that under *Nero* ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorſhip, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public ſports, according to the meaſure of his wealth, and in a manner no-ways ſavouring of prodigality, but ſtill deſerving popular applauſe. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to ſurvey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent ſearch he procured full reſtitution of all, ſave what had been ſacrilegiouſly taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the ſoldiers of *Otho*, upon her eſtate at *Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*; and the eſtate itſelf plundered, with great part of her treaſure, which had proved the cauſe of the murder. As *Agricola* haſtened from *Rome*, to pay her the laſt duty and ſolemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Veſpaſian* had aſſumed the title of emperor, and inſtantly eſpouſed his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and ſoon after, as he diſcharged that truſt with great uprightneſs and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them and keep them to their duty. *Vettius Bolanus*, was at that time governor of *Britain*; but as he ruled with great gentleneſs, *Agricola* had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was ſucceeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who at his firſt entrance attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the moſt powerful people of the whole iſland; and, after many encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, held moſt part of their country as his conqueſt, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to diſplay his valour and abilities. For trial of his ſkill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and ſometimes, according to the meaſure of his ſucceſs, ſet him at the head of forces ſtill larger, ſharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was ſo far from vaunting his own exploits,

His preferment.

exploits, that, on the contrary, he aſcribed to his general, as to the author of all, his ſucceſs and good fortune [q].

UPON his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which truſt he diſcharged with great uprightneſs and general ſatisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip; which office he diſcharged during the two laſt months of the preceding year. While he was conſul, it was generally ſaid, that for his province *Britain* would be aſſigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but becauſe he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his conſulſhip, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as ſoon as he had reſigned the faſces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of *Britain*, and at the ſame time honoured with the pontifical dignity [r]. He ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus*, who had not only maintained the conqueſts made by *Petilius Cerealis*, his predeceſſor, but had himſelf fought with great ſucceſs, having intirely reduced the warlike nation of the *Silures*, though, beſides the bravery of the enemy, he had been likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation. *Agricola* arrived in *Britain* about the middle of ſummer, when the *Roman* ſoldiers, ſuppoſing the ſervice of the ſeaſon to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repoſe, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to harraſs the *Romans*. The *Ordovices*, that is, the inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horſe ſtationed upon their confines, and by ſo notable an eſſay rouſed to arms the whole province. The ſummer was already near over; the *Roman* troops were ſevered, and lay diſperſed over the province; and the ſoldiers had aſſured themſelves of reſt for the remaining part of the year. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, and the remonſtrances of ſome, who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, *Agricola* reſolved to march againſt the enemy without delay. Having therefore drawn together the flower of the legions and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, he led them againſt the *Ordovices*. But, as the enemy kept themſelves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not deſcend into equal ground, *Agricola*, in order to inſpire his men with equal courage, by ſharing with them equal danger, marched in perſon at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the aſcent.

His exploits in Britain during his firſt campaign.

[q] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4—9. [r] Idem ibid. c. 9.

The

The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great reſolution, put them to flight, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that almoſt the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this ſucceſs, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to ſtrike the enemy at once with general terror, he reſolved to reduce the iſland of *Angleſey*, which had been formerly conquered by *Paulinus*, but loſt again by the general revolt of *Britain*. As this counſel was ſuddenly concerted, and conſequently ſhips were wanting, he detached a choſen body of auxiliaries, ſuch as knew the fords, and, according to the uſage of their counrry, were dexterous at ſwimming, and able to manage in the water themſelves, their horſes, and arms. Theſe unincumbered with baggage, made a deſcent and onſet ſo ſudden, that the enemy were quite ſtruck with conſternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and tranſports, and believed no enterpriſe difficult and unſurmountable to men, who began the war with ſuch reſolution.

Recovers the iſland of Angleſey.

Thus they ſued for peace, and immediately ſurrendered the iſland to *Agricola*, whom they already conſidered as a renowned commander, ſince at his firſt entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to ſpend in ſhow and parade, he had atchieved ſuch feats, and under ſo much toil and danger, with amazing ſucceſs. *Agricola* was ſo far from being elated with this conqueſt, that he would not ſo much as beſtow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms, in the recovery of an iſland which had been formerly ſubject to *Rome*. But, by thus ſuppreſſing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation, than if he had ſtudied to divulge them, every one conſidering how vaſt muſt his views be, ſince he thus ſmothered in ſilence ſuch great exploits already performed. As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had alſo learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to ſettle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppreſſions, he reſolved to cut off all the cauſes of war. Beginning therefore with himſelf and thoſe about him, he regulated his own houſhold; a taſk which to many proves no leſs difficult than that of governing a province. By none of his domeſtics was tranſacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the ſoldiers to a higher rank, he was ſwayed by no perſonal intereſt or partiality, nor by the recommendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that paſſed; but would not puniſh all that was amiſs. He readily pardoned ſmall faults; but ſuch as were great, he puniſhed with proportionable ſeverity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather choſe men who would not tranſgreſs, than ſuch as he muſt

Redreſſes the grievances complained of by the Britons.

muſt afterwards condemn for tranſgreſſing. Tho' the tribute had been augmented, yet he ſoftened it by a juſt and equal diſtribution of all public burdens, and utterly aboliſhed whatever exactions had been deviſed for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itſelf. For the publicans uſed, under colour of ſecuring the tribute, to ſeize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchaſe their own grain at a high price, and afterwards ſell it back again to them at a low rate: beſides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain croſs the ſeveral countries to places extremely diſtant; inſomuch, that ſeveral communities, inſtead of ſupplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furniſh ſuch as were remote, unleſs they redeemed themſelves from that trouble with conſiderable ſums. All theſe grievances were utterly ſuppreſſed by *Agricola* in his firſt year; by which means the *Britons* began to be reconciled to the *Roman* government, and to live in a ſtate of peace; a ſtate which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no leſs dreaded than that of war [s]. The other exploits of *Agricola* in this iſland, we ſhall relate in their proper places.

Reconciles them to the Roman *government.*

THE following year, *Veſpaſian* being conſul the ninth time, and *Titus* the ſeventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had ſtirred up the *Gauls*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*, was at length diſcovered, ſeized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country-dwelling, and ſet it on fire, in order to raiſe a report, that he had periſhed: and truly he was there believed to have ſuffered a voluntary death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treaſures (for he was immenſely rich) in a cave which he had cauſed to be dug in a ſolitary place, and which was known only to two of his freedmen, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend. He might have eaſily withdrawn into *Germany*; but could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved. She is called by *Dion Caſſius*, *Peponilla*; by *Tacitus*, *Epoenia*; and by *Plutarch*, *Empona*; which name, according to that writer, in the antient language of the *Gauls*, ſignified *a heroine*. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for ſome time even undeceive his wife, who ſolemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at laſt, no longer able to bear the loſs of a huſband whom ſhe ſo tenderly loved, reſolved not to outlive him, and began to abſtain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freedmen, informed her, that he was ſtill alive, and ac-

The adventures of Julius Sabinus.

[s] Idem, c. 10—20.

quainted

quainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the ſame time to ſuppreſs her joy, leſt the ſecret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmoſt tranſports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, paſſed great part of the night with him, and ſometimes whole weeks, pretending buſineſs in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave, *Empona* concealing the whole with exemplary fidelity and wonderful addreſs; nay, ſhe found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, ſo well diſguiſed, that he was by no one known.

He is diſcovered.

But after he had paſſed nine years in this condition, he was at length diſcovered by ſome perſons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently abſenting herſelf from her own houſe, and followed her to the cave, without being diſcovered. *Sabinus* was immediately ſeized and ſent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, and preſenting to him her two tender children, ſtrove with her tears and intreaties to move him to compaſſion.

And put to death, with his wife.

Veſpaſian could not forbear weeping at ſo moving an object; but nevertheleſs condemned both her and her huſband, and cauſed them to be ſoon after executed. The two children were ſaved, and with great care brought up at the public expence. One of them died ſome time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he ſaw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delphos*, while he was writing his book *of love*, in which he has inſerted this adventure[t]. That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more diſpleaſing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Veſpaſian*, than the death of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unſeaſonable ſeverity, he aſcribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his uſual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applauſe and univerſal ſatisfaction we are no-where told.

Cæcina *and* Marcellus *conſpire againſt* Veſpaſian, *but are put to death.*

Not long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, of whom we often ſpoke in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, an abandoned accuſer in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conſpiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conſpirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the ſpeech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the ſoldiers after the aſſaſſination, written with his own hand. This was ſufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this diſcovery,

[t] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 67. Dio. l. lxvi. p. 752. Plut. amat.

having

having invited *Cæcina* to ſup with him, cauſed him, without any farther inquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banqueting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the ſenate; but prevented the execution of the ſentence, by cutting his throat with a razor [u]. Before *Veſpaſian* reſigned the conſulſhip, he was ſeized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he uſually viſited every ſummer, in order to drink certain waters, in great requeſt on account of their extreme coldneſs. Here he was ſeized firſt with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of the cold waters, which brought him to ſuch weakneſs, that all about him began to deſpair of his recovery. However, he ſtill attended the diſpatch of buſineſs, received embaſſadors, and gave audience to his miniſters. Once, as he found himſelf ready to faint away, *If I am not miſtaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the cuſtom of the *Romans*, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worſhip. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his uſual bravery and reſolution, *An emperor ought to die ſtanding*: but, while he endeavoured to riſe, he expired in the hands of thoſe who ſuſtained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *June*, in the ſeventy-eighth year of the *Chriſtian* æra, after he had lived ſixty-nine years, ſeven months, and ſeven days, and reigned ten years wanting ſix days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*. His death was univerſally lamented; and his memory gratefully preſerved, by ſuch as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæſar*, and to *Auguſtus* in peace; and ſeemed to have been by providence raiſed on purpoſe to preſerve ſo vaſt an empire from utter deſtruction. Greatneſs and majeſty, ſays *Pliny*, worked no alteration in him, ſave that of making his power of doing good anſwerable to his will. He was the ſecond *Roman* emperor, if not the firſt, who died a natural death; and the firſt who was ſucceeded by his ſon. And here we cannot help obſerving the raſhneſs of ſome blind zealots, in aſcribing to divine vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew *Cæſar* the dictator. Not one of the aſſaſſins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæſar*, who deſtroyed the ſtate, nor any of his ſucceſſors, except *Auguſtus*, of whom it is alſo doubted, to the preſent emperor. *Tiberius* was ſmothered by *Macro* his favourite, *Caligula* was ſlain by the officers of his guards, *Claudius*

The death of Veſpaſian.

His character.

[u] SUET. in Tit. c. 6. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 752. TACIT. l. iv. c. 6.

was poiſoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* ſtabbed himſelf, *Galba* was murdered by the ſoldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Auguſtus* was thought to have been poiſoned by his wife *Livia* [w]. Such was the end of theſe uſurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their foot-ſteps! *Veſpaſian* is ſaid to have been ſo confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate deſtined to him and his poſterity, that he affirmed in the ſenate, he ſhould, in ſpite of all plots and conſpiracies, retain the ſovereignty to his death, and be ſucceeded in it by his two ſons. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus*. The *Romans* were at this time ſo prepoſterouſly fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of perſons of quality, when the pantomimes uſed to perſonate the deceaſed, counterfeit their ſpeech, and imitate their actions. At the obſequies of *Veſpaſian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, perſonating the deceaſed emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, *Give me the money*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand and counterfeiting the emperor's ſpeech, *and throw my carcaſe, if you pleaſe, into the* Tiber [x]. *Veſpaſian* founded various colonies in different parts of the empire, *viz.* one at *Emmaüs*, about ſixty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*; one at *Cæſarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the firſt in dignity of all the cities in *Paleſtine*. *Develte*, or as ſome call it, *Deïlte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobriga* in *Spain*, now *Bilboa*, are by ſome writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Veſpaſian* [y]. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sychem*; *Samoſata*, the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, *Chalcis* and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumenea* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence ſome writers conclude *Roman* colonies to have been ſettled in all theſe cities, either by *Veſpaſian* himſelf, or one of his children [z]. Several writers flouriſhed in *Veſpaſian*'s time, but of them we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

His colonies.

Veſpaſian

[w] Vide Tacit. annal. i ſub init. & Dio. l. lvii. [x] Suet. c. 19. [y] Vide Spanh. l. vii. & Baud. p. 291. [z] Vide Baud. p. 769, & Noris de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

(D) Theſe were, *Suetonius Paulinus*, of whoſe warlike exploits we have ſpoken in the reign of *Nero*, when he governed *Britain*. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, and was without all doubt one of the beſt commanders of his age.

Veſpaſian was ſucceeded in the empire by his eldeſt ſon *Titus*, who was born the thirtieth of *December*, about the time of the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year forty of the *Chriſtian* æra; ſo that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought Titus *declared emperor.*

age. He left behind him an account of an expedition, which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year forty-one of the *Chriſtian* æra, and the laſt of *Caligula*'s reign, againſt the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times, but is quoted by *Pliny* (9). He outlived *Otho*, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed; but from *Pliny* it appears he was dead in the year ſeventy-ſeven, that is, in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign (10). Some writers, through a ſtrange miſtake, have confounded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the hiſtorian, who ſerved only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (11). *Licinius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the hiſtory and geography of the eaſtern countries (12). In the year ſeventy-five, the ſeventh of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, he was buſy in collecting the diſcourſes and letters of the antient *Romans*, and had already publiſhed eleven volumes of ſpeeches, and three of letters (13). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about him a living fly, which he ſuperſtitiouſly looked upon as a preſervative of the ſight (14). *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the perſons introduced in the dialogue of orators, commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Aſiaticus*, and promiſed the lives of other illuſtrious perſons. He likewiſe publiſhed ſome ſpeeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (15). In the ſame dialogue, *Vipſanius Meſſala* acts the chief part. He was tribune of the ſeventh legion, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* upon worthy deſigns. He pleaded with great eloquence in the ſenate, though not yet arrived at the age of a ſenator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilius Regulus*, charged as the accuſer and deſtroyer of many illuſtrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (16). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (17), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*; and is ſuppoſed to have publiſhed ſome other hiſtories (18). *Modyeratus*, the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadiz*, lived about this time, and publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical tracts (19). St. *Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (20); and *Ori-*

(9) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 26. (12) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 27. (13) *Tacit. orat. c.* 37. (14) *Plin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 2. (15) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (16) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 42. (17) *Tacit. orat. c.* 14. (18) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 28. (19) *Jonſius de ſcript, hiſt. philoſoph. c.* 5. (20) *Euſeb. chron.*

brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is ſaid to have taſted the poiſon which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an aſtrologer being conſulted by *Narciſſus*, the celebrated freedman of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned anſwer, that by the laws of fate the empire was not deſtined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to ſtand by him. He lived in great friendſhip with *Britannicus*; whence, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, he erected two ſtatues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his orders publicly carried among other ſtatues at the *Circenſian* games.

His education, ſtudies, &c. before his acceſſion to the empire.

Titus, from his tender years, attended with great application the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progreſs in both, being commended by the antients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent ſpeaker upon any ſubject whatever, and without premeditation. He ſerved firſt in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*; and in both provinces gained no leſs reputation by his modeſt and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himſelf to the bar, and pleaded ſome cauſes of great importance with uncommon applauſe. While he was yet very young, he married *Arricidia Tertulla*, whoſe father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon

gen, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (21), peruſed with attention his writings, and improved by them. *Curiatius Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, and wrote ſeveral tragedies; one of which, intitled *Cato*, made a great noiſe, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Veſpaſian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, ſpeaking in defence of poetry (22). *Salius Beſſus* wrote ſeveral poems in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, which were highly eſteemed by *Quintilian* and *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who countenanced and with great generoſity rewarded the poet (23). *Cluvius* wrote the hiſtory of *Nero*'s reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Veſpaſian* (24), and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Moſt writers take him to be the ſame perſon with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* obſerves, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and had acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (25). He was, as the ſame writer obſerves, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (26). None of the writings of theſe authors have reached our times, except ſome ſentences quoted by the antient grammarians.

(21) *Idem hiſt. eccleſ. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (22) *Tacit. orat c.* 2. 3. 11. (23) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 5. *Quint. l* x. *c.* 1. (24) *Tacit. annal.* xiii. *c.* 20. (25) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 49. (26) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 8.

her

her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but divorced her after he had one daughter by her, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæſtorſhip, which he diſcharged with great applauſe, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa* in quality of his lieutenant. In that war, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as appears from *Joſephus*, in a very eminent manner; reduced, while he ſerved under his father, ſome ſtrong holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being ſent by *Veſpaſian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his acceſſion to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the proſecution of the war againſt the *Jews*, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had ſent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was adminiſtered, as *Tacitus* obſerves, by the condition of the emperor, antient and childleſs, and the great character of *Titus*, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But having received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father, and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for between *Veſpaſian* and him, as the one ruled over *Judæa* and the other over *Syria*, great animoſities reigned, occaſioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces [a]. He was left by his father in *Judæa* to proſecute the war againſt the *Jews*. Upon their parting, *Titus* gave a ſignal inſtance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother *Domitian*. For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* had already abandoned himſelf to all manner of debauchery, and aſſumed more authority than was ſuitable to a ſon only, was highly incenſed againſt him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection and earneſtneſs in favour of his brother, warning the emperor to beware of being raſhly incenſed by intelligence from ſuch as brought criminal repreſentations. *To your own ſon*, ſaid he, *it is but juſt you ſhould bear a ſpirit of gentleneſs, free from all prejudice. Not from fleets, not from legions, are ſuch powerful bulwarks found for the ſupport of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous iſſue in the imperial houſe. The number of our friends is diminiſhed with time; they often deſert us to follow fortune; or becauſe we cannot gratify their deſires. But from our own blood we may always promiſe ourſelves ready aſſiſtance, and unſhaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with us, but our neareſt in kindred alone will bear us company in our adverſities. Even between brothers*, added he, *concord and unanimity will not prove laſting*,

Is left by his father to carry on the war againſt the Jews.

His kindneſs to his brother Domitian.

[a] TACIT hiſt. l. ii. c. 77. SUET. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3, 5. PHILOSTR. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

ing, if their common parent ſets them not firſt an example. Veſpaſian, who by this reaſoning was not ſo much reconciled to *Domitian,* as charmed with the tender affection of *Titus,* deſired him to be of good chear, and to ſtudy how to aggrandize the commonwealth by war and the exerciſe of arms; adding, that it ſhould be his taſk to inſure the public peace, and that of his family [b]. Of the conduct and warlike atchievements of *Titus,* during the war which he carried on with ſtupendous ſucceſs againſt the *Jews,* we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of that nation. After the reduction of *Jeruſalem,* inſtead of returning to *Rome,* he went to *Alexandria,* where he aſſiſted at the conſecration of the ox *Apis,* wearing a diadem; which, together with his putting off from time to time his journey for *Italy,* and his giving a private audience at *Zeugma* to the embaſſadors of the *Parthian* king, occaſioned a report, as if he deſigned to revolt from his father, and make himſelf emperor of the eaſt. This rumour obliged him to haſten his departure for *Rome,* where he was received with loud ſhouts of joy, and a few days after honoured with one of the moſt magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the ſenate with the title of *Cæſar,* and by his father taken, in a manner, for his collegue in the empire; for with him he exerciſed the cenſorſhip, the tribunitial power, ſeven conſulſhips, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts in his father's name. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was more ſtrict and reſerved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, ſays the latter writer, gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the leaſt umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or trial. In adminiſtering juſtice, he was eaſily biaſſed by preſents, ſold ſeveral employments of great truſt unknown to his father, and indulged himſelf in feſtivity and pleaſures, ſpending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the moſt diſſolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and proſtitutes. His paſſion for *Berenice,* the daughter of *Agrippa the great* and ſiſter of *Agrippa* II. king of *Ituræa,* was highly cenſured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a ſecond *Nero*; ſo that ſcarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more ſullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace [c]. But, upon his acceſſion to the empire, all theſe accuſations turned to his praiſe and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation,

Returns to Rome, *and triumphs.*

Is charged, while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty, and avarice.

Governs with great moderation.

[b] Tacit. l. iv. c. 52. [c] Suet. c. 6, 7. Tacit. ibid.

humanity,

humanity, and good-nature. Soon after his father's death, he diſmiſſed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her father *Agrippa*, the laſt king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from *Italy*, tho' he was paſſionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaiſance to the ſenate and people, who were diſpleaſed to ſee their emperor thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman [d]. Tho' his brother *Domitian* pretended to an equal ſhare in the government, and raiſed great diſturbances in the city, by giving out and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him partner in the empire, but that the will had been falſified; yet he could not prevail upon himſelf either to puniſh or baniſh him, but on the contrary treated him as his collegue in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother, who bore him a ſincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due ſhare in the adminiſtration [e]. *Pliny* obſerves, that *Julius Baſſus* dreaded *Titus* on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was baniſhed by the latter. The emperors, ever ſince the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predeceſſors granting to cities, or particular perſons, privileges, immunities, or exemptions, till ſuch grants were confirmed by themſelves; which they did with great reſerve, cauſing the charters to be firſt carefully examined, as if they had been firſt granted by themſelves. But *Titus*, without ſuffering any one to apply to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed by moſt of his ſucceſſors. He could not prevail upon himſelf to diſmiſs any who applied to him diſſatisfied, or without ſome hopes of ſucceſs; whereupon, being admoniſhed by ſome of his friends, that he promiſed more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man ſhould depart diſſatisfied from the preſence of a prince. It is well known, that being told one night he had beſtowed no favour that day, he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction and regret, with that memorable ſaying, *My friends, I have loſt a day.* He treated the people with extraordinary kindneſs and complaiſance: having deſigned to exhibit a ſhow of gladiators, he ſignified by a proclamation, that it ſhould be exhibited, not according to his own taſte and pleaſure, but that of the people; and he was ſo far from refuſing what they deſired, that he earneſtly ſolicited them to declare what they liked beſt, complying with their taſte, tho' diſagreeing with his own. He allowed free acceſs to him, even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condeſcenſion, yet ſo as to

His conduct towards his brother.

Confirms all the grants of his predeceſſors.

His complaiſance to the people.

[d] SUET. c. 7. [e] Idem in Dom. c. 2 & 9.

maintain

maintain the dignity of his rank and the majesty of an emperor. No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refused the usual presents and such contributions as were due to him: and nevertheless, of all his predecessors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger sums in private bounties, in shows, in buildings, &c. After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finished with incredible expedition certain baths close to it, he exhibited, at an immense charge, a show of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thousand wild beasts of all kinds. When he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to preserve his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was accessary to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great justice: but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himself, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following instance: two patricians having conspired against him, were discovered, convicted, and sentenced to death by the senate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admonishing them only in private, that in vain they aspired to the empire, which was given by destiny, exhorting them to be satisfied with the rank in which by providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing else which it was in his power to grant. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great distance, and under great concern about the fate of her son, to assure her, that her son was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the same night to his table, and having the next day placed them by him at a show of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to custom, presented to him, he desired them to survey them*. The law of majesty he utterly abrogated, and would not suffer any person to be prosecuted for speaking disrespectfully of himself, or the other emperors his predecessors, saying, *If they blacken my character undeservedly, they ought rather to be pitied than punished; if deservedly, it would be a crying piece of injustice to punish them for speaking truth. As for my predecessors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries done them, and stand in no need of my assistance and power* †. The accusers were the only persons against whom he proceeded with unrelenting severity, causing them to be publicly whipt, to be exposed to public view, and to the insults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and

His clemency.

Abolishes the law of majesty.

His severity towards the informers.

* Suet. c. 9. † Dio. l. lviii. p. 354.

the

the circus, and then to be either ſold for ſlaves, or baniſhed to deſert iſlands [g]. In ſhort he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the allay of one ſingle vice.

TOWARDS the end of the year 79 of the chriſtian æra, and firſt of *Titus*'s reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a moſt dreadful and almoſt incredible eruption of mount *Veſuvius*, which laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and utterly conſumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and amongſt the reſt *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had ſuffered much by an earthquake in the year 63 of the chriſtian æra; but had been rebuilt and imbelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately edifices, eſpecially a theatre, in which the people were aſſembled, and intent upon the public ſhows, when the city was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were greatly damaged, what by the earthquake, what by the burning aſhes; which, if the antients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned ſuddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Miſenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having diſcovered this cloud on the firſt of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it iſſued, went immediatcly on board one of the galleys, and ſailed towards mount *Veſuvius*. He was ſoon met by great numbers of perſons, who, in ſmall boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheleſs, prompted by his curioſity, he purſued his courſe, tho' ſtones, aſhes, and earth began already to ſhower down upon his veſſel; nay, we are told, that, to his great ſurpriſe, he found a new cape formed by the earth, and huge ſtones thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity, and reaching *Stabiæ* between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, paſſed the night there, the better to obſerve, during the darkneſs, the mountain, which ſeemed all on a blaze. The ſame night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*, and ſuch a huge quantity of ſtones fell, that *Pliny* reſolved to put to ſea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight; but, tho' ſupported by two of his domeſtics, he ſoon fell, ſuffocated, as is ſuppoſed, by the thickneſs of the air and the inſupportable ſtench of ſulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Miſenum*, and narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate, as he himſelf relates at length in his epiſtles [h].

A dreadful eruption of mount Veſuvius.

The death of Pliny *the elder.*

[g] SUET. c. 10. [h] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt 16, 20.

On this occaſion the poet *Ceſius Baſſus* was conſumed, with his houſe, by the flames; and likewiſe *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judæa*, and of *Druſilla*, daughter to *Agrippa*, the laſt king of the *Jews* [1]. This is the firſt eruption of mount *Veſuvius* we find mentioned in hiſtory.

Agricola's ſecond campaign in Britain.

The ſame year, *Titus* aſſumed the title of *emperor* with the uſual ſolemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain*, during his ſecond campaign in that iſland; for having applied himſelf in the winter with great care to the redreſſing of the grievances, of which the *Britons* but too juſtly complained, in the beginning of the ſummer he aſſembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending ſuch of his men as in marching obſerved duty and rank, and checking ſuch as were looſe and ſtraggling. He himſelf always choſe the ground for incamping; the friths and woods he himſelf always firſt examined; and to the enemy, in the mean time, allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever harraſſing them with ſudden incurſions. Then having ſufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he uſed to ſpare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the ſweets of peace. By this conduct ſeveral communities, which till that day had held out upon equal terms, and maintained themſelves in a ſtate of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hoſtages, and ſuffered fortreſſes to be erected in their territories; which was done with ſo much care and ſkill, that no part of *Britain* conquered by the *Romans* till that time eſcaped being annoyed by them [k]. This is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of what *Agricola* performed in the ſecond ſummer's expedition; but as he ſpeaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no eaſy matter to determine through what part of *Britain Agricola* marched his army, and how far into the country; what friths he paſſed over, what communities ſubmitted and gave hoſtages, and in what places the fortreſſes were erected which *Tacitus* mentions. However, a modern writer [l], whom our readers may conſult, endeavours by many learned conjectures to prove, that *Agricola* in his ſecond campaign marched directly from *Angleſey* into *Scotland*, and penetrated as far as the frith of *Edinburgh*; that he bent his rout through the county of *Annandale* and the adjacent counties, where remains of antient *Roman* camps are ſtill to be ſeen, ſome of which the learned antiquarian concludes, from *Tacitus*'s account of them, to have been made by *Agricola*; that the friths he paſſed were thoſe of *Dee*, *Ribble*, *Liverpool*, and *Solloway*; and finally, that the communities or

Several communities ſubmit, and give hoſtages.

Through what part of Britain *he marched.*

[1] Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 5. [k] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 20, 21. [l] Gordon. itiner. ſeptentrion.

cities,

cities, which ſuffered themſelves to be begirt, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it, with gariſons and fortreſſes, were thoſe on the iſthmus between *Clyde* and *Forth*. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer for a more diſtinct explanation of theſe particulars.

THE following year, *Titus*, now conſul the eighth time, with his brother *Domitian* the ſeventh, gave many remarkable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the loſſes which the unhappy inhabitants of *Campania* had ſuffered by the late eruption of mount *Veſuvius*. He ſent into *Campania* two conſulars with large ſums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned, and applied to the relief of the poor ſufferers the goods and eſtates of ſuch, as had periſhed on this occaſion and left no heirs; nay, went in perſon into *Campania*, and with his own hand diſtributed immenſe ſums among thoſe, who ſeemed moſt worthy of his compaſſion [m]. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which laſted three days and as many nights, and reduced to aſhes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Auguſtus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no ſooner informed of this calamity, than he haſtened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loſs ſhould fall upon him, and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage ſuffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for tho' many cities and foreign princes, by whom he was no leſs beloved than by the *Romans*, offered to bear their ſhare in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occaſion; but choſe rather to ſell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houſes, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to defray the immenſe charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the moſt dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes its riſe to the aſhes of mount *Veſuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great diſtance [n]. *Titus* left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the diſtemper, exerting at the ſame time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderneſs and compaſſion of a father, comforting the diſtreſſed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties [o]. Towards the end of this year he finiſhed the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly deſcribed by *Martial* [p], who

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Veſuvius.

And by a fire at Rome.

Exerts his good-nature during a plague at Rome.

Finiſhes the amphitheatre.

[m] SUET. c. 8. [n] DIO. l. lvi. p. 756. [o] Idem ibid. SUET. c. 8. [p] MART. lib. de ſpect. epigr. 1.

likewiſe mentions the baths that were ended about the ſame time. The amphitheatre, whereof the ſtately remains are ſtill to be ſeen, had been begun by *Veſpaſian*, and ſtood, as we learn from *Dion Caſſius*, in the midſt of the city, tho' its ruins lie in the outſkirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, when he dedicated, according to cuſtom, that noble and ſtately edifice, exhibited moſt magnificent ſhows, which laſted an hundred days, and raiſed the ſpirits of the people, ready to ſink under the calamities they had ſuffered [q].

Agricola *brings the* Britons *to love the* Roman *cuſtoms.*

In the mean time, *Agricola* employed his ſecond winter in meaſures extremely advantageous and ſalutary; for to the end that the people, wild and diſperſed over the country, and thence eaſily ſtirred up to war, might, by a taſte of pleaſures, be reconciled to inactivity and repoſe, he firſt privately exhorted, and then publicly aſſiſted, them, to build temples, houſes, and places of public reſort, reprimanding ſuch as were ſlow, and commending thoſe who were aſſiduous and forward in ſuch purſuits. He took care to have the ſons of their chiefs inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, finding their genius ſuperior to that of their neighbours the *Gauls*; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that thoſe, who had lately ſcorned to learn the *Roman* language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to aſſume the *Roman* apparel, and the uſe of the gown grew frequent amongſt them. Thus by degrees they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, ſumptuous bagnios, elegant entertainments, &c. all which things were, as *Tacitus* judiciouſly obſerves, by the unexperienced, ſtyled politeneſs, but at the bottom were nothing but baits of ſlavery.

He extends his conqueſts to the Taus *or* Tay.

In the beginning of the ſummer, *Agricola* took the field again, and in purſuit of his conqueſts diſcovered new people, and continued his devaſtations through the ſeveral nations quite to the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tay*. Whence ſuch terror ſeized the enemy, that they durſt not attack him, though his troops were ſorely harraſſed by terrible tempeſts; ſo that he had time to ſecure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was obſerved of *Agricola* by men of experience, that no commander ever choſe his poſts with more ſkill, in regard of their ſituation and convenience, and that no place of ſtrength founded by him was ever taken by ſtorm, or abandoned as not defenſible. From theſe ſtrong-holds frequent excurſions were made; and, as they were ſupplied with proviſions for a year, the *Romans* paſſed the winter in them without the leaſt apprehenſion, every ſingle fort defending itſelf; ſo that

[q] Dio. p. 757. & Marc. Velser. monument. Auguſt. lapid. 35.

the

the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to deſpair, not being able, as formerly, to repair by their ſucceſs in the winter, the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the ſummer. In theſe expeditions *Agricola* never aſſumed to himſelf the glory of exploits performed by others; but to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praiſe which was due to his atchievements. By ſome he is ſaid to have been too ſevere and ſharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courteſy towards thoſe who readily complied with their duty, ſo to the ſlothful and negligent he appeared ſtern and ſevere. But his anger was eaſily appeaſed: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foſter ſecret hatred[r]. The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth conſulſhip, and conſequently this year, repaired ſome antient aqueducts, and at a vaſt expence paved with large ſtones the road from *Rome* to *Ariminum* croſs the *Apennines*, where is ſtill to be ſeen, not far from the preſent city of *Foſſombrone*, a huge rock cut through on this occaſion[s].

THE next conſuls were *Sex. Annius Silvanus* and *T. Annius Verus Pollio*. The latter is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raiſed by *Veſpaſian* to the rank of a patrician, diſcharged twice the office of conſul, and governed *Rome* with general ſatisfaction. This ſummer, the fourth ſince *Agricola*'s arrival in *Britain*, was by him employed in ſettling and ſecuring the places which he had already conquered, *viz.* all the countries on this ſide the *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Clyde* and *Forth*, into which rivers the tide from the oppoſite ſea flows ſo far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over. This iſthmus the *Romans* ſecured with forts and gariſons, and penned up the inhabitants, as it were, in another iſland; ſo that they might have made the two rivers *Glota* and *Bodotria* the boundaries of their conqueſts, and ſuffered the nations beyond them to live undiſturbed[t]. But the ambition of the *Romans*, which they diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of glory, knew no bounds; hence *Agricola* purſued his conqueſts the next and the following ſummers, as we ſhall relate according to the order of time. In the eaſt, one *Terentius Maximus*, paſſing himſelf upon the people for *Nero*, raiſed great diſturbances in that province, and likewiſe in the countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*; but, being purſued by the *Roman* troops, he took refuge in the territories of the *Parthians*, where he was entertained by king *Artabanes*, who

He employs the fourth ſummer in ſecuring the places already conquered.

[r] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 22. [s] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 210. GOLTZ. p. 56. [t] TACIT. ibid. c. 23.

was

was then at variance with the *Romans*; but nevertheleſs, upon the approach of their army, thought it adviſeable to abandon the cauſe of the impoſtor [u].

New honours conferred upon Titus.

THIS year, the ſenate, not out of flattery, but a ſenſe of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus*. What honours theſe were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being ſuddenly ſnatched away, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain ſhows, during which he ſhed many tears in the preſence of the multitude, and retired, as ſoon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, becauſe the victim, while he was ſacrificing, had broke looſe, and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be ſeen. The firſt night he lay out of *Rome*, he was ſeized with a burning fever; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey in a litter, being deſirous to end his days in the ſame houſe where his father died. We are told, that finding himſelf on the road greatly indiſpoſed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigour of his age, when, during the whole courſe of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which ſeemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dion Caſſius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conſpired againſt him, when, by inflicting upon him the deſerved puniſhment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities, which the excellent emperor was well appriſed his brother, when inveſted with the ſovereignty, would bring upon the ſtate [w]. Others think, that the criminal converſation he was ſaid to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aſperſion, upon the ſolemn proteſtation of *Domitia* herſelf, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as ſhe did in all other crimes, than denied it [x].

Is taken ill, and leaves Rome.

His death.

Titus having with much-ado reached *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate, expired there ſoon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. *Philoſtratus* tells us, that he was poiſoned by his brother *Domitian* [y]. *Plutarch* aſcribes his death to the immoderate uſe of baths [z], and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaiſance, uſed to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that

[u] Zonar. p. 195. [w] Dio. l. lxvi. p. 758. [x] Suet. c 10.
[y] Philostrat. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vi. c. 14. [z] Plut. de ſanit. p. 2. 4.

Domitian,

Domitian, who had ever ſought the deſtruction of his brother, cauſed the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordering all thoſe who could afford him any aſſiſtance to withdraw; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence [a]. He far excelled, in the opinion of the antients, all his predeceſſors, even *Veſpaſian* himſelf, in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his ſucceſſors. He knew no purpoſe of being higher than others, but to do good to all. He was a ſtranger to all parade and oſtentation, chuſing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with ſubjects; whence he was deſervedly ſtyled, *the love and delight of mankind.* What pity that ſuch princes, ſuch friends to the world, and protectors of men, ſhould ever die! His death was no ſooner known, than a general ſadneſs, an univerſal conſternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a ſhort time ſpread all over the provinces, to the moſt diſtant bounds of the empire. The ſenators, without being ſummoned according to cuſtom, haſtened to the palace, and having cauſed the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be ſhut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and in the preſence of the multitude heaped more praiſes upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongſt them; a plain proof of the ſincerity of their eſteem and affection. *Domitian* cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and was the firſt who paid him divine honours; but at the ſame time ſtudied both in private and in public to revile his memory, and leſſen the eſteem and veneration, which all orders of men had for ſo worthy and deſerving a prince [b]. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following reign.

His character.

Is univerſally lamented.

Titus was ſucceeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the leaſt oppoſition or contradiction, was immediately acknowledged emperor, notwithſtanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of *October* of the year fifty-one of the chriſtian æra, his father being then conſul elect, and appointed to diſcharge that office the month following. He is ſtyled on ſeveral medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus* [c]. He paſſed his youth in great poverty, and is ſaid to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him, for hire, and likewiſe to one *Clodius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note under *Domitian*'s own hand, by which he bound himſelf, for a ſum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and

Domitian *acknowledged emperor.*

[a] SUET. in Domit. [b] Idem ibid. [c] GOLTZ. p. 58. SUET. c. 1.

unnatural

unnatural desires. He did not apply himself from his tender years to the study of history, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or science; hence in all his speeches and harangues he made use of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery, in which he was so wonderfully expert, that he was frequently seen to shoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domestics, whom he placed at a great distance with his hand expanded, telling before between which fingers the arrow would pass, and never missing his aim [d]. He was naturally cruel, suspicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the least toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided exposing himself to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occasioned by his timorousness, and no-ways natural to him. Being at *Rome* when his father assumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheless have easily escaped, several messengers having, by various disguises and shifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and shewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and security depend; nay, even those who guarded him, offered themselves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence that they designed to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his escape [e]. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himself in the room of one of the ministers of the temple, and the next morning was conveyed by his freedman beyond the *Tiber*, in the disguise of one of the priests of *Isis*. When *Primus* had made himself master of the city, and all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, he discovered himself to his father's generals, and was by the soldiers thronging about him saluted *Cæsar* [f]; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the senate. From that time to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief sway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himself to all manner of voluptuousness, and making use of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her husband *L. Ælius Lamia*, married her some time after, and had a son by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæsar*, but died an infant, and was by *Domitian* ranked among the gods [g]. That he had other children, though not mentioned by any historian, appears from the epitaph of one *Pierius*, still to be seen at *Rome*, who is styled *the emperor's*

[d] Suet. c. 19. [e] Tacit. hist. l. iii. c. 59. [f] Idem, c. 74
[g] Suet. c. iii. Spanh. p. 650.

freedman,

freedman, and preceptor to his children. The monument was raiſed by *Flavia Nicca*, wife to *Pierius*, with the permiſſion, as is expreſſed in the inſcription, of *Hermas*, the chief freedman of *Domitia Auguſta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina* in the ſecond year of his reign [h]. In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the *Jewiſh* war, he reſolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed againſt *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from ſuch a reſolution; but *Domitian* continuing obſtinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* reſolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour, leſt, following the impetuoſity of his age, and inſtigated by evil counſellors, were he once maſter of an army, he might diſconcert all meaſures, whether for peace or war. After many procraſtinations and delays, they both ſet out at length; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own ſentiments upon the preſent occaſion, what he had long propoſed and concealed, *viz.* that ſince, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's ſon to venture his perſon in battle; but to contend with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lyons*, and from thence diſplay the power and fortune of the empire at hand, neither engaging in ſmall hazards, nor failing to meet ſuch as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lyons*. From thence *Mucianus* was believed to have tried by ſecret inter-agents to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis*, and to have propoſed, whether he would commit to him the army and empire, if he came in perſon. It remained uncertain what deſigns he foſtered, whether he meditated a war againſt his father, or intended to arm himſelf with power and forces againſt his brother; for *Cerealis*, by ſeveral evaſions, eluded his ſuit, as that of one, who, with a childiſh fondneſs, longed for things to which he was not equal. *Domitian* perceiving, that *Cerealis* deſpiſed his youth, relinquiſhed all functions of government, even the ſmalleſt; and, burying himſelf in ſolitude, feigned a zeal for learning, eſpecially for poetry, thence to conceal his ambition and other paſſions, and to eſcape the jealouſy of his brother [i]. Some writers tell us,

He reſolves to head the army againſt Civilis.

He attempts to corrupt Cerealis.

Retires, and feigns a love for learning and poetry.

[h] Vide SPANH. p. 12. & SUET. c. 3.

[i] TACIT. l. iy. c. 86.

that on this occaſion he applied himſelf in earneſt to the ſtudy of poetry, and with wonderful ſucceſs. *Pliny* the elder ſeems to have admired his poetical compoſitions [k], and likewiſe *Quintilian* [l]; for both cry them up, not through flattery, ſays *Voſſius*, as is manifeſt from the tranſlation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian* [m]. *Lactantius* aſcribes to him the learned comment on that tranſlation [n]; but *Voſſius* is of a different opinion [o]. *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, ſpeaks of a poem written by *Domitian* on the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus* [p]. He likewiſe wrote a book in proſe about the means of preſerving the hair, which is quoted by *Suetonius* [q]. But while he pretended to place his whole delight in theſe ſtudies, and affected a fondneſs for ſolitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded ſuccours againſt the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earneſtly ſolicited his father for the command of thoſe troops; and when he found the emperor no-ways inclined to aſſiſt the *Parthians*, he applied to the eaſtern princes, ſoliciting them with promiſes and preſents to deſire ſupplies, and himſelf to lead them. But *Veſpaſian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to truſt him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himſelf, whether he ſhould openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promiſed them; but his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of *Cæſar*, *prince of the* Roman *youth*; a title now peculiar to the preſumptive heir to the empire [r]. His brother no ſooner expired, than he haſtened to *Rome*; and repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there by the ſoldiery, after having promiſed them the uſual donative, ſaluted *emperor*. At the ſame time he aſſumed, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, all the other titles annexed to the ſovereignty, which other emperors had taken ſucceſſively [s]. Some medals, which have reached our times, give us room to ſuppoſe, that, in the firſt year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lyons* during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the leaſt colour for aſſuming that furname or title [t].

Has ſome thoughts of revolting.

[k] Plin. in præfat. [l] Quintil. l. x. c. 1. [m] Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3. [n] Lact. l. i. c. 22. [o] Voss. hiſt. Lat. p. 115. [p] Val. Flac. l. ii. ver. 12. [q] Suet. c. 18. [r] Idem, c. 2. Onuph. in faſt. p. 210. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Vide Biragu numiſ. p. 131, 132.

Domitian,

Domitian, now inveſted with the ſovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed in the firſt place the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor, and pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loſs of a brother ſo dear to him, and by whom he was ſo tenderly beloved; but that his grief was only aſſumed, he made ſoon appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and perſecuting all thoſe whom he had diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the ſenate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire, and that they had only reſtored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he ſtudied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, diſguiſing his vices, and affecting the oppoſite virtues. He ſhewed ſuch an abhorrence to all manner of cruelty, that he once reſolved, by an expreſs edict, to forbid the ſacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was ſo far from betraying any biaſs to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily inſtances of a temper truly princely and magnificent, preſenting his officers and miniſters with large ſums, in order to raiſe them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods ſordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept ſuch inheritances as were left him by perſons who had children; and becauſe one *Ruſcius Cæpio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain ſum to every new ſenator, he declared the will void, and would not ſuffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years ſtanding, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely forgave; and after the diviſion of lands amongſt the veterans, reſtored the remainder to the antient proprietors, though he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himſelf. He forbad, on pain of baniſhment, all the officers of the treaſury to ſue any one for debts, that were not clear and undoubted [u]. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done, all the grants made by his predeceſſors, increaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, and finiſhed, at an immenſe charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he expended above twelve thouſand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheleſs each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that ſtately temple in magnificence [w]. To the antient edifices, which he either repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones, having a great paſſion for building, and ſeeming deſirous, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it [x], to change every thing into ſtones and gold. He

He reviles the memory of his brother.

His conduct in the beginning of his reign.

His magnificence in public buildings.

[u] SUET. c. 9. [w] PLUT. vit. Public. [x] Idem ibid.

was aſſiduous and quite unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch judges as were convicted of having received bribes, and kept the magiſtrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in ſuch awe, that they were never known to have behaved with ſo much modeſty as in his time, though, after his death, many of them abandoned themſelves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion [y]. Though, after his acceſſion to the empire, he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have peruſed any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign, procuring copies of ſuch as had been conſumed in the flames, and ſending perſons to *Alexandria* to tranſcribe thoſe that were lodged in that famous library [z]. Authors obſerve, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he uſed to retire every day for ſome time into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a ſharp bodkin; which cuſtom gave occaſion to *Vibius Priſcus*, when he was aſked, whether any body was with the emperor, to anſwer pleaſantly, *Not ſo much as a fly* [a].

Repairs the public libraries.

Domitian, in the firſt year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the conſular dignity, and choſe for his collegue *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his couſin-german, the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, who was put to death in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told, and aſſumed the title of cenſor, which office he diſcharged with great applauſe, reſtraining, with ſeveral edicts, the licentiouſneſs, which generally prevailed amongſt all ranks of men. He enacted ſevere laws againſt the authors of ſuch writings as any ways reflected on perſons of diſtinction; degraded a ſenator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he took great delight in dancing. From ſuch women as led ſcandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He ſtruck a *Roman* knight out of the liſt of judges, for taking his wife again after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freedmen having erected a monument for his ſon, with the ſtones which were deſigned for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he cauſed it to be demoliſhed, and the bones and aſhes of the deceaſed to be thrown into the ſea. He would not ſuffer the comedians and

Enacts ſeveral wholeſome laws.

[y] Suet. c. 8. [z] Idem, c. 20. [a] Idem, c. 3. Aur. Vict. Dio. l. lxvii. p. 766.

pantomimes

pantomimes to act on the public ſtage; but confined them to private houſes and gardens. Many perſons of both ſexes convicted of adultery he puniſhed with death, *&c* [b]. Theſe regulations and acts of juſtice were received with great applauſe; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, cauſed an univerſal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, for no crime of his own, but only becauſe the public crier had, by miſtake, inſtead of conſul, proclaimed him emperor in the aſſembly of the people [c]. *Sabinus* had married *Julia* the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; which marriage proved the ſource of *Domitian*'s jealouſy, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [d], and the chief cauſe of *Sabinus*'s death. In the mean time, the brave *Agricola* vigorouſly purſued his enterprizes in *Britain*. In the firſt year of *Domitian*'s reign and the fifth of the *Britiſh* war, he paſſed the frith himſelf in the firſt ſhip that landed, ſubdued in many ſucceſsful encounters nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of *Britain* which fronts *Ireland*, not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that iſland, but becauſe he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it lies between *Britain* and *Spain*, and is capable of an eaſy communication with the coaſt of *Gaul*, *Agricola* conſidered, that it would prove of infinite uſe in linking together thoſe powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domeſtic diſſenſion, was already received into protection by *Agricola*, and, under the appearance of friendſhip, reſerved for a proper occaſion [e]. For theſe conqueſts *Domitian* aſſumed the title of *imperator* the fourth time, having taken it three times before [f], for what victories we find no-where recorded.

Puts Flavius Sabinus *to death.*

Agricolæ purſues his conqueſts in Britain.

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ninth conſulſhip, having *Q. Petilius Rufus* for his collegue, whom *Onuphrius* calls *Virginius Rufus*, and takes for the celebrated *Virginius Rufus*, who ſo often refuſed the empire offered him by the ſoldiery [g]. But *Phlegon*, ſpeaking of a woman, who was, according to him, delivered of ſeveral ſerpents at *Trent*, tells us, that this happened during the ninth conſulſhip of *Domitian*, and the ſecond of *Petilius Rufus* [h]. He is likewiſe ſtyled *Petilius Rufus* in an antient inſcription in *Greek* diſcovered at *Smyrna* in the year 1679. and from thence con-

[b] SUET. c. 7, 8. DIO. p. 765. PLIN. panegyr ZONAR. p. 197. [c] SUET. c. 10. [d] PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. [e] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 24. [f] GOLTZ. p. 58. [g] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 211. [h] PHLEG. mir. c. 24.

veyed

Domitian enacts other excellent laws.

veyed to *Rome* *. This year *Domitian* enacted a law, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, the caſtrating of children, and regulating the prices of ſuch as were eunuchs already; for they were all ſlaves and brought from foreign countries [i]. *Philoſtratus* tells us, that *Domitian* was chiefly prompted to enact this law by a ſecret envy to the memory of *Titus*, who was greatly addicted to eunuchs, and had conſtantly many of them about him. Be that as it will, the law was generally applauded, and continued in force in the time of *Juſtin* the martyr [k].

Puniſhes ſome veſtals convicted of inceſt.

The ſame year, according to *Euſebius* [l], he puniſhed four veſtals convicted of inceſt, *viz.* two ſiſters of the family of the *Ocellates*, *Varonilla*, and *Cornelia*. The three former he allowed to chuſe the manner of their death; but *Cornelia*, who had been pardoned before, he cauſed to be buried alive, and her accomplices to be whipt to death in the midſt of the comitium. Thoſe who had debauched the other three were only condemned to baniſhment [m].

Agricola's further conqueſts in Britain.

In the mean time, *Agricola* continued his conqueſts in *Britain*, or rather *Caledonia*. On the ſummer which began the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, as it was apprehended, that the nations beyond *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*, would all take arms, and that all the ways and paſſages were beſet with the enemy's forces, his firſt ſtep was to coaſt, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the frith, probably thoſe of the counties of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Aberdeen*, which lie beyond *Edinburgh* frith. As the fleet conſtantly attended the army, the ſame camp often contained the foot and the horſe and the marines, all intermixed, and ſeverally magnifying their own feats, hazards, and adventures. The ſoldiers boaſted their laborious marches over ſteep mountains and thick foreſts; the ſailors their dangers amidſt the tempeſts and waves, all vying together according to the uſual vaunts and oſtentation of ſoldiers. As for the *Britons*, upon the ſight of the fleet, they were ſeized, as from the captives was learnt, with conſternation and diſmay, finding the receſſes of the ſea now diſcovered, and the laſt refuge of the vanquiſhed cut off. The ſeveral people therefore inhabiting *Caledonia* had immediate recourſe to arms, and advancing with great parade, ſtill made greater by common report, boldly attacked the *Roman* forts, and cauſed no ſmall terror and alarm amongſt the ſoldiers; inſomuch, that there were ſome, who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of prudence, adviſed *Agricola* to return to this ſide of *Bodotria*, ſeeing it was leſs ſhameful to retire back of their own accord, than

* Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 55, 56. [i] Suet. c. 7. [k] Justin. apol. ii. p. 71. [l] Euseb. in chron. [m] Suet. c. 8.

to

to be repulſed and driven by force. As *Agricola* was informed, that the enemy deſigned to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent their ſurrounding him; for they ſurpaſſed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country. Hereupon the *Caledonians* changed their meaſures, and in one body fell upon the ninth legion, as the weakeſt of all. As the attack was in the night, they ſlew the guards, entered the trenches, aud were already purſuing the ſlaughter in the camp itſelf, when *Agricola*, having learnt from his ſcouts what rout the enemy had taken, and following their track, commanded the lighteſt of his foot and cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty ſhout. Thus the *Caledonians* were diſmayed with double diſtreſs, and to the *Romans* their courage returned; ſo that they fell upon the enemy with great reſolution, and drove them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter enſued, the *Romans* who were come to the relief of their companions preſſing them in the rear, and thoſe who were in the camp in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to ſhew that they brought relief, the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At laſt the *Caledonians* were routed; and had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. . This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted above [n], was fought in the county of *Fife*; for *Agricola*'s army was at that time, as is evident from *Tacitus*, on the north ſide of *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*; and the remains of a *Roman* camp are ſtill to be ſeen in that county, at a place called *Lochore*. To the ſouth of the camp is a large moraſs, in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence ſtrengthens his conjecture, that the ninth legion was attacked there; for *Tacitus* tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not ſerved for ſhelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war. The *Roman* ſoldiers, elated with this ſucceſs, and thinking nothing could now prove unſurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of *Caledonia*, and to the utmoſt limits of *Britain*, which they hoped to find out by a conſtant courſe of victories. Thus thoſe, who a little before had been ſo wary and ſo wiſe, were now after victory full of boaſts and intrepidity. Inſtead of returning to this ſide of *Bodotria*, they were for penetrating to the utmoſt bounds of *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Caledonians*, aſcribing the victory gained by the *Romans*, not to their ſuperior courage,

The Caledonians *attack the ninth legion, but are repulſed.*

The Roman *ſoldiers demand to be led into the heart of* Caledonia.

[n] GORDON. itin. ſeptent. p. 36.

but

but to the ſkill and addreſs of their general, loſt nothing of their ſpirit and reſolution, but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of ſecurity, and, in general aſſemblies of their ſeveral communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by ſolemn ſacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides equally irritated and bent upon war and revenge [o]. The ſame ſummer a cohort of *Uſipians*, levied by the *Romans* in *Germany*, and thence tranſported to *Britain*, having ſlain the centurion and ſome *Roman* ſoldiers, placed among them to teach them the diſcipline, imbarqued in three veſſels, with a deſign to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them. But one of theſe forſaking them and making his eſcape, or bringing them back, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, to *Britain*, they ſuſpected, and therefore killed the other two, and abandoned themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long toſſed them hither and thither, carried them quite round about *Britain*; inſomuch, that, departing, according to *Dion*, from the eaſtern, they returned to the weſtern, coaſt, where the *Roman* army was then encamped [p]. *Tacitus* tells us, that having ſailed quite round the iſland, they were driven on the coaſts of *Germany*, where, their veſſels being loſt, they were ſeized as pirates by the *Suevians* and *Friſians*; and being ſold for ſlaves, ſome of them by change of maſters were brought over to the *Roman* ſide of the *Rhine*, where they became famous by relating ſuch an extraordinary adventure, and by diſcovering that *Britain* was an iſland. Their proviſions had ſoon failed them; ſo that they were obliged to make frequent deſcents, and engage with ſeveral of the *Britiſh* nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were ſometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to ſuch ſtraights, as to feed upon one another, firſt upon the weakeſt, then upon whomſoever the lot fell. This happened in the eighty-third year of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of *Domitian*'s reign. The ſame year, the emperor undertook an expedition againſt the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* deſcribes as the moſt polite and moſt warlike nation in *Germany*. *Domitian* attacked them, without the leaſt provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waſte part of their country, took a ſmall number of peaſants priſoners; and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, haſtened back, and returned to *Rome* with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror [q]. The ſenate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph, in

Britain diſcovered to be an iſland.

Domitian attacks the Cattans, *and for his mock victory is honoured with a triumph.*

[o] Tacit. ibid. c. 24. [p] Dio. l. lxvi. p. 754. [q] Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760.

which

which were led before his chariot great numbers of ſlaves by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occaſion of this mock victory, he promiſed to increaſe the pay of the ſoldiers; but, not having wherewithal to diſcharge his promiſe, and at the ſame time ſupply his other extravagances, he ſoon after betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward, *Domitian* conſtantly wore in the ſenate, and all public aſſemblies, the triumphal robe [r].

THE following year, *Domitian* being conſul the tenth time, with *Appius*, or, as others call him, *Oppius Sabinus*, the brave *Agricola* purſued his conqueſts in *Caledonia* with wonderful ſucceſs. In the beginning of the ſummer, he loſt, to his great grief, his ſon, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an oſtentation of firmneſs and conſtancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Againſt this affliction war proved his chief remedy. Having therefore ſent forward his navy, in order to ſpread a mighty terror, by committing devaſtations in ſeveral places, he put himſelf at the head of his army lightly equipped; and to it added ſome of the braveſt *Britons*, whoſe fidelity had been well proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the *Grampian* hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped. For the *Caledonians*, nothing daunted by the iſſue of the late battle, and boldly waiting, either to take revenge or to ſuffer bondage, had, by embaſſies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thouſand; and their youth from every quarter were ſtill continuing to flock in, as were alſo ſuch of their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had ſignalized themſelves in war, carrying with them their ſeveral enſigns of honour formerly gained in the field. Upon the approach of the *Roman* army, the *Caledonians* with great eagerneſs prepared for battle; and *Galgacus*, who ſurpaſſed all their other leaders both in valour and deſcent, is ſaid to have encouraged them with the following ſpeech, which the learned *Lipſius* looks upon as one of the fineſt pieces of eloquence ever committed to the *Roman* language [s]. "When "I conſider the cauſes of the war and the neceſſity to which "we are reduced, great is my confidence, that this day and "this your union will give a happy beginning to the liberty of "the whole iſland. Bondage we have never borne; and we "are ſo beſet, that beyond us there is no further land, nor any "ſecurity left us from the ſea, while the *Roman* fleet is hovering upon our coaſts. Thus what brave men covet for glory,

The Caledonians draw together thirty thouſand men.

Galgacus's *ſpeech to them.*

[r] Idem ibid. SUET. c. 12. ZONAR. p. 196. [s] LIPS. in vit. Agr. c 31. not. 46.

" is to cowards become the ſafeſt expedient of all others, I mean
" preſent recourſe to battle and arms. The other *Britons*, in
" their former conflicts with the *Romans*, had ſtill a remaining
" ſource of hope and ſuccour in this our nation: for of all the
" people of *Britain*, we are the moſt noble, placed in its remoteſt
" regions, and at a great diſtance from thoſe nations that are
" held in bondage by the enemy; ſo that our eyes are yet un-
" polluted with the ſight of lawleſs and uſurped power. To us,
" who are the utmoſt inhabitants of the earth and the laſt who
" enjoy liberty, this extremity of the globe, this remoteſt re-
" ceſs, unknown even to common fame, has proved the only
" protection and defence. At preſent, the utmoſt boundary of
" *Britain* is laid open; beyond us no more people are found,
" nor aught but ſeas and rocks; and already the *Romans* have
" advanced into the heart of our country. Againſt their pride
" and ambition you will in vain ſeek a remedy or refuge from
" any obſequiouſneſs or humble behaviour. Theſe plunderers
" of the earth, theſe ravagers of the univerſe, finding countries
" to fail them, endeavour to rifle the wide ſeas and the ocean.
" If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor,
" their ambition. Neither the eaſtern world, nor the weſtern,
" vaſt as they are, can ſatiate theſe general robbers. Of all
" men, they alone thirſt after acquiſitions, both poor and rich,
" with equal avidity and paſſion. Devaſtations, murders, and
" univerſal deſtruction, they by a lying name ſtyle *empire* and
" government; and when they have ſpread a general devaſta-
" tion, they call it peace. Deareſt to every man, by the inſtinct
" of nature, are his children and kindred. Theſe are ſnatched
" from us to ſupply their armies, and doomed to bondage in
" other parts of the earth. Our wives, daughters, and ſiſters,
" however they eſcape violence from them as from open ene-
" mies, are debauched under the appearance of friendſhip. Our
" goods are their tribute, our corn their proviſion, our bodies
" and limbs their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through
" woods and drains in bogs, under continual blows and out-
" rages. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined
" to ſervitude, are but once ſold, and thenceforward nouriſhed
" by their lords. The *Britons* are daily paying for their ſervi-
" tude, are daily maintaining and feeding their imperious lords
" and oppreſſors. Moreover, as in a tribe of domeſtic ſlaves,
" he who comes laſt is ſcoffed by his fellows, and ſerves for
" ſport to them; ſo in this antient ſtate of ſlavery, to which
" the world is reduced, we, as the lateſt ſlaves, and thence
" held the moſt contemptible, are now deſtined to deſtruction.
" For we have no fields to manure, no mines to dig, no ports
" to make; works for which they might be tempted to reſerve
us.

" us. Beſides, magnanimity and a daring ſpirit, in ſubdued na-
" tions, is always diſtaſteful to jealous and arbitrary rulers. And
" truly our ſituation, ſo ſolitary and remote, the more ſecurity
" it affords to us, the greater jealouſy it raiſes in them. Since
" therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouſe
" your courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The
" *Brigantes*, even under the conduct of a woman, burnt their
" colony, ſtormed their intrenchments, and, had not ſuch auſ-
" picious beginnings degenerated into ſloth, might have with
" eaſe caſt off the yoke and recovered their former liberty. Let
" us, who are yet unſubdued, who ſtill preſerve our forces in-
" tire, and want not to acquire, but only to ſecure, liberty,
" ſhew at once, in the very firſt encounter, what kind of men
" *Caledonia* has reſerved for her own vindication and defence.
" Do you believe the *Romans* to be equally brave in war, as
" they are vicious and diſſolute in peace? No; not from their
" valour they have derived their renown, but from our quarrels
" and diviſions, which they have dexterouſly converted to the
" glory of their own army; an army compounded of a motly
" multitude of different nations, which by ſucceſs alone are
" held together, and conſequently cannot fail to diſſolve upon
" any misfortune or diſaſter: unleſs you ſuppoſe the *Gauls* and
" *Germans*, and many of the *Britons*, whom with ſhame I
" mention, to be attached to them with any real affection:
" they have been all longer their enemies than their friends; and
" what reſtrains them at preſent is, nothing but awe and terror;
" which once removed, thoſe who ceaſe to fear will imme-
" diately begin to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can
" incite men to victory, is found on our ſide. The *Romans*
" have no wives to encourage and urge them; they have here
" no fathers or mothers to upbraid them for flying. In
" number they are but few, ignorant of the country, and
" thence ſtruck with dread, whilſt whatever they behold around
" them is wild and ſtrange, even the air and the ſky, with the
" woods and the ſea; ſo that the gods ſeem to have delivered
" them up incloſed and fettered into our hands. Let not the
" vain ſhow and glare of gold and ſilver terrify us; this is what
" can neither wound nor ſave. In the very army of the enemy
" we ſhall find many on our own ſide: the *Britons* will own
" and eſpouſe their own cauſe, and abandon one foreign and
" unnatural to them: the *Gauls* will remember their former
" liberty: what the *Uſipians* have lately done, the other *Ger-*
" *mans* will do, and abandon the *Romans*. And what elſe have
" we to fear? their forts are ungariſoned; their colonies peo-
" pled with the aged and infirm; the municipal cities are weak-
" ened and rent into parties and factions, while the people are

" averſe to obedience, and the magiſtrates rule with injuſtice. " Here you ſee a general, here an army; there tributes and " mines, with a long train of calamities and curſes, ever at- " tending a ſtate of ſlavery. Whether all theſe are to be for " ever impoſed and borne, or we forthwith avenge ourſelves " for the attempt, this very day muſt determine. As there- " fore you advance to battle, look back upon your anceſtors, " who lived in the happy ſtate of liberty; look forward to your " poſterity, who, unleſs you exert your valour in this very " field, muſt live for ever in a miſerable ſtate of ſervitude [t]."

This ſpeech was received with ſongs, according to the cuſtom which then prevailed among the *Caledonians*, with joyful ſhouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, while the moſt reſolute were running to the front. As the army was forming in battle array, *Agricola*, tho' he ſaw his men full of alacrity and hardly to be reſtrained, yet choſe to diſcourſe them in the following ſtrain:

Agricola's *ſpeech to his men.*

" It is now the eighth year, my fellow ſoldiers, ſince, through " the auſpicious fortune of the *Roman* empire and by your own " valour, you have been purſuing the conqueſt of *Britain*. In " ſo many marches, in ſo many battles, you have had conſtant " occaſion to exert your bravery againſt the enemy, or your " patience againſt the obſtacles of nature. During all theſe " ſtruggles, we have found no cauſe of mutual regret, I to " have conducted ſuch ſoldiers, or you to have followed ſuch " a captain. We have both paſſed the limits which we found, " I thoſe known to antient governors, you thoſe of former " armies. The utmoſt bound of *Britain* is found, not by fame " only and report: but we poſſeſs it with our arms and camps. " *Britain* is intirely diſcovered, and intirely ſubdued. While " we were marching, and fatigued with paſſing mountains, " rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remarkably " brave cry out, When ſhall we ſee the enemy? when be led " to battle? Already they are come, rouſed from their faſt- " neſſes and lurking-holes. Here you ſee the end of all your " wiſhes; here is room for all your valour, and all things pro- " miſing and propitious, if you conquer; but equally diſaſtrous, " ſhould you be overcome. To have thus marched over a tract " of country ſo immenſe, to have paſſed through thick and " gloomy foreſts, to have croſſed arms of the ſea, is matter of " great glory and applauſe, while we advance againſt the enemy; " but if we fly from them, whatever is now moſt to our advan- " tage, will prove moſt to our diſadvantage and ruin. We are " not ſo well ſkilled in the country as the enemy, nor have we

[t] Tacit. ibid. c. 30—32.

" the

" the like ſtore of proviſions; but we have hands and weapons,
" and in theſe all things. For myſelf, I have been long ſince
" convinced, that neither for the ſoldiers, nor for the general,
" is there any ſafety in turning their backs upon the foe.
" Hence an honourable death is far preferable to a life with re-
" proach; and ſecurity is inſeparable from renown. Neither
" would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this utmoſt verge
" of the world and nature. Were people unknown to you
" now arrayed againſt you, were you to engage men never
" before tried, I would animate you by the examples of other
" armies. At preſent only recollect and enumerate your own
" exploits, only aſk and conſult your own eyes. Theſe are
" the ſame men, who, but the laſt year, truſting to the dark-
" neſs of the night, attacked by ſtealth a ſingle legion, and
" were by the terror of your ſhouting utterly overthrown.
" Theſe, of all the *Britons*, are the moſt timorous and moſt
" prone to flight; and therefore have thus ſurvived all the reſt.
" As in foreſts and woods, beaſts of the greateſt ſtrength are
" driven thence by ſuperior force, and the timorous and ſpirit-
" leſs are ſcared even at the cry of the purſuers; ſo all the
" braveſt *Britons* are long ſince fallen by the ſword, and only
" the moſt fearful and daſtardly remain, whom at length you
" have found, not becauſe they intended to ſtay and make head
" againſt you, but becauſe they are overtaken and ſurpriſed.
" They ſtand in the field, ſtruck with dread and bereft of all
" ſpirit; whence you may without much danger gain over
" them a glorious and memorable victory. Here conclude
" your warfare; here complete your expeditions and efforts,
" and put an end to a ſtruggle of fifty years, with one great
" and important day; ſo that the army may not be charged
" either with protracting the war, or with any cauſe for reviving
" it [u]." *Agricola* had ſcarce ended his ſpeech, when the ſol-
diers, tranſported with joy, flew to their arms. *Agricola*, ſee-
ing them ſufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in
battle array, placing the auxiliary foot, to the number of eight
thouſand men, in the centre, and three thouſand auxiliary horſe
in the wings. The legions he would not ſuffer to advance, but
commanded them to ſtand in battle-array cloſe to the intrench-
ments; for the victory, he thought, would be the more glori-
ous, were it, by ſparing them, gained without ſpilling any *Ro-
man* blood; and, on the other hand, they were ſtill a ſure ſuc-
cour, ſhould the reſt be repulſed. The *Caledonians* were ranged
upon the riſing grounds in ſuch manner, that the firſt band
ſtood upon the plain, and the reſt roſe ſucceſſively upon the

He engages the Caledonians *under the command of* Galgacus.

[u] Idem ibid c. 33, 34.

brows

brows of the hills, one rank close above the other, as if they had been linked together. The enemy's chariots of war and cavalry filled the interjacent field. Then *Agricola* fearing, as the enemy far surpassed him in number, lest he should be attacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak, many advised him to bring on the legions; but he, in all difficulties more prone to hope than to fear, without hearkening to their advice, dismissed his horse, and advanced on foot before the ensigns. The onset was begun at a distance, wherein the *Britons* displayed great courage and equal skill, eluding, with their huge swords and small bucklers, the missive weapons of the *Romans*, whilst of their own they poured a torrent upon them, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* cohorts and two of the *Tungrians*, to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand, as what to the veteran soldiers by a long practice was become familiar, but proved to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they were armed with little targets and with swords of enormous size; for the swords of the *Britons*, as they were blunt at the end, were quite unfit for a close encounter. Hence the *Batavians* doubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down all who withstood them in the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills; insomuch, that the other cohorts, encouraged by their example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havock of all who opposed them; nay, such was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the enemy behind them but half dead, and others not so much as wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the battalions of foot, and intangled with the unevenness of the place, occasioned in the plain a general disorder and confusion. The engagement had not the least appearance of a combat of cavalry; for standing obstinately foot to foot, they pressed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horses, besides, the chariots, abandoned and straggling, and likewise the horses destitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running to and fro just as the next fright drove them; insomuch, that all of their own side who met them, or crossed their way, were beaten down by them. In the mean time, the *Britons*, who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no share in the encounter, looking with scorn upon the small number of the *Roman* forces, began to descend slowly, and to surround them in the rear, while they were pursuing their victory. But *Agricola*, who had apprehended this very design, detached against

againſt them four ſquadrons of horſe, which he had reſerved near him for the ſudden exigencies of the field. Theſe falling upon the enemy, with great vigour and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great diſorder: then turning againſt the *Caledonians* their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in the rear. Hereupon the *Caledonians* began to retire in great confuſion, and nothing was to be ſeen all over the open fields but purſuits, wounds, and captivity, and the preſent captives always ſlaughtered when others occurred to be taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a ſmaller number who purſued them; others, quite unarmed, ruſhing into danger, offered themſelves through deſpair to inſtant death. On all ſides lay ſcattered arms, and carcaſes, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquiſhed ſtill fought with incredible reſolution and bravery; and when they drew near the woods, they rallied, and ſurrounded the foremoſt purſuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors muſt have ſuffered ſome notable diſaſter, had not *Agricola*, who was conſtantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the braveſt cohorts lightly equipped to inveſt the enemy on all ſides, and ſome of the cavalry to diſmount and enter the narrow paſſes, while the reſt of the horſe advanced into the more open and paſſable parts of the wood. The *Caledonians*, perceiving the *Romans* to continue the purſuit with regular and cloſe ranks, betook themſelves to flight, not in united bodies as before, but quite ſcattered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the utmoſt confuſion making toward the deſerts and the moſt remote places. The *Romans* followed them cloſe; and the purſuit was not ended but with night and a ſatiety of ſlaughter. Of the enemy, ten thouſand were ſlain; of the *Roman* army, three hundred and forty, among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and alſo by a fiery horſe, was hurried into the midſt of the enemy [w] (E).

The Caledonians *are utterly routed.*

And purſued by the Romans *with great ſlaughter.*

THE

[w] Idem, c. 35—38.

(E) We will not take upon us to aſcertain the preciſe place of this memorable action, our antiquaries being greatly divided in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help obſerving, that the chief argument, which the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* makes uſe of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes againſt his own. For he approves of no place, but where ſome veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen of a *Roman* camp capable of containing the army which *Agricola* had with him at this battle.

Hence

The following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and ſpoil. But the *Caledonians*, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in deſpair; ſome dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling

Hence he rejects the opinions of thoſe who pretend, that the battle was fought in the *Mearns*, or at the *Blair* of *Athol*, becauſe no remains of a *Roman* camp are to be ſeen in either of theſe places. Againſt ſuch as maintain *Ardoch* in *Strathallan* and *Innerpeffery* to be the ſpot on which the fate of *Caledonia* was determined, he alledges, that the camps, which are to be ſeen there, were not capable of containing the army which *Agricola* led out againſt the *Caledonians*. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers his own, which is, that the real place where the battle was fought, is in *Strathern*, half a mile ſouth of the kirk of *Comerie*, there being ſtill to be ſeen in that place a *Roman* incampment, divided into two partitions or ſquares, which are joined together with a vaſt rampart of ſtone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that having calculated the number of men contained in the ſouthmoſt camp, according to the allowance of ground made by *Polybius* for every foot-ſoldier, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed to find it contained the preciſe number of foot which *Tacitus* ſays *Agricola* had along with him at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. eight thouſand auxiliaries, and that the other ſquare, where he ſuppoſes the horſe lay, contained exactly three thouſand horſemen. For *Tacitus*, ſays he, plainly informs us of the number of *Agricola*'s army at that battle; for, ſpeaking of his diſpoſing of the troops, he ſays thus; *Inſtinctos ruenteſque ita diſpoſuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur:* that is, *Thus encouraged and ruſhing forward,* Agricola *formed them ſo, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thouſand men, compoſed the centre, and three thouſand horſe were placed in the wings.* But were theſe eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe all the troops *Agricola* had with him at this battle? Does not *Tacitus* to the words we have juſt quoted ſubjoin, *Legiones pro vallo ſtitere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum ſanguinem bellanti, & auxilium, ſi pellerentur:* that is, *The legions ſtood juſt without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without* Roman *blood; and that the legions might be ready to ſuccour the auxiliaries, if repulſed.* Hence it is evident, that *Agricola*, beſides the eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe, had ſome legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above-mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, without leaving room to any reply, his own opinion, as muſt evidently appear to every reader. Beſides, to us it ſeems quite abſurd to ſuppoſe, as that writer does, that ſome veſtiges muſt ſtill remain of all the *Roman* camps in this iſland, and indeed elſewhere, notwithſtanding the innumerable changes and alterations that muſt have happened, unknown to us, in the courſe of ſo many ages.

How

calling their loſt friends; all abandoned their houſes, and ſome in rage even ſet fire to them: not knowing where to ſhelter themſelves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to conſult, and from their counſels gathered ſome hope; ſometimes, at the ſight of their deareſt pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, ſometimes to reſolution and fury: nay, ſome, out of compaſſion and tenderneſs, murdered their children and wives. The next day diſplayed more fully the greatneſs of the victory; on all ſides a profound ſilence, ſolitary hills, a thick ſmoke riſing from the houſes on fire, and not a living ſoul to be found by the ſcouts. When from theſe, who had been diſpatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be diſcovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, *Agricola*, conſidering that the ſummer was already far ſpent, and conſequently that he could not purſue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the *Horeſtians*, that is, as is commonly ſuppoſed, into *Angus*. Having there received hoſtages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to ſail round *Britain*, furniſhing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accompliſhed; and thence proved *Britain* to be, as it was thought before, an iſland. On this occaſion were diſcovered and ſubdued the iſles of *Orkney*, till then unknown. *Thule*, now called *Iſeland*, or, as others will have it, *Shetland*, was likewiſe found, hitherto hid, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, by winter, under eternal ſnow. In the mean time, *Agricola* himſelf led on the foot and horſe with a ſlow pace, that the minds of theſe newconquered nations might be awed and diſmayed by prolonging his march through them. He then put his army into winterquarters. Soon after the fleet, having ſailed round the iſland, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed. That port is called by *Tacitus*, *Trutulenſis*, which is utterly unknown. Some, inſtead of *Trutulenſis*, read *Rhutupenſis*, ſuppoſed to be *Sandwich* haven. But from *Tacitus* it is manifeſt, that the fleet

He orders his fleet to ſail round the iſland.

Puts his troops into winter-quarters.

How many camps were made by the *Romans* in *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities have been overturned and utterly deſtroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; inſomuch, that antiquaries are at a loſs about the places where they ſtood. But, admitting our author's ſuppoſition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; beſides which, *Agricola* had with him ſeveral legions, as is plain from the words of *Tacitus* (18).

(18) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 35.

at that time attended *Agricola* in *Caledonia* or *Scotland*; and consequently must have sailed from some port of that kingdom.

Britain *intirely reduced.*

Thus, after many struggles and contests, *Britain* was at length intirely reduced; but the *Romans* did not long continue masters, at least of *Caledonia*, what *Agricola* won being soon after lost by *Domitian*. The poet *Juvenal* speaks of a *British* king, by name *Arviragus*, who was at war with the *Romans* in *Domitian*'s reign [x]; and all the *Scots* historians tell us, that, upon the departure of *Agricola*, the *Caledonians* possessed themselves of the castles and forts raised by him in their country. As for the *Roman* historians, they scarce take any notice of the *British* affairs till the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*, who came over into *Britain*, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to separate the *Romans* from the barbarians, as *Spartianus* styles them [y].

Agricola immediately acquainted *Domitian* by letters with the success that had attended his arms in *Britain*, and the situation of affairs there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modest, without all ostentation, or any pomp of words.

Domitian *is stung with envy at the news of his conquests.*

The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart, being well apprised, that his late mock triumph over the *Germans* was held in public derision; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every-where sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course upon this occasion, to smother his rancour, till the fame of these conquests, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were somewhat abated. To him, therefore, he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and whatever else is bestowed instead of a real triumph, heightening these honours with many expressions full of esteem and respect. But, in the mean time, he resolved to recal him; and that this might not be ascribed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to *Agricola* was destined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of consular dignity, since the same was reserved only for men of the first rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much

Yet causes triumphal honours to be decreed to him.

He recals him.

[x] Juven. sat. iv. v. 38. [y] Spart. in vit. Hadriani.

trusted

truſted with the ſecret deſigns of his maſter, was by him diſpatched to carry the inſtrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he ſtill in *Britain*, for he had already named him a ſucceſſor; that the freedman met *Agricola* croſſing the chanel, and, without ſo much as ſpeaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor, probably *Salluſtius Secundus*, the province, now ſettled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular diſtinction and concourſe of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace, where he was received by the emperor with a ſhort embrace, without a word ſaid, and then paſſed undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the croud of courtiers. From this time forward, to leſſen the reputation he had acquired of a military man and a gallant commander, a name ever diſtaſteful to thoſe who live themſelves in idleneſs, he reſigned himſelf intirely to inactivity and repoſe. In his dreſs he was modeſt; in his converſation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at moſt two, of his friends: inſomuch, that many, eſpecially ſuch as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and obſerved *Agricola*, could not conceive, whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithſtanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accuſed in his abſence before *Domitian*, and as often in his abſence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing elſe, ſave the glorious character of the man, and the perverſe diſpoſition of the emperor, hating all excellence and every virtue. With theſe cauſes concurred the worſt ſort of enemies, ſuch as extolled him in order to deſtroy him. Beſides, ſuch times afterwards enſued, as would not ſuffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; ſo that he was in conſtant danger of being ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, but nevertheleſs lived nine years longer [z]; whence we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in the courſe of this reign.

Agricola leads a retired life.

THE ſame year, *Cariomerus*, king of the *Cheruſcans*, a *German* nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, becauſe he had ſubmitted to the *Romans* and delivered hoſtages to them, had recourſe to *Domitian* for aſſiſtance. But the emperor, not

[z] TACIT. ibid. c. 38—42.

caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himself with conveying to his friend and ally a sum of money, instead of troops, which, he said, he could not at that juncture well spare [a]. About the same time, one *Ganda*, a *German* virgin and prophetess, and revered in *Germany* as a deity, arrived at *Rome*; and being there well received by *Domitian*, after some private conferences with him, returned to her own country [b].

The year following, *Domitian* was consul the eleventh time, and had for his collegue one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Nisme*, twice consul and governor of *Rome*. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times, but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dion Cassius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mœsia*, solicited *Domitian* for succours, who sent them only an hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Suevians*, that joining the *Iazygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced with a design to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the *Roman* terrritories [c]. *Dion Cassius* does not acquaint us with the issue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance against *Rome* [d], adds in another [e], that, soon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the *Romans* lost intire armies in *Mœsia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly or fool-hardy. From several medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to *Rome* from some expedition, of which not the least mention is made by the historians: perhaps he marched in person against the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at least several medals were stamped this year in memory of a signal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans* [f]. The emperor, after his return to *Rome*, abandoning himself to all manner of cruelty, caused the nativity to be cast of all the illustrious persons in the city, and put such of them to death, as were said by the astrologers to be destined to the empire. *Metius Pompositanus*, against whom some ill-designing persons had on the same account endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor *Vespasian*, was on this occasion banished *Italy*, and confined to the island of *Corsica*, where he was soon after by *Domitian*'s order put to death. *Nerva*, who succeeded him in the empire, would have suffered the same doom, had

The Suevians *invade the* Roman *territories.*

Domitian puts many persons of distinction to death.

[a] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 760. [b] Idem, p. 761. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 2. [e] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 41. [f] Vide Birag. numism. p. 134. & Norris. ep. consul. p. 175.

not

not an aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that he had no reaſon to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done, tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great ſeverity, and ſolemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations. Amongſt theſe, the moſt famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Meſſalinus*, and *Bebius Maſſa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them [g], who enriched themſelves and the emperor, with ſpoils of many thouſand illuſtrious and innocent perſons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, againſt whom he preſented a memorial to *Domitian* [h]. *Catullus Meſſalinus* was blind, but nevertheleſs one of the moſt miſchievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign; whence it is plain, that *Catanæus* was miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to be the ſame perſon with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*, who died, according to *Joſephus*, in the reign of *Veſpaſian* [i]. Authors obſerve, that this year multitudes of ſenators and knights were accuſed of treaſon, and either ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered by *Domitian* to diſpatch themſelves. Of theſe the moſt illuſtrious were, *Ælius Lama*, whom he cauſed to be publicly executed only for a jeſt; for the emperor, who, as we have obſerved above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lama* anſwered, *Yet alas! I muſt be ſilent.* *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconſulſhip of *Aſia*, under colour, that he deſigned to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate, but in reality becauſe he had accepted the government of *Aſia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconſulſhip of *Aſia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and preſented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excuſed. *Domitian* not only granted him his requeſt, but ſuffered himſelf to be on that account preſented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the ſalary which was wont to be paid to proconſuls, and which he himſelf had continued to ſome. *Salvius Coccianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's ſide; *Salluſtius Lucullus*, who had ſucceeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for ſuffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Ruſticus* for publiſhing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thraſea*, and of *Helvidius Priſcus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philoſopher, for having declaimed in public againſt tyranny and tyrants. All the profeſſors of philoſophy and every laudable ſcience, ſays *Tacitus*,

[g] PLIN. panegyr. [h] Idem, l. iii. ep. 4. [i] Vide CATAN. in not. ad Plin. jun. & JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 39.

citus, were expelled and driven into exile: and that nothing which was worthy and honeſt might any-where be ſeen, not only againſt perſons, but againſt books commending virtue or patriotiſm, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for in the forum the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt [k]. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivalled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity and lived retired? he gained fame by ſhunning it, was ſtill an eye-ſore, and his beſt fate was to leave his country. Was he virtuous and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and by the purity of his manners upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man ſeemed dull and unactive, he only put on the diſguiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain, he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling republican ſpirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a ſubject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterpriſing and deſperate. In ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow citizens, and a bleſſing to his country, to his friends, or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage was ſure to awaken the jealouſy and vengeance of the tyrant, and procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of theſe unhappy times; Mighty, ſays he, was the teſtimony which we gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, ſo did we of bondage; ſince through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourſe of ſpeech. Nay, with our utterance we had likewiſe loſt our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent [l]. Againſt the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, the ears of the emperor were ever ſhut; but calumny whiſpered by any informer had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes. Falſhood and flattery, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, envy and rapaciouſneſs, paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals, erected for juſtice and preſervation of life and property, were turned into ſhambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties was in truth robbery and aſſaſſination. The perſons of the accuſers were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were pro-

The deplorable condition of Rome.

Encouragers informers.

[k] Suet. c. 20. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [l] Tacit. ibid.

teſted

tected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deſerved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no puniſhment upon them [m]. In the midſt of his cruelties, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and was on that ſcore no leſs infamous, than the moſt vicious of his predeceſſors. His avarice was equal to his lewdneſs and cruelty; not that he had any natural biaſs to that vice, ſays *Suetonius*; but having exhauſted his treaſury by the many buildings he raiſed, by the magnificent ſports and ſhows which he exhibited, by increaſing the pay of the ſoldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himſelf to all ſorts of rapine and extortion, ſeizing, upon the leaſt information, the eſtates of the moſt wealthy citizens: the leaſt action or word againſt the majeſty of the prince, was made uſe of as a pretence for ſtripping them of whatever they poſſeſſed. He confiſcated inheritances, appropriating to himſelf all the effects of perſons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witneſs to depoſe, that he had ever heard the deceaſed ſay, that *Cæſar* was his heir. With theſe and ſuch-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the moſt opulent perſons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greateſt rigour and ſeverity imaginable; but above all, he oppreſſed the *Jews* in a moſt cruel manner, not excepting even ſuch of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like ſeverity treated thoſe, ſays *Suetonius*, meaning, no doubt, the *Chriſtians*, who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and ſeemed to profeſs the ſame ſuperſtition [n]. The heavy tributes, and the rigour uſed by the officers in exacting them, occaſioned great diſorders and frequent revolts in the diſtant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Naſamonians*, whom moſt geographers place in the province of *Cyrenaica*, no longer able to bear the heavy impoſts with which they were loaded, and the inſults and extortions of the collectors, roſe up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, ſtormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the ſword. But *Flaccus* was ſoon revenged on them; for being informed, that, elated with their ſucceſs, they had abandoned themſelves to jollity and carouſing, he rallied his men, and coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, he cut them all off to a man. *Zonaras* ſeems to inſinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to ſex or age [o]; and

Abandons himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs.

His avarice and extortions.

The Naſamonians *revolt.*

But are utterly cut off.

[m] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 759. [n] SUET. c. 12. [o] ZONAR. p. 107.

Agrippa

Ariſtides tells us, that by an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the *Naſamonians* was cut off [p]. However, that ſome of that race outlived this dreadful ſlaughter, is evident from *Ptolemy* the geographer, who places them, as people ſtill in being, to the ſouth of *Libya Marmarica* [q]. *Domitian*, puffed up with the victory gained by his lieutenant over the *Naſamonians*, bragged in the ſenate, that he had cut off the whole nation; for to himſelf he aſcribed, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves [r], all the advantages gained by his officers, tho' he bore not the leaſt ſhare in them, and to others every miſcarriage, however occaſioned by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders. As he hated and ſuſpected every man of parts, eſpecially ſuch as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themſelves to his favour, carefully avoided ſignalizing themſelves by any military exploits, chuſing rather to bear the inſults of the enemy, than to expoſe themſelves to the dangers ariſing from the jealouſy of the prince [s]. The ſame year he firſt aſſumed, according to *Euſebius*, the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*, not being aſhamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his ſecretaries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, &c. About the ſame time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worſhip; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord* and of *God* [t]; nay, ſome writers [u] tell us, that, by an expreſs law, all other titles, either in ſpeaking or writing to him, were to be ſuppreſſed. Of this impious flattery we have many inſtances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the ſtreets leading to the capitol were conſtantly crowded with droves of victims to be ſacrificed before his ſtatues [w]. He pretended to be, and would be called, the ſon of *Minerva*, for which goddeſs he profeſſed a particular veneration. He would not ſuffer any ſtatues to be erected to him in the capitol, but ſuch as were of pure gold or ſilver, and of a fixt weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and by an immenſe number of monuments, raiſed at a vaſt charge, endeavoured to tranſmit to poſterity the memory of his pretended victories [x]. He was the firſt who was ever known to have been ſeventeen times conſul. Not ſatisfied to have aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he cauſed the month of *September* to be diſtinguiſhed with the ſame name; and the month of *October* with that of

Domitian aſſumes the title of Lord, *and that of* God.

The ſhameful flattery of the Romans.

[p] Arist. p. 194. [q] Ptol. l. iv. c. 5. [r] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. [s] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 14. [t] Suet. c. 13. [u] Aur. Vict. & Oros. l. vii c 10. [w] Plin. paneg. p. 99. [x] Suet. c. 13.

Domitian;

Domitian; becauſe in the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In ſhort, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he ſurpaſſed, if *Dion Caſſius* is to be credited, all his predeceſſors, *Nero* not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciouſneſs, and all other vices, which complete the character of an accompliſhed tyrant [y].

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth conſulſhip, having *Servius Cornelius Dolabella* for his collegue. This year were inſtituted the *Capitoline* ſports, ſo much ſpoken of by the writers of thoſe days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* ſports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor preſided at them in perſon, attended by the prieſt of *Jupiter*, and the college of the *Flavian* prieſts [z]. To this year *Euſebius* fixes the war with the *Dacians*, the moſt bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* ſuſtained, during the reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were looked upon by the *Romans* as the moſt warlike nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the moſt part of great ſtrength, but of equal courage, deſpiſing death, which they conſidered as the end of a tranſitory, and the beginning of a happy and laſting life; whence with great intrepidity they braved the greateſt dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an antient philoſopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the diſciple of *Pythagoras*; others to have flouriſhed long before his time [a]. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that theſe people were by ſome *Greek* writers called *Getæ*; but by the *Romans Daci*, which was their proper appellation; for the *Getæ* dwelt beyond mount *Hæmus*, near the mouth of the *Danube* and the *Euxine* ſea; but the *Dacians* more to the weſt and nearer *Germany*; that is, according to the opinion of moſt modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Tranſilvania*. But the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this ſide the *Danube* (we ſpeak with reſpect to *Rome*), they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they poſſeſſed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the antient *Dacia*, it was then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes* throughout his hiſtory confounds with the *Dacians* [b]. At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians*; but after hav-

The inſtitution of the Capitoline *ſports.*

Some account of the Dacians.

[y] DIO. ibid. p. 710. [z] SUET. c. 4. [a] STRABO. l. vii. p. 297. SUID. Phot. c. 166. [b] Vide LLOYD. dict. hiſtoric. p. 405. BAUD. p. 237. JORNAND. Got. c. 12, 13, &c.

ing for ſome time held the ſovereignty, by an inſtance of moderation hardly to be matched in hiſtory, reſigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt than himſelf; for *Decebalus* was a man of great proweſs and experience in war, and equally ſkilled in affairs of ſtate [c]. He is by *Jornandes* [d] and *Oroſius* [e] called *Dorpanæus* and *Diurpanæus*; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuſcus* happened, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dion Caſſius*, that *Fuſcus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*. As to the iſſue of the war which he maintained againſt *Rome*, *Tacitus* ſpeaks thus, without deſcending to any particulars: In the commonwealth there enſued ſuch times, as would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned; ſo many were the armies we had loſt in *Mœſia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, all by the miſconduct of our generals. The queſtion and conteſt was not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which ſerved for its boundaries, but about defending the ſtanding incampments of the legions, and preſerving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become ſignal for ſlaughters and misfortunes, *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing his vigour, his reſolution, and experience in war, with the ſloth and timidity of the others. The beſt of *Domitian*'s freedmen adviſed and preſſed him to this choice out of pure affection and duty, as did the worſt, out of virulence and envy, hoping by that means to compaſs the deſtruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and diſtruſtful prince dreaded nothing ſo much, as to ſee a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army [f]. Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that hiſtorian, ſuſtained great loſſes, and had many armies ſlaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken priſoners. For a more particular and diſtinct account of this deſtructive war, we muſt recur to, and depend upon *Jornandes*. According to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predeceſſors, croſſed the *Danube*, drove away the troops ſtationed on the banks of that river; and falling upon *Appius*, or *Oppius*, *Sabinus*, governor of *Mœſia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations, and

They make war upon the Romans.

Domitian *jealous of* Agricola.

The Romans *defeated by the* Dacians, *and their general killed.*

[c] Dio. ibid. p. 709—761. [d] Jornand. c. 13. [e] Oros. l. vii. c. 20. [f] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 41.

ſeizing

ſeizing all the forts and caſtles raiſed in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all poſſible expedition raiſed a formidable army, marched himſelf at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* diſpatched embaſſadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, inſtead of returning any anſwer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance againſt the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuſcus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus* [g], of an illuſtrious deſcent, and had in his early youth, from a paſſion for ſolitude and repoſe, diveſted himſelf of the ſenatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he embraced the party of *Veſpaſian* againſt *Vitellius*, and to the flame of war added, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, freſh fuel; for he took not ſo much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themſelves. He was ſecond in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured by the ſenate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorſhip. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But after all, he was not, if *Juvenal* is to be credited [h], ſufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, deſpiſing ſuch a general, ſent a freſh embaſſy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* paid him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected his propoſal, to purſue the war with vigour, and deſtroy their territories with fire and ſword. The *Romans* were ſo provoked with the inſolence of this propoſal, that they demanded to be led forthwith againſt the enemy. Accordingly *Fuſcus*, having cauſed his army to paſs the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, *Decebalus* and *Fuſcus* agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and reſolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, and *Fuſcus* himſelf ſlain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vaſt number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's caſtles, and releaſed by the emperor *Trajan* [i].

They are defeated a ſecond time.

THE news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no leſs dreadful ha-

[g] TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 86. [h] JUVEN. ſat. iv. ver. 112. [i] JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 13. OROS. l. vii. c. 8. DIO. l. lxviii. p. 773. JUV. ſat. iv. ver. 111.

vock of the ſenate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of the ſoldiery. He ſtrove at firſt to ſmother the diſmal tidings; but finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a ſecond time, giving out, that he would head the army in perſon. But arriving in *Mœſia*, he ſtopped in a city of that province, and ſent forward his generals againſt the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various ſucceſs, fortune being ſometimes favourable to the *Romans*, ſometimes to the *Dacians* [k]. *Julianus*, one of the *Roman* commanders, gained a ſignal victory, by obliging his ſoldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular [l]. On this occaſion *Vezinas*, who among the *Dacians* was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his eſcape, concealed himſelf amongſt the dead, and in the night retired undiſcovered. *Decebalus* apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay ſiege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who miſtook them for ſoldiers, from purſuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great ſtraights, and obliged to ſue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatſoever. But, inſtead of purſuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might eaſily have done, to ſubmit at diſcretion, he turned his arms againſt the *Quadians* and *Marcomannians*, becauſe they had ſent him no ſuccours during the war with the *Dacians*. Theſe two nations, though ſignal in force and renown, declining to involve their reſpective countries in an unneceſſary war, ſent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hoſtilities, which they were not conſcious to themſelves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, inſtead of hearkening to their intreaties, cauſed their embaſſadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which ſo provoked thoſe warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no leſs dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviſeable to accept, ſince his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refuſed to go in perſon to *Domitian*; but ſent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received

The Dacians *receive a great overthrow.*

Domitian *defeated by the* Marcomannians.

Concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Dacians.

[k] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2.

[l] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 762, & in excerpt. Val. p. 709.

with

with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Beſides the diadem, he preſented him with large ſums, ſent to him, at his requeſt, a great number of artificers and workmen of all profeſſions, and engaged to pay him yearly a certain ſum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not ſubmit to the payment of ſo ſhameful a tribute, ſaying, that he had never been overcome by *Decebalus*[m]. *Domitian*, upon the concluſion of ſuch an opprobrious peace, acquainted the ſenate by letters, that he had at length obliged the *Dacians* to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke; and at the ſame time diſpatched to *Rome* the embaſſadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or, as was moſt commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himſelf, wherein the *Dacian* owned himſelf conquered, and no longer able to withſtand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by ſo brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*. Hereupon the ſenate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the ſame time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had with an annual tribute purchaſed a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomannians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field[n]; for his triumphs, ſays *Pliny*[o], were ever certain proofs of ſignal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets, who flouriſhed under him, extol theſe mock victories, and compare them to thoſe gained by the *Scipios* and *Cæſars*. *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, cauſed a ſtately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuſcus*[p]. *Pliny* complains that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immenſe ſums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he paſſed, pillaging their houſes, laying waſte their fields, and obliging them to ſupply, at a vaſt charge, with all manner of proviſions, both him and his numerous retinue[q].

But is honoured with a triumph.

THE following year, *Domitian* was conſul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their adminiſtration, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But the following year, when *Domitian* was conſul the fourteenth time with *L. Minucius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the *ſecular games*, ſo called, becauſe they were to be ſolemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated

He celebrates the ſecular games.

[m] DIO l. lxvii. p. 762. & l. lxviii. p. 771. MART. l. v. epigr. 3. [n] DIO. p. 761. SUET. c. 6. EUSEB. in chron. [o] PLIN. paneg. p. 21. [p] MART. l. vi p 76. [q] PLIN. ibid. p. 35, 36.

brated

brated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed the time from their being exhibited by *Auguſtus* [r]. They ended, as appears from ſeveral medals which have reached our age, ſome time after the ides of *September*, in the eighth year of *Domitian*'s reign [s], while *Tacitus* the hiſtorian was prætor [t]. *Domitian*, purſuing this year the carnage he had begun, before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funerals, putting all thoſe to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the leaſt umbrage [u]. This general ſlaughter was in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the cruelties and tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his ſoldiers, whoſe affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the title of emperor, and as ſuch was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewiſe by moſt of the *German* nations, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, not from any eſteem or kindneſs they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, haſtened to ſuppreſs it, leading with him the prætorian guards and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the ſenators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even ſuch as had abſented themſelves from the city and long led a retired life, leſt they ſhould be afterwards accuſed of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have coſt them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whoſe army was intirely cut off, and he himſelf ſlain by *L. Maximus*, according to ſome writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus* [w]. Perhaps theſe four names belonged to one and the ſame perſon; at leaſt a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times [x]; and one *Appius Maximus* is ſaid in an antient inſcription to have happily ended the war in *Germany* [y]. While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river ſwelled all on a ſudden to ſuch a height, that the *Germans*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Antanius*, could not croſs it; ſo that his army was intirely cut off. *Antonius* himſelf be-

The revolt of L. Antonius.

Who is defeated and killed.

[r] Suet. c. 4. [s] Onuph. lud. [t] Tacit. annal. xi. c. 12. [u] Euser in chron. [w] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 709. Plut. in vit. Æmil. [x] Vide Onuph. in faſt. p. 216. [y] Idem ibid.

ing

ing killed in the battle, his head was cut off and ſent to *Rome* [a]. *Suetonius* tells us, that the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herſelf upon one of the emperor's ſtatues at *Rome*, covered it with her wings, making a noiſe which expreſſed a kind of joy; and that at the ſame time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*, which ſeveral perſons affirmed they had ſeen [a]. *Maximus* on this occaſion diſplayed no leſs prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for upon the death of *Antonius*, he ſeized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make uſe of them to the prejudice of any man. *Domitian*, however, made a diligent ſearch after his accomplices, torturing in a moſt cruel manner perſons of all ranks and conditions, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion of their having been privy to the conſpiracy, or having lived in friendſhip and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occaſion great numbers of perſons were executed or baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized. Of the many who were accuſed, two perſons only eſcaped unpuniſhed, *viz.* a tribune of ſenatorial dignity, and a centurion, who ſaved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and conſequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterpriſe, or having any intereſt in matters of this nature, either with the general or the army [b]. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not ſuffer two legions to be quartered in the ſame camp during the winter; but kept them all ſeparate and at ſome diſtance from each other, leſt, depending upon their ſtrength, they ſhould form dangerous deſigns, and raiſe new diſturbances [c]. This year another counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Aſia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, ſtruck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of diſtinction, ſupplied him with a choſen body of troops, and ſeemed inclined to quarrel on his account with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria* [d]. This, without all doubt, is what gave occaſion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumphs, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in ſhort, over all the countries of the eaſt [e].

Great numbers of perſons executed.

A counterfeit Nero *in* Aſia.

THE following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* being conſuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but

[a] SUET. c. 6. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. [a] PLUT. in Æmil. p. 489. SUET. ibid. [b] SUET. c. 10. [c] DIO. p. 764. [d] TACIT. l. i. c 2. SUET. c. 6. [e] SIL. l. iii. p 51.

for

for what exploits we know not. Some writers, and amongſt the reſt the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the *Germans* [f], the more becauſe the poet *Statius* ſuppoſes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered [g]. But theſe triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories and real overthrows. Thus we have ſeen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchaſed a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute, and over the *Marcomannians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been ſhamefully put to flight. The next conſuls were *Domitian*, the fifteenth time, and *M. Coceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raiſed to the empire, the ſecond time; for he had been conſul in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. Some modern writers [h] tell us, that having been baniſhed by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip. They quote *Dion Caſſius*; but in that writer we find no ſuch account. *Philoſtratus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, was baniſhed to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifeſt, that *Nerva* did not incur the diſpleaſure of *Domitian*, till he had finiſhed his ſecond conſulſhip [i]. Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome* or in the provinces, which the few hiſtorians, who have written of theſe times, and whoſe works have reached us, thought worth recording. The conſuls of the following year were *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who ſucceeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great ſtrength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud ſhouts applauded his victory; which rouſed the jealouſy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of ſome crime or other, baniſhed him, and ſoon after cauſed him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [k]. A modern writer would fain perſuade us, that he was put to death for profeſſing the chriſtian religion [l]; but the arguments which he makes uſe of are deſtitute of all ſolidity and quite trifling. This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many ſhows, both in the amphitheatre and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of thoſe times, as the moſt coſtly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he cauſed a vaſt lake to be dug, in which a ſea-fight was repreſented with ſuch numbers of ſhips as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered

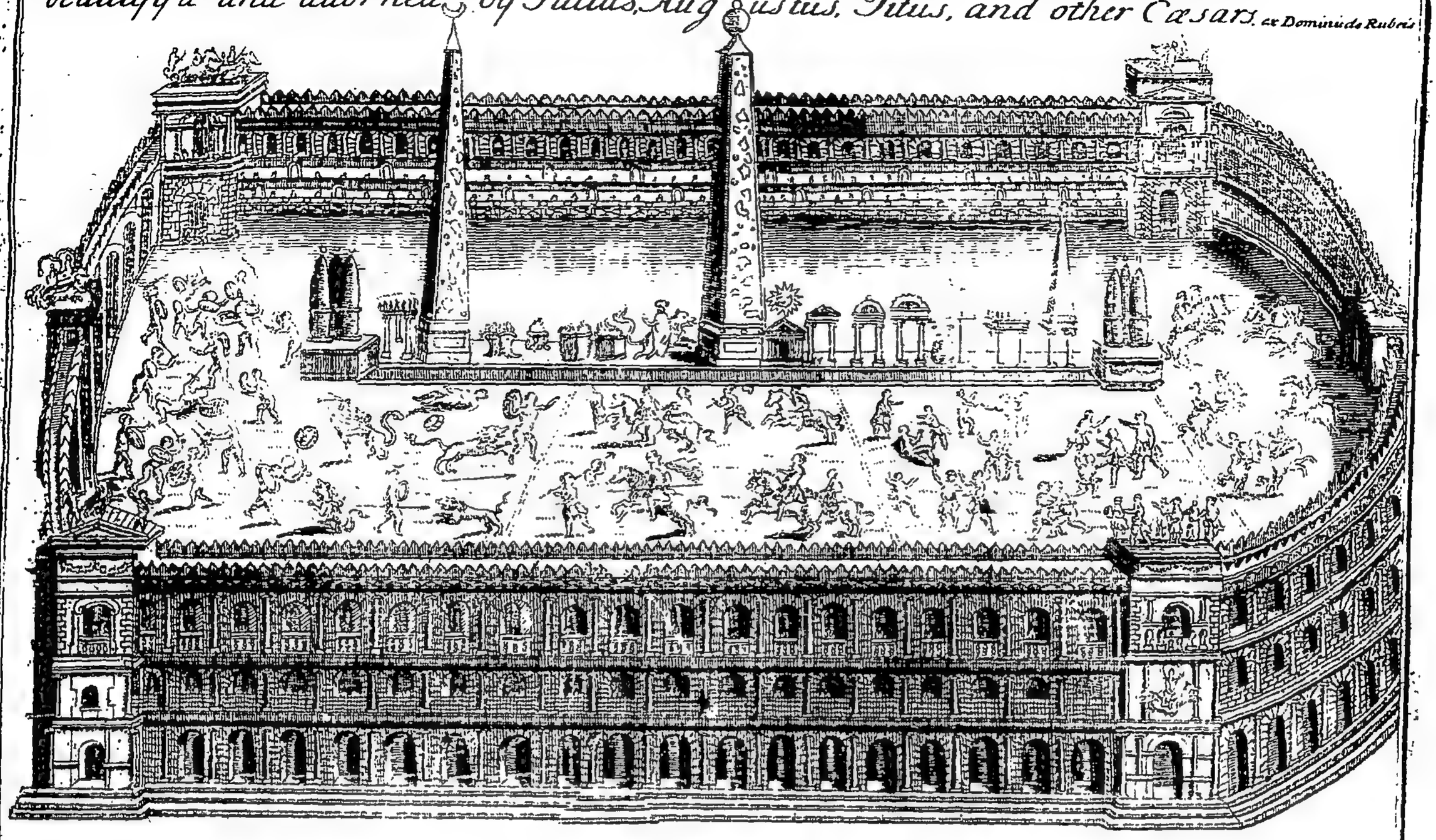
Acilius Glabrio put to death.

Domitian exhibits magnificent ſhows.

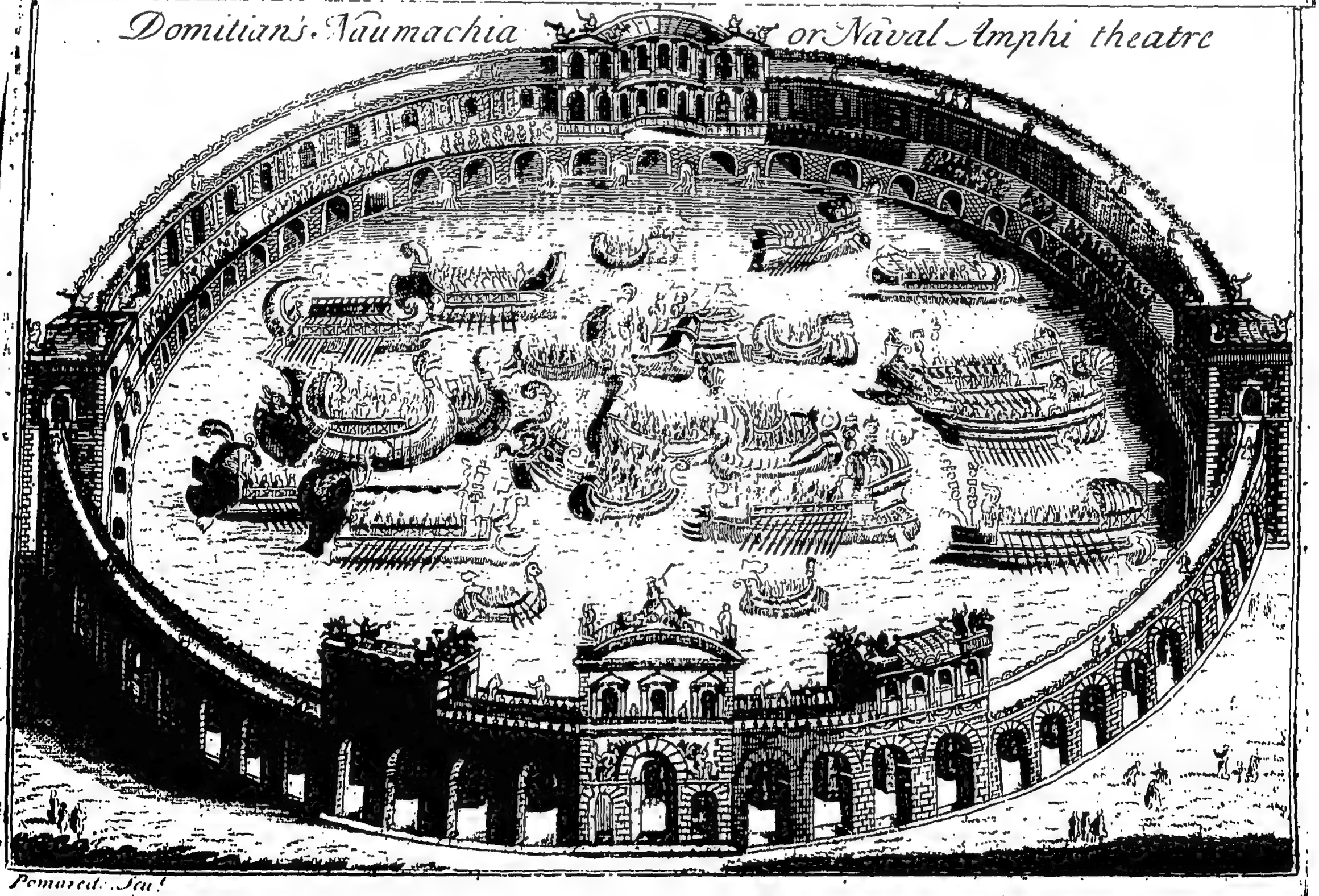
[f] Noris. ep. conſ. p. 175. [g] Stat. Theb. l. i. ver. 19.
[h] Petav. chron. & Caluis. [i] Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. [k] Dio. p. 766. Suet. c. 10. [l] Baron. ad. ann. 74.

the

The Great Circus, begun by Romulus and Finished by Tarquin: as it was afterwards beautify'd and adorned by Julius, Augustus, Titus, and other Cæsars. ex Dominicis Rubris



Domitian's Naumachia or Naval Amphi theatre



Pomaredi Sculp.

the lists, in the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horse, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were so taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties, they bestowed upon him higher encomiums, than they had ever given either to *Vespasian* or *Titus*. During the sea-fight, a violent shower fell; but nevertheless the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not suffer any of the spectators to retire; whence, as the shower lasted some hours, many were seized with distempers, and some even died [o]. *Dion Cassius* describes at length an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the senators and knights; an entertainment, says that writer, which more than any thing else displays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abused his power. At the entrance of the palace, the guests were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only sufficient to discover the horror of the place, and the several coffins upon which were written in capitals the names of the several senators and knights invited. Great was their fright and consternation at the sight of so dismal a scene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himself safe so long as one senator was left alive, and that amongst the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their last doom, the doors were at length all on a sudden burst open, when a great number of naked persons, having their bodies all over dyed black, entered the hall, with drawn swords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The guests, at this dreadful appearance, giving themselves up for lost, already felt all the agonies of death; but those whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for some time danced round them, set at once open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* insult these two illustrious orders, shewing, says *Dion Cassius*, how little he feared them, and at the same time with how much reason they might dread his resentment, since it was in his power to cut them all off, without exposing himself to the least danger [p].

He terrifies the senators and chief knights by a cruel device.

THE next consuls were *Domitian*, the sixteenth time, and *Q. Volusius Saturninus*. This year, the emperor observing a vast plenty of wine and as great a scarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the husbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent there-

[o] SUET. c. 4. DIO. l. lxvii. p. 762, 763. [p] DIO. ibid. p. 763.

His edict againſt planting of vines.

fore this inconvenience for the future, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Aſia* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, begging he would ſuſpend the execution of the edict with reſpect to their lands, ſince their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embaſſy was *Scopelianus*, profeſſor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, inſinuating himſelf with wonderful addreſs into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [q], to repeal the edict, and allow all nations ſubject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleaſed. *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general diſcontent, which his edict produced amongſt perſons of all ranks, both in the city and the provinces, where many lampoons were publiſhed, one among the reſt importing, that, in ſpite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the ſacrificing of *Cæſar* [r]. But after all, *Eutropius* [s] and *Vopiſcus* [t] ſpeak of this edict as continuing in full force in moſt provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the ſpace of almoſt two hundred years. From ſeveral medals it appears, that the city of *Chalcis* in *Syria* began its æra in the autumn of this year, the 92d after the birth of *Chriſt*, according to the common method of computing, and the eleventh of *Domitian*'s reign; whence ſome learned chronologers conclude, that this ſmall kingdom, formerly poſſeſſed by the brother, and afterwards by the ſon, of *Agrippa*, the laſt king of the *Jews*, was then by *Domitian* united to the empire [u]. It was in all likelihood on this account, that the city of *Chalcis* took the name of *Flavia*, which we ſuppoſe to have happened after the death of *Ariſtobulus*, who reigned at *Chalcis* in the year 72 of the chriſtian æra [w].

The ſmall kingdom of Chalcis *united to the empire.*

The death of Agricola.

The following year, *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priſcus* were conſuls. *Pliny* names the former among the conſulars who were ſtill living in the reign of *Trajan* [x]. From an antient inſcription it appears, that both conſuls reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of *July*, the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Aſiaticus*, and the latter to *C. Antius Julius Quadratus*. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, ſays *Tacitus*, ſorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners and ſuch as knew him not. The common people, during his ſickneſs,

[q] Philostr. ibid. c. 17. [r] Suet. c. 14. [s] Eutrop. p. 240. [t] Vopis. p. 245. [u] Noris. de epoch. Syro-Macedonum. [w] Joseph. bell. Jud. c. 28. [x] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 11.

were

were not only frequent in their visits to his house; but, in all public places, in all private companies, made him the subject of their conversation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a soul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was, a prevailing rumour, that he was dispatched by poison. That there was any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his son-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole course of his illness, *Domitian* caused frequent visits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen and his most trusty physicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerness to learn the probability of his death, our historian will not determine. It is certain, that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by messengers, purposely placed, every instant transmitted to the emperor, informing him how fast his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any sorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to shew in his countenance some grief and concern; for being now secure against the object of his hatred, he could more easily dissemble his present joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible, how great was the satisfaction which he expressed, when upon reading the last will of *Agricola*, he found himself left joint heir with his excellent wife and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; so blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune [y]. *Agricola* was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of *June*, during the third consulship of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of *August*, during the consulship of *Collega* and *Priscus*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the *Christian* æra, and twelfth of *Domitian*'s reign. But as to the time of his birth, some mistake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years, two months, and some days, from the thirteenth of *June* of the *Christian* æra 40, when *Caligula* was the third time consul, to the twenty-fourth of *August* in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the second consulship of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38 of the *Christian* æra. *Tacitus* delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him: If posterity desires to know his make and person, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned than tall; in his aspect there was nothing terrible;

Domitian suspected of having caused him to be poisoned.

His character.

[y] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 44.

his looks were extremely gracious and pleasing, a good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Tho' he was snatched away, while his age was yet in full vigour; yet, if his life be measured by his glory, he attained to a great length of days. For every true felicity, namely such as arises from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewise distinguished with the consular and triumphal honours, what more could fortune add to his lustre and renown? Excessive wealth he coveted not; an honourable share he possessed. As behind him he left surviving his daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy, since by dying while his credit was no-ways stained, while his fame was in its full splendor, and his relations and friends in a state of security, he escaped the evils to come and the misery of the later times. We shall close our account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affecting words of *Tacitus*, who thus addresses him after his death: Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was seasonable! Thou didst, as I am informed by those who heard thy last words, accept thy fate chearfully and with firmness; as if, for thy part, thou wouldst have saved the credit of the prince. But to myself and thy daughter, besides the grief of having our father snatched from us, it proves a further accession of sorrow, that we had not an opportunity of attending thee in thy sickness, of cherishing thy drooping spirits, and pleasing ourselves with seeing and embracing thee. We should greedily have received thy instructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in our hearts. This is our grief, this our unspeakable misfortune, that, by our long absence from thee, thou wast already lost to us four years before thy death. Thou wast, no doubt, abundantly supplied with whatever thy condition required, by thy loving wife, the best of mothers, who attended thee. Yet fewer tears were shed at your funeral, and at thy last hour somewhat was wanting to satisfy thine eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted; if, as philosophers hold, the spirits of great men perish not with their bodies; pleasing be thy repose! Recal us, thy family, from this our weakness in bewailing thee, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjust to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with immortal praises, and by following, as far as our weakness will allow, and adopting, thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near relation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of a father and husband, and to be ever ruminating upon all his doings and sayings; and rather to adore the image of his mind, than

Tacitus's *affecting address to him after his death.*

than that of his perſon. Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of ſtatues in marble or braſs; but as the perſons of men are frail and periſhing, ſo are likewiſe the images of them: the form of the mind is eternal, and cannot be repreſented or preſerved by art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe but by a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*, what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, imprinted in the minds of men, and conveyed through a continual ſucceſſion of ages by the voice of fame to the lateſt poſterity. Many of the antients lie buried in an obſcure and inglorious oblivion; but *Agricola* ſhall live recommended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever [z]. Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, without which, and a ſhort paſſage in *Dion Caſſius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greateſt commanders, and beſt citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion. *Tacitus*, as he himſelf informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years abſent from *Rome* when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the leaſt foundation, ſuppoſe him to have been baniſhed by *Domitian*; but *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was a man of a virtuous and humane ſpirit, to behold the ſufferings of the *Romans* under ſo cruel and bloody a tyrant [a].

Bebius Maſſa, a noted accuſer, arraigned.

THE ſame year, *Bebius Maſſa*, an infamous accuſer, was himſelf accuſed of extortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he had plundered and oppreſſed, in a moſt tyrannical manner, while he governed that province. The ſenate appointed *Pliny* the younger and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithynian*, and formerly quæſtor in the ſame province, to plead the cauſe of the *Bithynians*; which they did ſo effectually, that *Bebius* was condemned by the ſenate, and the conſuls were ordered to ſeize his eſtate and effects. But, as they, taken up with more preſſing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent might in the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, reſolved to apply to them for an immediate execution of the ſentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert with him. *Pliny* at firſt declined engaging in an affair which he thought foreign to the profeſſion of a pleader; but, *Senecio* continuing obſtinate in his reſolution, he at length conſented to ſolicit jointly with him the conſuls to ſeize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly, they went together to the conſuls, where they found *Bebius*,

[z] Idem ibid. c. 45, 46. [a] LIPS. vit. Tacit.

who,

who, upon hearing their ſuit, was ſo provoked againſt *Senecio*, that he ſummoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treaſon. The very name of treaſon ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the leaſt fear, addreſſing *Bebius*, told him, he was ſorry he did not charge him with the ſame crime, ſince by his not accuſing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treaſon, men might believe that he had not acted againſt him with equal zeal, and that he ſhould be grieved if he knew that any one entertained of him ſo bad an opinion. This firmneſs and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his ſteady conduct. *Pliny* himſelf wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and begging him to inſert it in his hiſtory, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory [b]. This year *Domitian* undertook an expedition againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a whole legion with the officer who commanded them [c]: but as to the iſſue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that on this occaſion he quarrelled likewiſe with the *Marcomannians*, and on his return aſſumed the title of emperor, for the twenty-ſecond and laſt time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*, and, inſtead of triumphing, contented himſelf with preſenting a crown of laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus* [d]. *Statius* [e] and *Martial* [f] make frequent mention of this war extolling, with their uſual flattery, the ſuppoſed exploits and pretended victories of their hero.

The conſtancy and firmneſs of Pliny.

The following year, *L. Nonnius Aſprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being conſuls, *Domitian* began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all reſpite, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it [g], and to put in execution the deſign, which he had long ſince formed, of utterly extirpating the ſenate, and deſtroying all who were any-ways conſiderable, either for their birth or virtue. That hiſtorian deſcribes the miſeries of theſe calamitous times in general terms thus: The iſlands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous ſtill were the ravages of cruelty at *Rome*. It was treaſonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable deſtruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informers more ſhocking, than their great and di-

The calamity of the times.

[b] Plin l. vii. epiſt. 33 & l. iii. epiſt. 4. [c] Suet. c. 6. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Stat. ſyl l. 3. p. 398, &c. [f] Mart. l. vii. epigr. 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c. [g] Tacit. vit. Agr. c 44.

ſtinguiſhing

ſtinguiſhing rewards; for upon ſome were beſtowed, as the ſpoils of the ſtate, the pontifical dignities and thoſe of the conſulſhip; others were ſent with the character of procurators into the provinces; ſome were made prime miniſters and confidents at home; and, in every ſtation exerting all their terrors and purſuing their hatred, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were ſuborned againſt their maſters, freedmen againſt their patrons; and ſuch as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. The age, however, continues our hiſtorian, was not ſo utterly deſtitute of all virtue as not to afford commendable examples of friendſhip and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their baniſhed ſons; wives who followed their huſbands into exile; in relations were found reſolution and ſuccour; in ſons-in-law conſtancy and duty; in ſlaves ſuch fidelity as baffled all the menaces and horrors of the torture; illuſtrious men ſtruggling under the greateſt diſtreſs, ſupporting it with conſtancy, and diſplaying a fortitude in death equal to that of the moſt celebrated antients [h]. The ſame writer, after having recounted the death of *Agricola*; He ſaw not, adds he, the court of the ſenate beſieged, nor the ſenate incloſed with armed men, nor the butchery of ſo many perſons of conſular dignity, nor the flight and exile of ſo many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one continued havock. Even *Nero* with-held his eyes from ſcenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but ſaw them not. The principal part of our miſeries under *Domitian* was, to be obliged to ſee him, and be ſeen by him, at a time, when all our ſighs and ſorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a ſettled red, whence he hardened himſelf againſt ſhame and bluſhing, ſerved him to obſerve all the pale horrors at once poſſeſſing ſo many illuſtrious men [i]. Thus *Tacitus* deſcribes in general terms the calamities of thoſe unhappy times. The perſons whom he mentions in particular to have been this year put to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Ruſticus*, and *Senecio*. *Helvidius* was the ſon of the celebrated *Helvidius Priſcus*, of whom we have ſpoken above. He had been raiſed to the conſulſhip, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accompliſhments, in great credit with perſons of all ranks, though he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to ſhun the applauſes of the multitude, and conceal his talents in ſolitude and retirement. However, he was accuſed of treaſon, and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him compoſed, he had, under the borrowed

Helvidius, Senecio, *and* Ruſticus, *put to death.*

[h] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [i] Idem, vit Agr. c. 44.

names

names of *Paris* and *OEnone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When the accuſed appeared to plead his cauſe before the ſenate, one of the judges, by name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, ſeized him with the aſſiſtance of ſome other ſenators, and, without allowing him to ſpeak in his own defence, dragged him to priſon, where he was by the emperor's orders ſoon after executed [k]. As for *Certus*, he was named for the conſulſhip, which he ſeems to have diſcharged four years after, that is, in the ſecond year of *Nerva*'s reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the ſenate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at leaſt after his death, ſince no one had been allowed to ſpeak in his favour while living. The ſenate put a ſtop to all proſecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the conſular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himſelf owned, that *Pliny* purſued him with a drawn ſword. *Pliny* publiſhed the ſpeech which he pronounced againſt him in the ſenate; but it has been long ſince loſt [l]. *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accuſed of treaſon by *Bebius Maſſa*, whom he had accuſed of extortion at the ſuit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alledged againſt him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priſcus*, at the requeſt of *Fannia* his widow, and made uſe of the memoirs with which ſhe had furniſhed him. Tho' *Senecio* had with all poſſible care avoided ſuch expreſſions as might ſeem in the leaſt to reflect on the emperor, yet, becauſe he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* cauſed him to be ſentenced to death, and the ſentence to be without delay put in execution. *Fannia* owned of her own accord, that ſhe had perſuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her huſband, and ſupplied him with materials for it. For this crime ſhe was, by a decree of the ſenate, confined to a deſert iſland, whither ſhe carried with her, as her only comfort, the hiſtory of her huſband's actions, which had been the cauſe of her baniſhment, though it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Thraſea Pætus*, was likewiſe baniſhed; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva* [m]. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs us [n], did not content himſelf with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praiſes of *Helvidius Priſcus*, and *Arulenus Ruſticus*, of whom anon,

Fannia, *the wife of* Senecio, *and her mother* Arria *baniſhed.*

[k] Suet. c 10. Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [l] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. & l. vii. epiſt. 33. [m] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 19 & l ix. epiſt. 13. Dio. l. lxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. [n] Tacit. vit Agr. c. 2.

for

for thoſe of *Thraſea Pætus*; but ordered the magiſtrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that in the ſame fire he ſhould aboliſh the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the ſenate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third perſon, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been ſacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius Arulenus Ruſticus*. He profeſſed the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Thraſea Pætus* was condemned by a decree of the ſenate in the reign of *Nero*, and as ſuch would have interpoſed againſt it, had not *Thraſea* himſelf reſtrained him [o]. He was prætor in the ſhort reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was ſent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Veſpaſian*'s commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occaſion he was wounded by the ſoldiery, who ſternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithſtanding the character of an embaſſador, altogether ſacred, would have been maſſacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis* [p]. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was, his having, in a book publiſhed by him, commended *Thraſea*, and likewiſe *Helvidius Priſcus*, as men of honour and integrity. He was accuſed by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even publiſhed a book filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt him [q]. *Pliny* ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accompliſhments and integrity [r], as does likewiſe *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was by *Domitian*'s orders put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's ſight one who, with his exemplary life, ſeemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that while he himſelf was one day declaiming in public, a ſoldier, entering the aſſembly, preſented to *Ruſticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his diſcourſe; but *Ruſticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his boſom, deſired him to purſue his ſpeech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done [s]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Ruſticus* was purſuing him with a drawn ſword [t]. *Junius Mauricus*, the brother of *Ruſticus*, who is highly commended by *Pliny* [u], was baniſhed, as was likewiſe *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Ruſticus*; but they were both recalled by the emperor *Nerva* [w]. At the ſame time was executed by the

Several illuſtrious perſons baniſhed.

[o] TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. [p] Idem, annal. iii. c. 80. [q] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. SUET. c. 10. DIO. l. lxvii. p. 765. PLIN. l. i. epiſt. 5. [r] PLIN. l. i. epiſt. 14. [s] PLUT. curioſ. p. 927. [t] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 767. [u] PLIN. l. i. epiſt. 14. [w] PLIN. l. i. epiſt. 14. & l. v. epiſt. 13.

emperor's orders one *Hermogenes* of *Tarſus*, being accuſed of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a hiſtory which he compoſed: all thoſe who were concerned in tranſcribing or ſelling it were condemned to be crucified [x]. The ſame year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Ruſticus*, who, as we have hinted above, profeſſed the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, all philoſophers were, by a decree of the ſenate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable ſcience expelled *Italy*, that nothing which was worthy and honeſt, ſays *Tacitus*, might any-where be ſeen [y]. *Epictetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city [z]. *Lucius Teleſinus*, who had been conſul in the reign of *Nero*, choſe rather to retire from his native country as a philoſopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profeſſion [a]. *Pliny* beſtows mighty encomiums upon the philoſopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occaſion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purpoſes, ſays *Pliny*, who ſupplied him with money to diſcharge them, when his other friends, though poſſeſſed of great wealth, abandoned him in his diſtreſs. The philoſopher would afterwards have reimburſed *Pliny*; but he generouſly preſented him with the ſum which was owing to him [b]. *Pliny* went frequently to viſit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he expoſed himſelf to no ſmall danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly obſerved, as he was at that time prætor. He was himſelf well appriſed, that *Domitian* ſuſpected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Ruſticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been ſeaſonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the ſame doom which moſt of his friends had ſuffered: for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, preſented to him againſt *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus* [c]. Some philoſophers, dreading the reſentment of the emperor, renounced their profeſſion, and increaſed the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the moſt weſtern coaſts of *Gaul*; and others to the deſerts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, a celebrated ſophiſt, took ſhelter in the country of the *Getæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his diſtreſs, a treatiſe of *Plato* and an oration of *Demoſthenes* [d]. In the height of this perſecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [e], and was there received

All philoſophers driven out of Rome.

Pliny *ſuſpected by* Domitian.

Apollonius Tyaneus *comes to* Rome.

[x] Suet. c. 10. [y] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [z] Gell. noct. Attic. l. xv c. 11. [a] Philostrat. ibid. l. vii. c. 5. [b] Plin. l. iii. epiſt 11. [c] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 27. [d] Philos. ibid. l. vii. c 2. [e] Idem ibid l. vii. c. 4.

with

with great marks of eſteem and veneration by *Caſperius Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards. He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he ſolicited to conſpire againſt *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from ſo bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conſpiracy was actually formed; but that the conſpirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, ſuſpecting their deſign, accuſed them of treaſon before the ſenate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheleſs *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the iſlands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum* [f]. *Orfitus* was ſoon after put to death [g] in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of thoſe times. As for *Nerva*, if he was baniſhed, as *Philoſtratus* writes, he returned home the ſame, or the following, year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dion Caſſius* [h], when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the baniſhment of *Nerva*, which makes us ſuſpect the truth of what *Philoſtratus* writes, who is often guilty of very conſiderable miſtakes. *Sulpicia*, a *Roman* lady of great diſtinction, wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers, wherein ſhe inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial*, for the purity of her manners and the elegance of her compoſition [i]; for ſhe publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, but was not, as ſhe ſeems to boaſt, the firſt *Roman* of her ſex known to the muſes [k].

Encourages Nerva and others to conſpire againſt the emperor.

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ſeventeenth and laſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Flavius Clemens*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon. This conſulate of *Domitian* is the ſubject of one of the poet *Statius*'s poems [l]. In the beginning of the year was diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celſus*, whom ſome writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Jubenius Celſus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan* and conſul in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny* [m]. Be that as it will, *Celſus*, finding himſelf betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor, in which throwing himſelf at his feet, and accoſting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he proteſted, that as to himſelf, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a ſhort reſpite, diſcover all thoſe who were con-

The conſpiracy of Juvenius Celſus.

[f] Idem ibid. c. 3, 4. [g] SUET. c. 10. [h] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 767. [i] MART. l. x. epig. 35. [k] Vide Voss. poet. Lat. c. 2, 3. [l] STAT ſyl. l. iv. c. 1. [m] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 5.

cerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor diſmiſſed him untouched; but *Celſus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promiſed diſcovery, eſcaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened him [n]. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that *Domitian* about this time cauſed the road to be paved leading from *Sinueſſa* to *Puteoli* [o]; and *Statius* ſpeaks of another road by him repaired at a vaſt expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's words, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ* [p]. This year, the fourteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, and ninety-fifth of the *Chriſtian* æra, is remarkable for the cruel perſecution which was by the bloody tyrant raiſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces, the emperor having diſpatched letters and edicts into the moſt remote provinces of the empire, commanding all thoſe who profeſſed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the ſtate [q]. This perſecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells us, that he obliged thoſe who lived at *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, to pay the ſame taxes as if they were really *Jews*; and treated them with no leſs rigour and ſeverity [r]. That *Suetonius* meant the *Chriſtians*, is evident; for all the pagan hiſtorians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, conſtantly ſpeak of them as reſembling the *Jews* in their manners, though not originally of that nation. Among the many illuſtrious perſons, who ſuffered for ſo good a cauſe, we may deſervedly reckon the emperor's own relations, *viz. Flavius Clemens*, his couſin-german and collegue in the conſulſhip, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. He was the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Veſpaſian*, who was killed by the ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldeſt ſon, named likewiſe *Flavius Sabinus*, was conſul with *Domitian* in the firſt year of his reign, and ſoon after, by the emperor's orders put to death. *Flavius Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's deſire, *Flavia Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his ſiſter, as *Philoſtratus* writes [s]; *Domitilla*, his only ſiſter, being dead before *Veſpaſian* was raiſed to the empire [t]. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain from *Dion Caſſius* [u] and *Quintilian* [w], the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Domitian*.

The ſecond general perſecution.

The death of Flavius Clemens.

[n] Dio. ibid. p. 765. [o] Idem, p. 766. [p] Stat. ſyl. iv. c. 3. [q] Oros. l. vii. c. 10. Tertul. apol. c. 5. Lactan. perſ. c. 3. Euseb. chron. c. 17. [r] Suet. c 12. [s] Philoſt. ibid. l. viii c. 10. [t] Suet. vit. Veſp. c. 3. [u] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 766. [w] Quintil. l. iv. p. 105.

mitian.

mitian. By her *Clemens* had two ſons, to whom *Domitian*, as he had no iſſue of his own, reſolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, cauſing one of them to be called *Veſpaſian*, and the other *Domitian*. *Quintilian* [x] tells us, that he was charged with the care of inſtructing and educating the two grandſons of the emperor's ſiſter; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla* the emperor's ſiſter; for theſe two youths were, without all doubt, the ſons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla*. *Clemens* was this year conſul; but had ſcarce reſigned the faſces, when he was, upon a ſlight and groundleſs ſuſpicion, ſays *Suetonius* [y], cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was accuſed of impiety or atheiſm; a crime, ſays that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews* [z]. Thus the *Chriſtians* are conſtantly deſcribed by the *Pagan* writers, as is evident from *Origen* and other *Chriſtian* writers of the primitive times [a]. As for the crime of impiety or atheiſm, this was one of the charges commonly brought againſt the *Chriſtians*, on account of their refuſing to pay any worſhip to the pretended deities of the gentiles [b]. *Suetonius*, ſpeaking of *Flavius Clemens*, ſays, he was no-ways to be feared, in reſpect of his ſloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* obſerves [c], brought againſt the *Chriſtians*, on account of the retired life they led, and their deſpiſing the dignities, which by others were ſo ambitiouſly coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alledged againſt *Flavius Clemens* was, his profeſſing the *Chriſtian* religion; and conſequently, that he ought to be ranked among thoſe illuſtrious heroes, who have ſealed their faith with their blood. A modern writer of great note ſuppoſes St. *Clement*, who at this time was biſhop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family [d]; but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the conſul, aſcribing to the former what he muſt have read of the latter. *Flavia Domitilla*, wife of *Flavius Clemens*, was likewiſe arraigned of impiety; and, beſides, refuſed to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another perſon a few days after the death of her huſband [e]. She was therefore baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Puteoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. *Euſebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla*, confined at the ſame time and for the ſame

Some account of that illuſtrious perſon.

Flavia Domitilla *baniſhed.*

[x] QUINT. ibid. [y] SUET. c. 15. [z] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 760. [a] ORIGEN. in Celſ. l. i. p. 5. [b] Vide JUST. apol. i. p. 56. [c] TERTUL. apolog. c. 42. [d] PEARSON epiſc. Ceſtrien. annal. Paulin. p. 215. [e] PHILOSTRAT. ibid. l. viii. c. 10.

cauſe,

Another heroine of the same name banished.

cauſe, to the iſland of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and ſuppoſes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens*'s ſiſter [f]. *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the ſame with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not aware that *Euſebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* hiſtorian, by name *Brutius*, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, and whom ſome writers take to be *Præſens*, named alſo *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny*'s letters is inſcribed [g]. To theſe illuſtrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile ſeveral ladies of the prime nobility [h]. St. *Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *ſaint*, and tells us, that ſhe ſuffered a long martyrdom in the iſland of *Pontia*, to which ſhe was confined by *Domitian* for profeſſing the *Chriſtian* religion [i]. As to *Clemens*'s two ſons, to whom *Domitian* deſigned, as we have obſerved above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the antient hiſtorians; but we ſuppoſe, that if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodſhed and ſlaughter, ſuffered them to live unmoleſted. *Gruter* proves from an antient inſcription, that *Clemens* had likewiſe a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Oneſimus* [k]; but no hiſtorian ſpeaks either of her or her huſband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his hiſtory of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, deſcended from *Flavius Clemens* and the niece of the emperor *Domitian* [l]; whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had iſſue. During this perſecution, St. *John* was confined to the iſland of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypſe*; and a great many illuſtrious champions of the *Chriſtian* faith, mentioned by the eccleſiaſtic writers, ſuffered for the ſame glorious cauſe death or baniſhment, with a conſtancy and firmneſs worthy of the religion which they profeſſed. *Lactantius* will have this cruel perſecution to have ended with *Domitian*'s life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the ſenate, and conſequently the edicts which he had enacted againſt the *Chriſtians* [m]. But two of the moſt antient eccleſiaſtic writers, viz. *Hegeſippus*, quoted by *Euſebius* [n], and *Tertullian* [o], tell us in expreſs terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a ſtop to the perſecution which he

Many Chriſtians put to death or baniſhed.

[f] Euseb. in chron. p. 205. [g] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 3. Voss. hiſt Lat l. iii. p. 608. Scal. in chron. p. 205. [h] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 45. [i] Hier. epist. xxvii. c 1. [k] Gruter. p. 245. [l] Treb. Poll. hist trig tyr c. 11. p. 191 edit. Pariſ [m] Lact. perſ. c 3. [n] Euseb. l. iii. c. 20. [o] Tert. apol. c. 5.

had

had raiſed againſt the church, and recalled all thoſe whom he had baniſhed on the ſcore of their religion. This ſame year, *Domitian* cauſed *Epaphroditus*, formerly freedman and ſecretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in diſpatching himſelf, when he ought to have defended him. By this inſtance of ſeverity he hoped to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, was the only motive which prompted him to exert ſuch rigour againſt one whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the ſame employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero* [p]. This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to whom *Joſephus* inſcribed, at leaſt three years before, his *antiquities*; a plain proof, that he was then in great favour with the emperor.

THE next conſuls were *Caius Fabius Valens* and *Caius Antiſtius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his conſulſhip, and ſeems to have died before it expired [q]. Many prodigies are ſaid to have happened this year, at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almoſt daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning: the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunder-ſtruck; the inſcription upon one of the emperor's triumphal ſtatues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the ſtorm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Veſpaſian*'s time, as we have related above, and roſe up again, fell down the ſecond time; the oracle at *Præneſte*, which had always returned favourable anſwers, and promiſed him good fortune and ſucceſs at the beginning of each year, preſaged nothing now but calamities and ſlaughter; *Domitian* himſelf dreamt, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worſhip, and whoſe feaſt he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herſelf from the chapel which he had conſecrated to her; telling him, that *Jupiter* had diſarmed her, and that ſhe could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him ſo much as the anſwer of an aſtrologer, by name *Aſcletarion*, and what enſued thereupon; for he being accuſed of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* aſked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom? The aſtrologer anſwered, He was to be, and that in a ſhort time he ſhould be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falſhood of his art, ordered him to be immediately

The death of Domitian *foretold by ſeveral prodigies.*

[p] DIO. p. 766. PLIN. panegyr. SUET. c. 14. [q] DIO. p. 766. ONUPH p. 313. IDAT. in faſt. &c.

put

put to death, and his body to be burnt. The firſt part of the ſentence was put in execution; but before the body was half conſumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent ſtorm, and devoured, purſuant to the prediction, by the dogs [q]. Another aſtrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the laſt day of *Domitian*'s life. Hereupon he was apprehended by the governor of the province, and ſent to the emperor, in whoſe preſence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforeſaid month; but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only diſmiſſed unhurt, but preſented by *Nerva* with a large ſum, and ever after had in great eſteem [r]. No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with theſe predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conſcience, lived in continual diſquiet: there was no accident ſo trivial, no perſon ſo contemptible, as not to diſmay him, and put him upon ſanguinary precautions. Of the eminent perſons, either of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order, he was under perpetual apprehenſions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him; he feared friends and enemies; thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, his moſt intimate friends and confidents, were all martyrs to his jealouſy and fury: he dreaded all men and every thing; ſeveral of his freedmen he put to death, depoſed the commander of the prætorian guards, diſcharged great numbers of officers, *&c.* But the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not ſuffer any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had firſt ſecured their chains in his hands [s]. A young child, with whom he uſed to divert himſelf, having one day, while the emperor was aſleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empreſs happening to meet him, deſired to ſee it; when, to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe found it contained the names of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons deſtined to ſlaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with thoſe of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. To theſe *Domitia* immediately communicated the whole, and by them a reſolution was, without further deliberation, taken to diſpatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody deſign in execution [t]. Of this *Suetonius* takes no notice;

He lives in continual agonies and apprehenſions.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

[q] Suet. c. 5. Dio. p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 590. [r] Dio. ibid. Suet. c. 16. [s] Dio. p. 766. [t] Idem ibid.

notice; but nevertheleſs tells us, that *Domitian* periſhed by a conſpiracy of his friends and freedmen, not without the privity of his wife [u]. The death of *Clemens* haſtened, according to the ſame writer, his own ruin [w], either becauſe the cruelty, he exerciſed towards thoſe of his own family, occaſioned a general dread and deſpair, or becauſe it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freedman and procurator to *Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, and beſides was at that time accuſed of having embezzled part of her effects [x]. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conſpirators; but, as he was a man of great ſtrength, took upon him to diſpatch the tyrant [y]. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before an apprehenſion, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. One night his father *Veſpaſian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of aſtrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, conſtantly about him, obſerving that *Domitian* at ſupper abſtained from muſhrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, ſince he ſeemed to be under greater apprehenſion of poiſon, than of the ſword. This *Domitian* ever after remembered, and was thence ſtrangely affected by the bare ſight of a drawn ſword or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refuſed the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him, namely, that as often as he was conſul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, choſen by lot, ſhould walk before him amongſt his lictors in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time which he chiefly dreaded and ſuſpected drew near, his jealouſy increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the gallery, in which he uſually walked, to be ſet round with a certain ſtone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glaſs; ſo that he could diſcover what was done behind him [z]. The day before he was murdered, he ordered ſome choice fruit, which were preſented to him, to be reſerved againſt the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to uſe them:* then turning to thoſe about him, *To-morrow*, ſaid he, *the moon will appear bloody in* Aquarius, *and ſomething will happen which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was ſo terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to adminiſter juſtice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore aſked, what time of the day it was, one of the conſpirators, on purpoſe to deceive him, told him it was noon.

His jealouſy.

He ſeems to have ſome knowledge of his death.

[u] SUET. c. 14. [w] Idem, c. 15. [x] PHILOST. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. [y] DIO. ibid. SUET. c. 17. [z] SUET. c. 14.

Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily eſcaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himſelf to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* faſhion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accoſting him, told him, he had ſomething of great importance to impart to him, and ſuch as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to diſguiſe his deſign, had appeared for ſome days with his left arm wrapt up, and in a ſling, as if he had received ſome hurt. He preſented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to diſcover a dangerous conſpiracy formed by his couſin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be ſtill alive, and by ſeveral others, whoſe names were all ſet down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Stephanus* drawing ſuddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, ſtruck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himſelf wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for aſſiſtance; but under his pillow was found only the ſcabbard, and the doors were all locked and well ſecured. *Domitian*, notwithſtanding his wound, ſtruggled ſome time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, ſtriving to wreſt the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thruſt out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fearing ſome of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noiſe, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Satureius*, and a celebrated gladiator, diſpatched him with many wounds. Many, who were not privy to the conſpiracy, alarmed at the noiſe, haſtened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conſpirators made their eſcape as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated [a]. Thus died *Domitian*, notwithſtanding all his precautions and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-ſix days, and reigned fifteen years and five days. For his death the common people ſhewed neither grief nor joy; but the ſoldiers, whoſe pay he had increaſed, and with whom he often ſhared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*; and would have raiſed great diſturbances, had not their officers, as moſt of them were concerned in the conſpiracy, reſtrained them. The troops quartered in the

He is wounded by Stephanus.

And diſpatched by him, and the other conſpirators.

He is regretted by the troops.

[a] Idem, c. 17. Dio. p. 676. Philost. in vit. Apol. Ty. p. 485.

country

country of the *Getæ*, were ready to revolt when they understood he had been aſſaſſinated; but the philoſopher *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury, by a ſpeech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and puniſhments due to ſuch as abuſe their power, to the oppreſſion of the people committed to their care [b]. But, on the contrary, the ſenate could not diſguiſe their joy: they aſſembled in haſte, and after having, in the moſt opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces all his images. An infinite number of ſtatues of gold and ſilver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were by their orders broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inſcriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be razed, his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be aboliſhed for ever [c]. Several antient inſcriptions are ſtill to be ſeen, in which the name of *Domitian* is razed [d]. All his acts were annulled, and thoſe whom he had baniſhed recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, cauſed his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a perſon of the meaneſt condition, to a country-houſe ſhe had at a ſmall diſtance from the city; where ſhe burnt it, and carrying the aſhes, without being obſerved, to the temple which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with thoſe of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom ſhe had likewiſe brought up. *Domitian* was the laſt emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewiſe the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the twelve *Cæſars* (F).

The joy of the ſenate.

His ſtatues broken, and his acts annulled.

[b] SUET. c. 22. PHILOST. ibid. p. 492. [c] SUET ibid. DIO. l. lxviii. p. 769. MACROB. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. LACTAN. perſec. c. 3. [d] GOLTZ. p. 234.

(F) Here we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of ſome writers who flouriſhed under the princes of the *Flavian* family. *Juſtus*, the ſon of *Piſtus*, contemporary with *Joſephus*, and of the ſame religion, but a native of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, wrote likewiſe in *Greek* the hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* war, of the taking of *Jotapat*, and of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This hiſtory he compoſed ſoon after the war, but did not publiſh it till *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and king *Agrippa*, were dead, that is, twenty years after he had wrote it, about the thirteenth year of *Domitian*'s reign. *Joſephus*, who was at variance with him, tells us, that he ſo long ſuppreſſed his hiſtory, becauſe he durſt not ſtand the teſt and cenſure of the world, while ſo many per-

ſons were yet alive, who were able to diſprove him (27). St. *Jerom*, and ſeveral other writers, ſpeak of this hiſtory of *Juſtus* (28), and obſerve, that he was no-ways a candid hiſtorian, and that he often contradicted point-blank the memoirs or commentaries of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and other generals. We have therefore no cauſe to regret the loſs of ſuch a work. This hiſtory is probably different from another done by the ſame author, containing the lives and reigns of all the *Jewiſh* kings, from *Moſes* to the death of young *Agrippa* (29). This work, which *Photius* (30), calls a chronicle, was ended in the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, and is probably what St. *Jerom* (31) and *Suidas* (32), who tranſlated it, call *Juſtus's ſhort commentaries*. Another writer, by name *Antonius Julianus*, flouriſhed about this time, and publiſhed an account of the *Jewiſh* war, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For *Minucius Felix*, who wrote in defence of the *Chriſtian* religion in the beginning of the third century, refers the pagans to *Antonius Julianus*, and to *Joſephus*, telling them, that in the writings of theſe hiſtorians, they will find, that the *Jews* were not abandoned by God till they had abandoned him; and that they only ſuffered what they had been fore-warned they ſhould ſuffer, if they continued to diſobey his law (33). We find two perſons bearing that name mentioned by the antients, *viz.* *Antonius Julianus*, procurator of *Judæa*, who was with *Titus*, as *Joſephus* informs us (34), at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*; and *Antonius Julianus*, a native of *Spain*, and profeſſor of rhetoric at *Rome*, often quoted and commended by *Aulus Gellius*, who was one of his diſciples (35). He flouriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century, and wrote ſome rhetorical and grammatical books (36). A hiſtory in *Hebrew* and *Latin* of the *Jewiſh* war has reached our times; done by one *Joſephus*, the ſon of *Gorion*, who pretended, it ſeems, to paſs himſelf upon the world for the celebrated *Joſephus*. But the ableſt critics take him to have been a *Jew* born in *Gaul* in the ſeventh century, and his hiſtory to be only an abridgement of the *Latin* tranſlation of *Joſephus*'s hiſtory, which is commonly aſcribed to *Ruffinus*, with the addition of many groſs miſtakes, and fabulous accounts (37). As for the hiſtory of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, it is but a tranſlation of the hiſtory of *Joſephus*, wherein the author allows himſelf a great latitude, retrenching ſeveral things, and adding harangues, deſcriptions, and even ſome events which he had probably found in other hiſtorians. We muſt not confound this writer, as ſome have done, with another of the ſame name, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was a native of *Greece*, whereas the compiler of *Jo-*

(27) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 9. *& vit.* (28) *Hier. de vir. illuſt. c.* 14. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 8. (29) *Voſſ. ibid. Euſeb. p.* 47. (30) *Phot. c.* 33. (31) *Hier. ibid.* (32) *Suid. p.* 1251. (33) *Min. Fel. p.* 27. (34) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 4. (35) *Aul. Gell l.* i. *c.* 4. *l.* ix *c.* 1. *l.* xv. *c.* 1. *l.* xviii. *c.* 5. *l.* xix. *c.* 9. (36) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 4. (37) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *Baron. ad ann.* 72.

ſephus

ſephus was, as is evident from ſome paſſages in his work, quite ignorant of the *Greek* tongue (38). Beſides, he mentions the city of *Conſtantinople*, and tells us, that having by degrees eclipſed the cities of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, it was no longer the fourth, but the ſecond, city of the *Roman* empire (39). It is therefore plain, that he did not write before the reign of *Conſtantine the great*, nor even before the end of the fourth century. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he flouriſhed about the latter end of the tenth century; but the propriety of his expreſſions, and the elegance and ſublimity of his ſtyle, are a convincing proof, that he wrote before the total and general decay of learning, that is, before the fifth century. Hence the learned biſhop *Pearſon* takes him for an author of the fourth or fifth century (40); and father *Mabillon* quotes two manuſcripts of *Hegeſippus*'s hiſtory, both written, as he conjectures from the characters, before the ſeventh century (41). *Gronovius* takes St. *Ambroſe*, concealed under the aſſumed name of *Hegeſippus*, to be the true author of that hiſtory, being induced thereunto by ſeveral of St. *Ambroſe*'s phraſes, which he obſerved in it (42). But the ſame phraſes are often common to ſeveral writers of the ſame age; and the ſtyle of *Hegeſippus* is, in our opinion, far more eaſy and proper than that of St. *Ambroſe*, or of *Paulinus*, *Sulpicius Severus*, *Aper*, *Eucherius*, or *Hilarius*; for to each of theſe the work, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, has by ſome writers been aſcribed. To the hiſtory of *Hegeſippus* is annexed an *anacephalæoſis*, or ſummary of the chief matters contained in it, which by ſome is thought the work of the ſame author; but *Gronovius* ſpeaks of it, and not undeſervedly, with great contempt (43). In this ſummary, and not in the hiſtory itſelf, is found the ſuppoſititious letter from *Pilate* to *Tiberius* concerning our *Saviour*. The hiſtory of *Hegeſippus* is quoted by *John* of *Saliſbury*, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and by *John* of *Trittenheim*, abbot of *Spanheim*, in his learned book of *eccleſiaſtical writers*; but he, by confounding the author of this work with the above-mentioned *Hegeſippus*, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, has led many others into the ſame miſtake (44).

Of *Flavius Joſephus*, the moſt famous of all the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under the princes of the *Flavian* family, we have already ſpoken in the ſeveral parts of this work; and therefore ſhall offer only a few remarks on his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* wars, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This hiſtory he compoſed at *Rome*, in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, in his own language (45), which was much the ſame with the *Syriac*, and afterwards tranſlated it into *Greek*, with the aſſiſtance of ſome perſons who were better acquainted with that tongue than he (46). For the knowledge of the ſeveral languages

(38) *Hegeſ. l.* iii. *c.* 1, 6, & 9. *Biblioth. patrum. l.* vii. *p.* 462, 463. (39) *Idem ibid. c.* 5. *p.* 465, 466. (40) *Pearſon. ann. Paulin. p.* 50. *Lond.* 1688. (41) *Mabill. iter. Italic. p* 14. *Pariſ.* 1687. (42) *Gronov. obſervat. eccleſ. c.* 1. (43) *Idem ibid.* (44) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *p.* 706. *Trit. p.* 4. (45) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* 1. (46) *Idem in Api. l.* i.

was

was not a thing practiſed or valued by the *Jews*, but looked upon as a profane ſtudy, the ſum of their wiſdom and learning conſiſting in the knowledge of their laws and the right underſtanding of the ſcripture (47); which, however, it is plain they never did rightly underſtand with relation to the *Meſſiah*. The *Syriac* hiſtory was immediately diſperſed over all the eaſtern countries, and greedily read by the *Arabians*, *Adiabenians*, *Babylonians*, *Parthians*, and all the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates* (48). Some copies of this work, which was divided into five books, are ſtill extant (49). The *Greek* tranſlation proved both troubleſome and expenſive to him (50). He divided it into ſeven books, and did not put the laſt hand to it before the fifth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; for he mentions the temple of *Peace* as finiſhed, which was conſecrated the following year, the ſixth of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; and ends his hiſtory with the death of *Catullus*, which did not happen, as is evident from *Dion Caſſius*, before that time (51). *Joſephus* cloſes his hiſtory with theſe words: As for my ſtyle, and manner of writing, I ſubmit it to the judgment of the reader; but as to the candour and ſincerity of my accounts, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept ſtrictly to truth, and have had nothing elſe in view throughout the whole work. Of what paſſed amongſt the *Romans* he was an eye-witneſs, and learnt of the deſerters, who all applied to him, every ſtep taken by the enemy (52). Beſides, *Titus* imparted to him his own commentaries or memoirs (53); ſo that he was thoroughly acquainted with every thing that happened during the whole time of the war. As ſoon as he had ended his *Greek* tranſlation, he preſented it to *Veſpaſian*, to *Titus*, to king *Agrippa*, and to ſeveral others, who had been eye-witneſſes of what he relates (54); which he would never have done, had he been conſcious to himſelf of having ſwerved in the leaſt from truth. King *Agrippa*, in ſixty-two letters to *Joſephus*, authentically witneſſed the candour and ſincerity which reigns throughout the whole work (55); and *Titus*, not ſatisfied with ordering it to be publiſhed, and lodged in the public library, ſigned, ſome read tranſcribed, with his own hand the copy, which was to be placed there as an authentic relation of the *Jewiſh* war, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (56). Hence *Suidas* gives to *Joſephus* the title of *lover of truth*, as peculiar to him (57). But after all, his hiſtory is not quite exempt from faults; ſome of which he himſelf corrected in the works he afterwards publiſhed (58). It was either a deplorable ignorance, or inexcuſable flattery, that prompted him to miſinterpret the ſcripture, and apply to *Veſpaſian* the prophecy, importing, that in thoſe days a prince ſhould come out of *Judæa*, who ſhould rule

(47) *Idem. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 9. (48) *Idem, bell. Jud. l.* 1. (49) *Vide Poſſevin. apparat. tom.* i. *p.* 966: *Coloniæ. an.* 1608. (50) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* i. (51) *Dio. l.* lxvi. *p.* 751, 752. (52) *Joſeph. in Api. l.* 1. (53) *Idem, in vit.* (54) *Idem, in Api. l.* i. (55) *Idem, in vit.* (56) *Idem ibid. & Hier. vit. vir. illuſt. c.* 13. (57) *Suid. p.* 1261. (58) *Vide Huetii demonſtrat. evang. p.* 326.

over

over the whole world; which could be underſtood of the *Meſſiah* alone. *Photius*, ſpeaking of the *Greek* tranſlation of this hiſtory, greatly commends it, even on account of the ſtyle, which to him ſeems eaſy, proper,° and no leſs elegant than that of the beſt *Greek* hiſtorians (59): and St. *Jerom* calls *Joſephus*, *the* Livy *of the* Greeks (60). Hence it is evident, that the many obſcure paſſages, odd phraſes, and irregular conſtructions, which are to be met with in this work, ought to be aſcribed to the copyiſts, and not to the author. When *Joſephus* had ended his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* wars, he undertook the general hiſtory of his nation, from the beginning of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of *Nero*, when the *Jews* revolted, and ſtrove to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, which was the occaſion of their utter ruin. Of this work, which is compriſed in twenty books, and was finiſhed by *Joſephus* in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, that is, in the thirteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, and towards the end of the ninety-third of the *Chriſtian* æra, we have ſpoken in various places of this hiſtory; and therefore ſhall only repeat here, that he frequently contradicts point-blank holy writ; of which the reader will find many inſtances in father *Poſſevin*'s learned *Apparatus* (61). Of the famous paſſage concerning our *Saviour*, we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of the *Jews* (62). To the general hiſtory of the *Jews*, which *Joſephus* himſelf intitled the *Jewiſh antiquities*, tho' brought down to the twelfth year of *Nero*'s reign, he added the particular hiſtory of his own life, which he finiſhed before the death of *Domitian*, that is, before the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96, of the *Chriſtian* æra. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* look upon his life as part of the twentieth book of his *antiquities*; and likewiſe upon his books againſt *Apion*, as a continuation of the ſame work (63). Beſides the above mentioned works, a diſcourſe compoſed by *Joſephus* has reached our times, wherein he ſhews, that it is in the power of reaſon to command and ſubdue the paſſions: whence the treatiſe is by ſome ſtyled, *the rule of reaſon*; but by others, *the hiſtory of the Maccabees*, becauſe *Joſephus* deſcribes there at length the glorious death of thoſe illuſtrious champions. This piece St. *Jerom* cries up as a moſt elegant performance (64); and St *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* refers his readers to it for a true and affecting account of the martyrdom of the *Maccabees* (65). We find *Joſephus* quoted by ſome antient writers for things, of which no mention is made in his works which are ſtill extant. Thus *Oroſius* refers us to him for an account of the expulſion of the *Jews* from *Rome* under *Claudius* (66); and *Origen* quotes him as aſſerting, that the *Jews* generally aſcribed the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the ruin of their nation, to their putting unjuſtly St. *James* to death (67). *Joſephus* himſelf promiſes in his *antiquities*

(59) *Phot.* c. 47. (60) *Hier. epiſt.* 22. (61) *Poſſevin. apparat. tom.* i. *p.* 967, 968. *Coloniæ, an.* 1608. (62) *Hiſt. Univerſ. vol.* X. *p.* 402. (63) *Euſeb. l.* iii. *c.* 9, 10. *Hier. vir. illuſt. c.* 13. (64) *Hier. in Pelag. l.* ii *c.* 3. (65) *Greg. Nazian. orat.* 22. (66) *Oroſ l.* vii. *c.* 6. (67) *Origen. in Matth.*

the

the history of *Monobazes*, king of the *Adiabenians* (68), of whom nevertheleſs no farther mention is made in his works which have reached us. *Voſſius* likewiſe aſſures, that in the printed copies of *Joſephus* many things have been left out, which he found in the manuſcript copies of the antient *Latin* tranſlation (69) aſcribed by father *Poſſevin* to the celebrated *Rufus* of *Aquileia* (70). *Joſephus*, at the end of his *antiquities*, promiſes a ſhorter relation of the *Jewiſh* war, and of all that had happened to that unhappy people from the beginning of the ſaid war to the time in which he ended his *antiquities*, that is, to the 93d year of the *Chriſtian* æra (71). He likewiſe propoſed writing four books of the opinions of the *Jews* concerning God and his nature, and of their laws, that he might have an opportunity of informing the world, why by their law ſome things were allowed them, and others forbidden (72). But neither *Euſebius*, nor any other writer, mentions theſe works; which inclines us to believe, that he was prevented by death from executing his deſign, and that he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign. *Photius* aſcribes to him an anonymous book, *Of the ſubſtance of the univerſe* (73). *Poſſevin* is of opinion, that he wrote a book on *the ſeventy weeks of Daniel* (74); and truly St. *Jerom* ſays, that he ſpeaks of them much at length (75), which he does not in any of his works which have been tranſmitted to us. *Joſephus* lived at *Rome* from the return of *Titus* to that city in 71, till his death, which happened about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign, who was killed in 96. He was highly eſteemed and favoured by the three princes of the *Flavian* family: for *Veſpaſian* made him free of the city, lodged him in the houſe in which he himſelf had lived before he was emperor, ſettled upon him a yearly penſion, and aſſigned him certain lands in *Judæa*. *Titus* ſhewed him no leſs kindneſs than his father had done; and *Domitian*, as well as his wife *Domitia*, conferred on him ſtill greater honours. This drew upon him the hatred of his envious countrymen, by whom ſeveral falſe accuſations were brought againſt him, but he was always declared innocent. In the reign of *Veſpaſian*, a *Jew*, by name *Jonathan*, being ſent to the emperor in chains, for having, at the head of two thouſand men, raiſed great diſturbances in *Cyrene*, declared, that *Joſephus* had aſſiſted him underhand with arms and money. But *Veſpaſian*, giving no credit to the calumny, commanded his head to be ſtruck off. *Domitian* likewiſe puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome *Jews*, and an eunuch, who was tutor to *Joſephus*'s ſon, for falſly informing againſt him (76). Thus he lived at *Rome*, highly favoured by the emperors; and was, after his death, honoured by the *Roman* people with a ſtatue (77).

(68) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 2. (69) *Voſſ. ſibyllin. p.* 43. (70) *Poſſevin. ibid.* (71) *Joſeph. antiq l.* xx. *c.* 9. (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Phot. c.* 48. (74) *Poſſevin. ibid.* (75) *Hier. in Iſai.* (76) *Joſeph. in vit.* (77) *Euſeb. l.* iii. *c.* 3.

As

As the celebrated philoſopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a ſuccinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the preſent ſubject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers who flouriſhed under *Domitian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (G). *Apollonius*

Some account of the celebrated philoſopher Apollonius Tyaneus.

(G) Theſe were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus*, was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Auſonius*, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calahorra*, in *Old Caſtile*. What profeſſion his father followed, we find nowhere recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote ſome declamations, which are quoted by his ſon (15). Our *Quintilian* ſtudied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was ſtricken in years when *Quintilian* was very young (16), and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (17), in the fifth year of *Nero*'s reign. Hence it is manifeſt, that *Quintilian* did not come firſt to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as St. *Jerom* ſuppoſes (18); neither can we conclude, as ſome have done (19), from his having ſtudied at *Rome* while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded ſeveral cauſes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (20), and conſequently under *Veſpaſian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* ſent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign. *Veſpaſian* having ſettled a ſalary upon the profeſſors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the firſt who opened a free ſchool at *Rome*. He diſcharged that important office with great reputation, and to the ſatisfaction of all, for the ſpace of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, what by his ſalary, what by the preſents made him by the parents of the children whom he inſtructed (21). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* ſpeak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his diſciples, ſeems to have entertained a high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he reſigned his charge, and writ a book about the cauſes of the decay of eloquence (22). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great diſagreement amongſt authors. When *Quintilian* had finiſhed this treatiſe, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work, *viz.* his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all perſons of taſte and judgment. This performance coſt him two years labour, and it was much againſt his will that he publiſhed it before he had kept it by him for ſome time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inſcribed to one

(15) *Quint. l.* ix. *c.* 3. (16) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 7. (17) *Tacit. annal.* xiv. *c.* 19. (18) *Hier. chron.* (19) *Vide P. Pagi, p.* 432. (20) *Quint. l.* iv. *c.* 1. (21) *Martial. l.* ii. *epig.* 90. *Auſon. de Moſ. p.* 268. *Sidon. car.* ix. *ver.* 318. (22) *Quint. præfat. & l* vi. *p.* 177.

Apollonius was born three or four years before the common chriſtian æra; for he is ſaid to have lived a hundred years, and died

Marcellus Victorius, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian*'s character (23). While he was employed in compoſing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons, as we related above (24). He was afterwards honoured with the conſular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor (25). *Auſonius* ſeems to inſinuate, that, after having acquired conſiderable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not, reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Beſançon* and *Lyons*. Perhaps upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was baniſhed *Rome* (26). Whether it was to him, or to another of the ſame name, that *Pliny* the younger preſented, in a moſt genteel and obliging manner, a conſiderable ſum, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has by ſome writers been queſtioned (27). *Sidonius Apollinaris* beſtows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the moſt eloquent writers of antiquity (28). As for the declamations which paſs under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the antients, it is evident, they were not written by him, but either by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (29), by his grandfather, ſince *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philoſopher, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Auguſtus*, ſpeaks of the author of theſe declamations as a perſon more antient than himſelf (29). This is the opinion of *M. Pithou* concerning the declamations aſcribed to our *Quintilian*, which he publiſhed in 1580, and inſcribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Beſides theſe, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian*; but by *Voſſius* aſcribed to *Poſthumus* the younger, who, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory, aſſumed the name of *Cæſar*, and that of *Auguſtus* in *Gaul*, about the year 260 (30).

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (31), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as ſome have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, to whom it is inſcribed, and continued under *Domitian*; for he was, according to *Voſſius*, prevented by death from putting the laſt hand to it (32). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the

(23) *Idem, l.* iv. *præfat.* (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Auſon. conſ. p.* 387. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Plin. l.* vi. *epiſt.* 32. *P. Pagi, p.* 247. (28) *Sid. Apollin. l.* v. *epiſt.* 10. & *l.* ii. *carm. ver.* 190. & *l.* ix. *ver.* 318. (29) *M. Pithou, in præfat. ad Ibaan.* (29) *Sen. declam. l.* x. *p.* 105. (30) *Voſſ. rhet. c.* 15. (31) *Martial. l.* i. *epigr.* 62, 77, 87. (32) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 46.

latter

died ſoon after the acceſſion of *Nerva* to the empire, which happened in the ninety-ſixth year of the chriſtian æra. The ſurname of

latter end of *Domitian*'s reign. *Quintilian* (33) and *Martial* (34) commend his performance; but the moſt able critics amongſt the modern writers ſpeak of it with the utmoſt contempt, diſcover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (35).

The poet, *M. Valerius Martialis*, ſo famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis*, (36), which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of *Calataïud* in the kingdom of *Arragon* (37). He was born in the reign of *Claudius*, came to *Rome* in that of *Nero*, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (38), favoured by the emperors, eſpecially by *Domitian*, whom on all occaſions he flatters in a moſt ſhameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where after three years, which he paſſed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priſcus* to compoſe his twelfth book, in which he ſpeaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (39). *Pliny*, in whoſe commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him; whence he preſented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a ſum of money to defray the expences of his journey (40). As to his writings, the emperor *Lucius Verus* uſed to call him his *Virgil* (41); but few, either before or ſince that prince's time, ſeem to have entertained ſuch a mighty opinion of his compoſitions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himſelf wrote of his epigrams, *viz.* that ſome of them were good, ſome indifferent, and ſome bad. Moſt critics have found fault with his thoughts, his ſtyle, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticiſms (42). Beſides, ſome of his epigrams are, for their lewdneſs, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are compriſed in fourteen books; beſides which, that *de ſpectaculis* is commonly aſcribed to him, tho' *Voſſius* takes it to be a collection of verſes written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the ſhows which *Titus* exhibited in the year eighty of the chriſtian æra (43). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny*'s letters, about the end of the firſt century. He is, by *Lampridius* (44) ſurnamed *Coquus*, perhaps becauſe his father, or he himſelf in his youth, followed that mean profeſſion.

Statius flouriſhed at the ſame time; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which ſome aſcribe to jealouſy, *Statius* being highly eſteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary eaſe, extemporary verſes upon any ſubject whatever; which

(33) *Quint. l.* 10. *c.* 1. (34) *Mart. ibid.* (35) *Vide Bail, præt. c.* 1163. *p* 396. (36) *Mart. l.* xii. *epig.* 18. (37) *Baudr. & Bail. præt. p.* 412. (38) *Voſſ. ibid. p.* 46. (39) *Mart. l.* xii. *præf. epig* 18, 4, 6, 8, & *l.* x. *epig.* 34. (40) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 21. (41) *Lamprid. vit. Ver. p.* 15. (42) *Vide Bail. ibid.* (43) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 3. (44) *Lamp. in vit. Alex. p.* 126.

of *Tyaneus* he borrowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold and accompanied, if

Martial durſt not attempt. He wrote two epic poems, *viz.* the *Thebais*, compriſed in twelve books, and the *Achilleis*, which conſiſts only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accompliſhing that work (45). They are both inſcribed to *Domitian*. Beſides theſe two poems, he wrote ſeveral other pieces upon various occaſions, which have likewiſe reached us, under the title of *Sylvæ*, and are comprehended in five books. His compoſitions were mightily eſteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are ſtill admired by the young poets; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that of all the antient poets he comes neareſt to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad hiſtorian than a good poet, and deſpiſe his bombaſt ſtyle, and odd expreſſions. His *Sylvæ*, which were for the moſt part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by moſt critics more eſteemed than his epic poems, there being in them ſome very good thoughts, mixed with ſuch as are quite trivial and common (46). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Surculus*, or rather *Uſſulus*, who was born in *Toloufe*, and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (47). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and ſupport himſelf by that means (48). One *Placidus Lactantius*, who flouriſhed in the ſixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (49).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was contemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan*; for he ſpeaks of the baniſhment of *Marius Priſcus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan*'s reign, and one hundredth of the chriſtian æra (50). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his ſatires, which were read by many *Romans*, who peruſed no other book (51). It were much to be wiſhed, that in cenſuring the manners of others, he had not ſhewed himſelf quite deſtitute of modeſty, nor inveighed againſt the abuſes which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inſpire them with averſion to vice. From his life, written many ages ſince, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (52), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at ſome verſes of his ſeventh ſatire, had intereſt enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome* and ſent into *Egypt*, to command a legion quartered in the utmoſt bounds of that province; where he died ſoon after of grief, being four-

(45) *Bail. ibid. p.* 425. (46) *Idem ibid. p.* 426. (47) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 45. (48) *Juv. ſat.* vii. *ver.* 83. (49) *Voſſ. ibid.* (50) *Juv. ſat.* iv. (51) *Ammian. l.* xxviii. *p.* 374. (52) *Sid. Apoll. carm.* ix. *ver.* 274.

ſcore

if the author of his life is to be credited [c], by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himself to the ſtudy of the

He applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the Pythagoric *philoſophy.*

[c] PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.

ſcore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pyladæs*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian* in all likelihood alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that, in his time, lived ſome poets, authors of ſatires, who would one day be ranked amongſt the beſt writers (53). *Salmaſius* is of opinion, that the antient ſcholiaſt of *Juvenal* was contemporary with *Spartianus*, who flouriſhed under *Dioclesian* and *Conſtantine the Great* (54). *Julius Scaliger* and ſome other critics prefer *Juvenal* to *Horace*; but now-a-days few, if any, men of taſte acquieſce to their judgment, thinking they ſufficiently honour *Juvenal*, by placing him amongſt the *Latin* ſatiriſts next to *Horace*, but next at a great diſtance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by *Martial* (55), on the ſecond *Punic* war. Before he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been conſul; which office he diſcharged the year that *Nero* was killed. He is not by our modern critics much eſteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his ſtyle, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (56). He adheres with great exactneſs to truth, and relates ſome events, which we read nowhere elſe (57). He died in the ſecond year of the reign of *Trajan*, by abſtaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occaſioned by an impoſthume, which the phyſicians could not cure (58). He died the laſt of all thoſe who had been conſuls under *Nero*, and was himſelf the laſt conſul under that prince (59). From what he ſays of *Domitian* (60), it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the *Dacians*. Moſt writers have ſuppoſed him to have been a native of *Italica*, and thence called *Italicus*; but *Italicus* was, as appears from the letters of *Pliny* and the conſular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and beſides, had he been born in *Italica*, he would have thence been called *Italicanus*, or *Italicenſis* (61).

Voſſius is of opinion, that *Terentianus*, who, in *Martial*'s time, governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (62), is the ſame perſon with *Terentianus Maurus*, who wrote a poem on the meaſure of verſes, which has reached our times, and is greatly eſteemed by all perſons of taſte; but others aſcribe that excellent performance to *Poſthumius Terentianus*, to whom *Longinus*, about the year 270, inſcribes his book

(53) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (54) *Salmaſ. in Spartian. p.* 162. (55) *Mart. l.* iv. *epig.* 14. (56) *Vide Bail. poet. p.* 392. (57) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat l.* i. *c.* 29. (58) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 7. (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Silius Ital. l.* iii. *p.* 51. (61) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 42. & *Bail. poet. p.* 388. (62) *Martial. l.* i. *epig.* 87. & *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p* 47.

or

the *Pythagoric* philoſophy, firſt at *Tarſus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of the ſame province, under the direction of one *Euxenes*, whoſe manners did not anſwer his profeſſion. But *Apollonius* following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of ſixteen to a houſe in the country, led there a life of great auſterity, abſtaining, purſuant to the maxims of his ſect, from all manner of fleſh, ſuffering his hair to grow, going bare-foot, and clad only in linen, that he might uſe nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-houſe he removed, after ſome time, to the temple of *Æſculapius* in the city of *Ægæ*, where he ſoon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preſervation or recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to ſet up for a cenſor and reformer of manners, having already, it ſeems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue [f]. His father dying about the time that *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, was accuſed of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the ſeventeenth year of the chriſtian æra, he took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; but reſerved a ſmall ſhare of it for himſelf; the greateſt part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and diſſolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the reſt, ſave a very ſmall portion, he divided amongſt his neceſſitous relations. Being thus diſengaged from every thing that could divert him from the ſtudy of philoſophy and the practice of virtue, he paſſed five years in ſilence, agreeable to the cuſtom of the

The auſterity of his life,

And diſintereſtedneſs.

[f] Idem, c. 6—9.

on the ſublime. Several other poets are mentioned by *Martial* as flouriſhing at this time, namely, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*, and *Sæva Memor*, who were brothers; *Arruntius Stella*, *Codrus* or *Cordus*, *Paccius*, *Fauſtus*, *Rubrenus Lappa*, *M. Unicus*, *Liguriuus*, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Licinianus*, *Voconius Victor*, and *Puſſienus Paullus* (63). *Turnus* acquired, it ſeems, great reputation by his ſatires, and was, though of a mean deſcent, very powerful at court under the emperors *Titus* and *Domitian* (64) *Scaliger* aſcribes to *Sæva Memor*, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy intitled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (65). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of ſeveral books upon the *grammar*; which have been long ſince loſt. He was a native of *Bœotia*, and had been ſlave to *Modeſtus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age (66).

(63) *Vide Voſſ. ibid.* (64) *Juv. ſat.* i. *p.* 4. *Mart. l.* vii. *epig.* 96. (65) *Voſſ. ibid. p.* 48. (66) *Suid. p.* 956

Pythagorics;

Pythagorics; wherein he found, as he himself owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeased, says the author of his life, several tumults and seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially at *Aspenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where the populace rose, and were ready to burn the chief magistrate alive, for not obliging some of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn, during a famine, and sell it at a reasonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Ephesus*, and to several cities, where he took upon him to revive the worship of some deities or idols, which now began to be neglected. He practised every-where secret mysteries, to which those alone were admitted, who had observed silence for the space of four years. He took upon him the character of legislator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himself: he even boasted a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the most secret recesses of men's hearts and their most private thoughts lay open to him [g]. However, he had yet but seven disciples, and these too abandoned him, as soon as he declared his intention of travelling as far as *India*, to visit the philosophers there, known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Bracmanes*; so that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domestics; but at *Nineveh* was joined by *Damis*, a native of that place, who, of all the disciples he ever had, proved the most addicted to him; for he observed with great attention, and carefully registered, not only his most minute actions, but even his words. These memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwards into the hands of *Julia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, she imparted them to *Philostratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, learned, as he passed thro' *Mesopotamia*, what to his time had been a great secret, namely, that of understanding the answers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wise philosopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he passed. Upon his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private. *Philostratus* describes *Babylon* as a city above seventy miles in compass, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no less magnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadnezzar*; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was contemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and scarce any building remained, except the temple of *Belus* [h]. *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted

His impudence and presumption.

His favourite disciple Damis.

He arrives at Babylon.

[g] Idem, c 10—25. [h] PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.

by

by a commendable curioſity to viſit ſo celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruins [i]; and *Pauſanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greateſt city the ſun ever ſaw, had in his time nothing left but its walls. Theſe remained long after, the ſpace within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings for the keeping of wild beaſts, and the diverſion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philoſtratus* was no leſs miſtaken in his deſcription of *Babylon*, than he is in ſuppoſing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, reſided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then paſſed the winter at *Cteſiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the ſummer at *Ecbatana* [k]. He tells us, that the king's name who then reigned was *Vardanes*, and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his brother *Gotarzes*, adding, that *Apollonius* paſſed twenty months at the court, and found, about ſix months after, the ſame prince ſtill on the throne [l]; ſo that according to *Philoſtratus*, *Vardanes* muſt have reigned four years and upwards: whereas it is plain from *Tacitus* [m], that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the ſeventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead ſome time before the end of the ninth.

He travels to India.

Apollonius left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, ſet out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of eſteem by a king named *Phraothes*, of whom *Philoſtratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Hiarchus*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old. If what *Philoſtratus* relates of theſe philoſophers be true, they were far from being gods, though they impiouſly paſſed themſelves for ſuch upon the undiſcerning multitude [n]. *Apollonius* paſſed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongſt them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their ſect. After he had learnt all the myſteries of their profeſſion, he left *India*; and returning by ſea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Nineveh*, and from *Nineveh* to *Antioch*. He was not, it ſeems, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a ſhort ſtay in that city, he removed to *Ionia*, and ſettled in that country, reſiding ſometimes at *Epheſus*, and ſometimes at *Smyrna* [o].

Returns to Aſia, *and there undertakes the reformation of manners.*

He is ſaid to have undertaken with incredible ſucceſs the reformation of manners, firſt at *Epheſus*, and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionia*, reclaiming, what by his precepts;

[i] Dio. l. lxviii p. 785. [k] Strab. l. xvi. p. 743. [l] Philost. ibid. l. i. c. 15, 19. [m] Tacit. annal. xi. c 8, 9, 10. [n] Philost. l. iii. c. 6, & 9. [o] Idem, c. 15, 16.

what

what by his exemplary life, ſuch as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and iniquity [p]. From *Ionia* he went to *Ilium*, where he imbarqued for *Leſbos*, and from thence ſailed to *Athens*, in which city he reformed innumerable abuſes, and utterly aboliſhed the inhuman ſpectacles of gladiators. He travelled all over *Greece*, reviving every-where the antient ſuperſtition of the *Greeks*, and eſtabliſhing the idolatrous worſhip of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the ſports, which were to be celebrated on occaſion of the CXth olympiad, ſeven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the iſthmus, and conſequently in the year of the chriſtian æra ſixty-one. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inſpired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired by *Demetrius*, the moſt celebrated *Cynic* of thoſe days, and his diſciple *Menippus*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he paſſed great part of the winter, he is ſaid to have perſuaded the inhabitants to reſume their antient manner of living [q]. But of this great and remarkable reformation, no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he ſtayed, performing wonderful things, related at length by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philoſophers out of *Rome*. He then retired to *Cadiz*, where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, and aſſume the ſovereignty. From *Cadiz* he croſſed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Hetruria*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero*'s death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but ſailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the ſpring paſſed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vaſt crouds, the ſuperſtitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and ſee him. *Philoſtratus* would fain perſuade us, that *Veſpaſian* went into *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe; but of the true motive of his journey, we have ſpoken elſewhere. However, *Veſpaſian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* obſerves, from ſuch ſuperſtition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to viſit *Apollonius*, and ſeemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He conſulted him in private about the ſtate of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two celebrated philoſophers, adviſed *Veſpaſian* to renounce the ſovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and reſtore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* oppoſed their ſentiments,

He encourages Galba *to revolt from* Nero.

Is conſulted by Veſpaſian.

[p] Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2. [q] Idem, c. 3—11.

which occaſioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it ſeems, impatient of all contradiction. *Veſpaſian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to inſtruct him how to govern with equity and moderation. *Veſpaſian* would have rewarded him with great generoſity for his excellent precepts; but the philoſopher would not accept the leaſt acknowledgment [r]. From *Alexandria Veſpaſian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* ſoon after for *Ethiopia*, with a deſign to viſit the philoſophers of that country, whom *Philoſtratus* calls *Gymnoſophiſts*; a name by all other writers given to the philoſophers of *India*. Of the thirty diſciples he had at this time, ten only accompanied him in this journey, the others chuſing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at firſt received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philoſophers, who had been prejudiced againſt him by *Euphrates*; but they were ſoon reconciled to each other, and held ſeveral private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted to view the ſources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jeruſalem*, which he entered on the eighth of *September* of the year ſeventy. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the ſame year travelled all over *Phœnicia*, *Ionia*, and *Cilicia*; viſited ſeveral cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there ſet up ſeveral taliſmans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Baſilius* cauſed them to be removed [s]. From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and at the ſame time told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had ſacrificed a child, in order to diſcover, by viewing its intrails, what ſucceſs would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the conſpiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Aſia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Aſia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philoſophers to depart *Rome*; and at the ſame time exhorted him to retire, leſt he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to all philoſophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice,

Travels into Ethiopia.

Goes to Rome.

[r] Idem, l. v. c. 3—14. [s] Georg. Codin. origines Conſtantinop.

without

without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very ſure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore purſued his journey to *Rome*, in the habit peculiar to philoſophers; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered and ſeized [t]. He no ſooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Caſperius Ælianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to ſeize him. *Caſperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, inſtructed him how to make his defence, when ſummoned before the judges; and then, as he durſt not diſmiſs him, committed him to priſon; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow-priſoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miſeries attending it, with conſtancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the ſpace of ſix days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the deſigns of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* anſwered, That *Nerva* had never entertained the leaſt thought of conſpiring againſt him, or aſſuming the ſovereignty, though he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philoſtratus*, the means of depoſing the emperor, and ſeizing the empire, being inſtigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himſelf [u]. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no ſatisfactory anſwer from him, ordered his beard to be ſhaved, a great affront to a philoſopher; and commanded him to be led back to priſon, loaded with chains, from which, however, he was two days after diſcharged at the requeſt of *Caſperius*. While he was in bonds, he aſſured *Damis*, who attended him even in priſon, that the emperor, notwithſtanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in ſo ſaying, drew with great eaſe his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor, who, after having examined him in the preſence of many perſons of diſtinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* diſplayed to him the great evils that muſt neceſſarily enſue from the prince's giving ear to informers. As for myſelf, ſaid he, I am not under the leaſt apprehenſion: you may cauſe me to be ſeized; but put me to death you cannot; that the laws of fate and my deſtiny will not allow. *Apollonius*, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, and was ſeen that evening at *Puteoli*, three days journey diſtant from *Rome* [w]. From *Puteoli* he paſſed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vaſt crouds, and perſons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to

Where he is ſeized and impriſoned by Domitian's *orders.*

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

[t] PHILOSTRAT. ibid. l. vii. c. 2—6. [u] Idem ibid. c. 3, 12, 14. [w] Idem, c. 17.

deſpiſe wealth, and place their whole happineſs in the purſuit of virtue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, reſiding partly at *Smyrna* and partly at *Epheſus*; but frequently viſiting all the cities of that province. While he was diſcourſing to a numerous aſſembly at *Epheſus*, the ſame minute that *Domitian* was ſlain, he began all on a ſudden to lower his voice, as if he had been ſeized with fear; but nevertheleſs he purſued his diſcourſe for ſome time, though faintly, and often ſtopping, as if he had been intent upon ſomething elſe. At length he quite gave over ſpeaking, fixed his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground; and, after a ſhort ſilence, *Strike home*, he cried, *ſtrike the tyrant home.* As the numerous aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed, he no ſooner returned to himſelf, than he bid them be of good chear and rejoice; *For the tyrant*, added he, *is dead; he is juſt now expired* [x]. The ſame thing is related by *Dion Caſſius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out ſo as to be heard by the whole aſſembly, *Courage, brave* Stephanus! *courage! diſpatch the tyrant* [y]. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philoſopher returned anſwer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to ſee one another. However, ſome time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter, filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he ſent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor ſeveral rules of government by word of mouth in his name. While *Damis* was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had diſappeared; whence he concluded, that he had ſent him to *Rome*, on purpoſe that he might not be preſent at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the firſt of *Nerva*'s reign, and ninety-ſixth of the chriſtian æra. *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philoſtratus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended he died at *Epheſus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and was never afterwards ſeen. *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that, tho' he had travelled into ſeveral countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death [k]. This ſuccinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is ſwelled by *Philoſtratus* with a great number of miracles and predictions, upon which he makes long deſcants. Amongſt other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he reſtored to life a young woman of a conſular family; but at the ſame time

Is acquainted with Domitian's *death the very minute it happens.*

Is invited to Rome *by* Nerva, *but refuſes to go thither.*

He diſappears.

Miracles aſcribed to him.

[x] Idem, l. viii. c. 10. [y] Dio. l. vii. p. 768. [k] Philost. l. viii. c. 13.

ſeems

ſeems to doubt, whether or no ſhe was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought ſuch a miracle, he would have been, as *Euſebius* rightly obſerves [l], more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are atteſted only by *Philoſtratus*, who, as *Lipſius* obſerves [m], is guilty of many groſs miſtakes, and often contradicts himſelf in what relates to the *Roman* hiſtory. What can ſeem leſs probable, than his account of what paſſed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*? *Euſebius* calls his book a *romance*; and *Photius* looks upon it as a heap of inconſiſtent fables [n]. Moſt of the fathers ſpeak of it in the ſame ſtyle [o], as do likewiſe *Suidas* [p], and the moſt judicious among the modern writers, *viz.* *Scaliger* [q], *Vives* [r], *Voſſius* [s], *Caſaubon* [t], *&c.* Many of the pagans themſelves ſeem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius* notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue and miracles. Even thoſe who bore him no hatred looked upon him as a magician, and ſcrupled admitting him to their myſteries [u]; nay, the ſame opinion ſtill prevailed in the time of his panegyriſt *Philoſtratus*, as he himſelf witneſſes [w]. *Lucian*, ſpeaking of one of his favourite and moſt faithful diſciples, calls him *a celebrated and profeſſed magician* [x]. In the epitome of *Dion Caſſius* by *Xiphilin*, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular eſteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed impoſtor and ſorcerer the world had ever ſeen. No one can peruſe his life, tho' written with the utmoſt partiality, without diſcovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and preſumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was ſhewn him, and he commanded to adore it, according to the cuſtom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty anſwer; *The prince whom you adore, may reckon himſelf happy, if he deſerves by me to be only eſteemed and commended* [y]. He imagined himſelf poſſeſſed of all virtues in an eminent degree, took upon him every-where the character of cenſor, legiſlatro, inſtructor, *&c.* pretended to know every thing, to foreſee future events, to be acquainted with the moſt hidden thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed; nay, he ſuffered himſelf to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worſhip to be paid him; which he indeed once refuſed, but the only motive which prompted him to reject it was,

What opinion the antients entertained of him.

His pride, arrogance, and preſumption.

[l] EUSEB. in Hier. p 461. [m] LIPS. TACIT. hiſt. l. iii. n. 80. [n] EUSEB. ibid. PHOT. c. 44. p. 29. [o] Vide AUG. epiſt. xlix. CHRYS. in Jud. hom. iii. [p] SUID. p. 376. [q] SCALIGER. in Euſeb. chron. [r] VOSS. hiſt. Græc l. ii. c. 15. [s] Idem ibid. [t] CASAUB. in Spart. p. 229. [u] PHILOST. l. iv. c 6. l. viii. c. 8. [w] Idem, l. ii. c. 3. [x] LUCIAN. vit. Alex. p. 476. [y] PHILOST. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19.

[1] fear

fear of being envied [z]. *Philoſtratus* cries up his diſintereſtedneſs and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no preſents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even aſked, a conſiderable ſum of one of the pontiffs [a]. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame [b]; at leaſt his favourite diſciples wallowed, if *Lucian* is to be credited, in all manner of lewdneſs [c]. As he held the *metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of ſouls, he cauſed a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the ſoul of *Amaſis*, one of the antient kings of *Egypt*, had paſſed into that animal [d]. *Philoſtratus* endeavours to excuſe, in the beſt manner he can, his hero for quarrelling with the philoſopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the ſame writer, or another of the ſame name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved on that occaſion as became philoſophers [e]. However, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts both of *Apollonius* and his panegyriſt, to diſcredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally eſteemed the greateſt philoſopher of his time [f]. *Apollonius* himſelf, before their quarrel, ſpoke of him to *Veſpaſian* as a man of an unblemiſhed character, not foreſeeing, for all his pretence to a prophetical ſpirit, that he was ſoon to change his ſtyle, and inveigh againſt him as one of the moſt wicked of men [g]. *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, beſtows mighty encomiums upon him [h]; and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epictetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philoſopher, before he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that profeſſion [i]. He died in the beginning of *Adrian*'s reign, with whoſe permiſſion he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poiſon [k]. He publiſhed ſome writings againſt *Apollonius*, which *Philoſtratus* promiſes to refute [l]. *Eunapius* ſeems to aſcribe other works to him upon more noble ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation [m]. As no one could give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and conſecrated a temple to him cloſe to their city [n]. His images were ſet up in many temples; and the emperors, inſtead of checking,

Honours paid him after his death.

[z] Idem, l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c 10. [a] Idem, l viii. c. 7. [b] Philost. vit. ſophiſt. p. 568. [c] Lucian. vit. Alex. [d] Philost. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15. [e] Philost. vit. ſoph. c. 7. p. 492. [f] Euseb. in Hier. p. 464, 465. [g] Idem ibid. p. 463. [h] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 10. [i] Arrian. Epict l. iii. c 15. & l ii c. 8. [k] Dio. l. 69. p. 791. [l] Philost. l. i. c. 20. [m] Eunap. in vit. ſophiſt. præfat. [n] Idem ibid.

countenanced

countenanced this ſuperſtition, by the honours which they themſelves paid to the impoſtor. *Adrian* collected and lodged in the palace at *Antium* a great many of his letters [o]. *Antonius Caracalla* honoured him with divine worſhip, and conſecrated a temple to him [p]. The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of ſeveral princes, who had governed with equity and moderation [q]. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs, and alſo heard of perſons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelian* being reſolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that deſign; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a ſtatue [r]; but whether he performed his vow, *Vopiſcus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, tho' he profeſſed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even deſigned to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philoſtratus* had done in *Greek*, that his ſtupendous actions, ſays he, may be known to the whole world. But, notwithſtanding the great eſteem which ſeveral of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impoſtor and a magician [s]. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero [t]; but was therein attended with no better ſucceſs than a late writer of no mean character; for, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of men, falſehood muſt in the end yield, and truth prevail. *Philoſtratus* has tranſmitted to us ſeveral letters written by *Apollonius*, moſt of them very ſhort, with a long apology, which he had compoſed with a deſign to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing [u], tho' a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Beſides this apology and a great number of letters to perſons of all ranks and conditions [w], he wrote a treatiſe upon judicial aſtrology, compriſed in four books [x], and another upon ſacrifices, wherein he pretended to ſhew with what kind of victims each deity was moſt pleaſed. The former treatiſe was not much eſteemed: but the latter was received with general applauſe. It is once quoted by *Euſebius* [y], and mentioned likewiſe by *Suidas* [z]. His theology out of which *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage [a], and his treatiſe upon ſacrifices are in all likelihood one and the ſame work.

His works.

[o] PHILOST. l. viii. c. 13, 14. [p] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 878. [q] LAMP. in vit. Veri, p. 123. [r] VOPISC. in vit. Aurel. [s] LACT. l. v. c. 3. [t] EUNAP. in præfat. [u] PHILOST. l. viii. c. 3. [w] Idem, l. iii. c. 17. [x] Idem, l. iv. c. 6. [y] EUSEB. de præp evang. l. iv. c. 13. [z] Suid. p. 376. [a] EUSEB. demonſt. evang. l. iii. c. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

From the death of Domitian, *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *to the death of* Trajan, *who brought the empire to its utmoſt grandeur and extent.*

HAVING delivered in the foregoing volumes, purſuant to our plan, the hiſtory of *Rome*, from *Romulus* to the commonwealth, from the commonwealth to the empire, and continued it to the death of *Domitian*, the twelfth emperor, and the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the *twelve Cæſars*; we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other emperors, from the reign of *Domitian*, to the removal of the imperial ſeat to *Conſtantinople*, thence to the diviſion of the empire, and from the diviſion to the hiſtory of both empires; of the weſtern, to the taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, when with *Auguſtulus* fell the very name of an empire in the weſt; of the eaſtern, to the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, to its recovery by the *Greeks*; and finally, to its utter deſtruction by the *Turks*, whoſe hiſtory, from the firſt notice we find of them to the preſent time, will follow, as in its proper place. Theſe are the ſubjects which we deſign to purſue in the preſent volume, not doubting, but this will prove as uſeful and entertaining as any of the preceding volumes, notwithſtanding the extraordinary ſucceſs which they have met with both at home and abroad, and which we had not vanity enough to have promiſed ourſelves in ſo difficult an undertaking. The foregoing chapter we cloſed with the death of *Domitian*, who was ſucceeded by *Nerva*, as was *Nerva* by *Trajan*. The reigns of theſe two excellent princes will ſupply us with matter for the preſent chapter.

M. Cocceius Nerva *emperor.*

THE death of *Domitian* was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate aſſembled, and with one voice declared *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor. He was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*; but his family came originally from the iſland of *Crete*, ſo that he was neither by birth a *Roman*, nor deſcended from an *Italian* family.

His family.

However, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been honoured in *Rome* with the conſular dignity. His grandfather, *M. Cocceius Nerva*, one of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, was conſul in the eighth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and twenty-

A GENERAL MAP of the ROMAN EMPIRE

Shewing the Situation of all its Provinces & ye Seats of ye Barbarous Nations on their Frontiers

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Picts

BRITANNIA

Hibernia

Caledon.

Mouths of the Rhine

FRANCS

Sicambri

Sane

Burgundians

Paris

Loire

GERMANY

Suevi

Vandals

Baranans

The Euxine Sean Sarmatia

The Basterna

Pannonia

Quadi

Goths afterwards Hunns

GALLIA or GAUL

Lions

Province

Rhone

Gallicia

ITALY

Rome

Scythia

Europe

THE EUXINE SEA

IBERIA

Thrace

Macedonia

Epirus

Peloponesus

Asia

Pamphlygonia

ASIA MINOR

Armenia

Spain

Lisbon

Lusitania

Tarragona

Bætis

Cadis

Straits of Hercules

Tingis

Mauritania Tingitana

Mauritania Cesariensis

Utica

Carthagena

Balearis

Sicily

Cyprus

Cilicia

Comagene

Syria

Mesopotamia

Assyria

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Mount Atlas

Tripolitana

Palestine

Egypt

Babylonia

ARABIA the DESERT

PART of AFRICA

LIBYA

DESERTS of LIBYA

Temple of Ammon

The Deserts of Thebes

THE RED SEA

ARABIA FELIX

Picti
Caledonia
BRITAIN
Scotia
Angles
Saxons
FRANCE
Ocean
Burgundians
Bavarians
Suevi
Paris
GERMANY
Sequani
GALLIA or GAUL
Lions
Pannonia
Quadi
Goths & afterwards Huns
Scythia
Europe
Thrace
Macedonia
Province
Rhone
ITALY
Rome
Tarragon
Epirus
Achaia
Peloponnesus
Sicily
Ulica
Carthagena
Tripolitana
LIBYA
DESERTS of LIBYA
THE EUXINE SEA
The Euro-asian Sarmatia
The Barbarians
Palus Maeotis
Mount Caucasus
IBERIA
Paphlagonia
Abydos
ASIA MINOR
Armenia
Assyria
Mesopotamia
Comagene
Syria
Cyprus
Phenice
Palestine
Egypt
Alexandria
Temple of Ammon
The Deserts of Thebes
THE RED SEA
ARABIA FELIX
ARABIA the DESERT
Babylonia
THE PERSIAN GULPH
THE CASPIAN SEA
SCYTHIA IN ASIA
ORAL or SALT SEA

twenty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the ſadneſs of the times, choſe, when in perfect health, a voluntary death [a]. His father, who bore the ſame name, was conſul in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fortieth of the chriſtian æra [b]. His mother, by name *Plautilla*, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Lænas* a conſular [c]. The emperor was born, according to *Dion Caſſius* [d], on the ſeventeenth of *March*, in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign and thirty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra, and was by *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorſhip and a ſtatue in the palace [e], having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the beſt poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inſcribed to him ſome of his poetical pieces [f]. *Pliny* ſpeaks of his epigrams and commends them [g]. He was conſul with *Veſpaſian* in the year 71, and with *Domitian* in 90 [h]. He is commended by all the antients as a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generoſity, and one who looked upon himſelf as raiſed to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happineſs and welfare of thoſe who lived under him were, during the ſhort time he reigned, his only end and purſuit. He ſeems to have been naturally timorous [i]; and ſome writers charge both him and *Trajan* with exceſſive drinking [k]. *Apollonius Tyaneus* was the firſt, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited, who ſolicited him to aſſume the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to deliver *Rome* from the tyranny of *Domitian*. *Nerva* hearkened to him; but his courage failed him, when the deſign was to be put in execution [l]. *Apollonius*, however, did not ſcruple denying the whole to *Domitian*, aſſuring him, that *Nerva*, tho' equal to the greateſt honours, was ſo far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing ſo much, on account of his infirmities and his love of retirement, as being any-ways concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs [m]. However, *Domitian*, either acquainted with *Nerva*'s deſign, or giving credit to the aſtrologers, who adviſed him to beware of *Nerva*, ſince his nativity ſeemed to promiſe him the empire, confined him to *Tarentum* in the year 94; and would

His preferments.

His humanity, generoſity, &c.

[a] TACIT. annal. iv. c. 8. AUR. VICT. epit. Eutrop. DIO. l. lxvii. p. 767. FRONT aquæduct. p. 119. ONUPH. in faſt. p 198. [b] ONUPH. ibid. [c] GRUTER. p. 240. [d] DIO. l lxviii. p. 771. [e] TACIT. annal. xv. c. 7. [f] MARTIAL. l. viii. epigr. 70. & l. ix. epigr. 27. [g] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 8. [h] FRONT. aquæd p. 219. [i] AUR. VICT. in vi. Trajan. [k] Idem ibid. [l] PHILOST. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. vii c. 3. [m] Idem ibid. c. 14 & l. viii. c. 3.

Narrowly escapes death under Domitian.

have put him to death, had not a more kind aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that *Nerva*, who was of a weak conſtitution and ſubject to many infirmities, would die in a few days [n]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Nerva*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, had retired to *Gaul*, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own aſſumption to the empire [o]. On the other hand, *Dion Caſſius* takes no notice of his baniſhment; but ſuppoſes him to have been at *Rome* when *Domitian* was murdered: for he tells us, that *Parthenius* and the other conſpirators offered the empire, before the aſſaſſination of *Domitian*, to ſeveral perſons; who, looking upon ſuch an offer as a ſnare laid for their deſtruction, declined it; but that at length *Nerva*, who daily expected to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the ſovereign power, as the only means of preſerving his life [p]. *Domitian* therefore being killed on the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96, *Nerva* was the ſame day declared emperor by the ſenate, and, as ſuch, acknowledged by the prætorian guards, notwithſtanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been reſtrained by *Petronius Secundus*, one of their captains, and by *Parthenius*, *Domitian's* chief chamberlain [q]. *Nerva* had ſcarce aſſumed the ſovereignty, when a falſe report was ſpread, that *Domitian* was ſtill alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to diſcover the deſigns of ſuch as he ſuſpected: hence dread ſeized all, and the concourſe about the new emperor diſperſed in a moment. *Nerva* himſelf naturally wary and timorous, was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, betrayed great diſmay in his countenance, and, fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death, till *Parthenius* aſſured him, that the report was quite groundleſs. Hereupon recovering his former temper, he went firſt to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had ſecured them by a promiſe of the uſual donative, to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt marks imaginable of eſteem and affection. Many congratulatory ſpeeches were made to him on this occaſion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus* by his mother, was of a different nature from the reſt; for embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I "am come, ſaid he, with the reſt, to congratulate the ſenate, "the people of *Rome*, and the provinces of the empire, upon "your advancement to this high poſt; but cannot pay the ſame "compliment to you, who, after having, by your wiſdom

Is acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and ſoldiery.

[n] Dio. l. lxviii. p 769. [o] Aur. Vict. in epit. [p] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 767. [q] Plin. panegyr. Dio. l. lxviii. p. 769.

and

" and virtue, happily escaped the rage of so many wicked " princes, plunge yourself into new dangers and troubles, be- " ing exposed to the censure and hatred both of your friends " and foes, especially of the former, who will not fail, if any " of their suits are denied, to become your most implacable " enemies [r] ". *Nerva* now confirmed in the sovereignty both by the senate and soldiery, blended together two things, says *Tacitus* [s], once thought irreconcileable; public liberty and sovereign power: for under him the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter [t]. He immediately delivered from their fears, and set at liberty, all those who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treason, and recalled such as had been banished under colour of the same crime [u], causing their lands and inheritances to be restored to them, without the least deduction. *Pliny* mentions many illustrious persons, who returned from banishment on this occasion [w]; and a medal struck the following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; *exules Romæ redditi*, that is, *the exiles restored to* Rome [x]. However, he would not suffer *Licinianus*, who had been banished for debauching a vestal, to return to *Italy*; but gave him leave to pass the remainder of his life in *Sicily* [y]. He enacted more severe laws against informers, than *Titus* had done, who abhorred that race of men; and caused all the slaves and freedmen to be put to death, who had informed against their masters and patrons. Besides these, many other informers were publicly executed, and among them a philosopher, by name *Seras*. At the same time, he published an edict, forbidding, agreeable to the antient laws of *Rome*, a slave or freedman to appear against his master in any accusation whatsoever; and ordering, that no person should, for the future, be accused of violated majesty, or prosecuted for living after the manner of the *Jews* [z], by which words *Dion*, without all doubt, meant the *Christians*. He solemnly swore, that no senator should ever by his orders be put to death; and religiously observed his oath, tho' some of that body conspired against him, as we shall relate anon. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately restored to the proprietors; lessened the taxes; delivered the *Jews* from the cruelties and oppressions of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great satisfaction of the *Romans*, annulled the law of *Augustus*, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid

The Romans *happy under him.*

Punishes all informers.

Abolishes the law of majesty.

Redresses grievances.

[r] AUR. VICT. in epit. [s] TACIT. vit. Agrip. c. 3. [t] PLIN. l. ix. epist. 13. [u] DIO. l. lxviii. p. 769. [w] PLIN. l. iv. epist. 11. [x] BIRAG. numis. p. 144. [y] EUSEB. l. iii. c. 20. [z] DIO. l. lxviii. p. 769.

into the exchequer. He allowed no gold or ſilver ſtatues to be erected to him, retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, aboliſhing for that purpoſe divers ſacrifices and public ſhows; and as he ſtill wanted money wherewithal to relieve the neceſſitous citizens and reward his friends, he at laſt ſold great part of the gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houſe and of the imperial palace, with ſeveral houſes and eſtates. In ſelling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but ſeemed overjoyed to have ſo favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vaſt ſum upon a purchaſe of land, to be divided amongſt the poor of *Rome*, appointing ſome ſenators of known integrity, and amongſt the reſt one *Corellus*, highly eſteemed by *Pliny* [a], to divide it amongſt the moſt indigent [b]. From ſeveral medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided conſiderable ſums among the people, beſides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn [c]. The children of ſuch as were poor, he cauſed to be brought up, in all the cities of *Italy*, at the public expence. He eaſed not only *Italy*, but all the provinces, of the heavy impoſitions with which they had been burdened by *Veſpaſian* and *Domitian*; and utterly aboliſhed the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an inſufferable grievance: hence the ſenate cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, to perpetuate by that means the remembrance of ſo great a favour [d]. Of the many inſtances of his diſintereſtedneſs, taken notice of by the antients, we ſhall only relate the following: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, father to the famous *Herodes Atticus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of *T. Antoninus*, having diſcovered in his houſe a large treaſure, wrote to *Nerva*, deſiring to know how he ſhould diſpoſe of it. The emperor, who had no biaſs to avarice, anſwered, *Utere*, *Uſe it*; but *Atticus*, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure, wrote to him a ſecond letter, acquainting him, that the treaſure was too great for a private perſon, and that he was thence afraid to uſe it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere*, *Then abuſe it*, ſignifying thereby, that the treaſure was his without reſerve, and that he might diſpoſe of it as he thought fit [e]. *Nerva* renewed the law of *Domitian*, forbidding the caſtration of children [f]; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He publiſhed a law forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was firſt allowed in the reign of *Claudius* [g]; applied himſelf with great

His generoſity towards the people.

His diſintereſtedneſs.

Some of his laws.

[a] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 31. [b] Dio. ibid. p. 770. Zonar. p. 199. Chron. Alexand. [c] Birag. numiſ. p. 143. [d] Idem, p. 144. [e] Philostrat. in vit. ſophiſt. p. 546. [f] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 770. [g] Idem ibid.

care to the reformation of manners; was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in ſhort, behaved in ſuch manner towards all, that he uſed to ſay, he believed he might reſign the empire, and return with ſafety to a private life, not being conſcious to himſelf of having done the leaſt thing that could give any man juſt motive of offence *. He was perhaps too kind to ſuch as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occaſion to ſome perſons to complain of his lenity and indulgence. Having one day invited to his table, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction, *Junius Mauricus*, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, and *Fabricius Veiento*, a conſular, who, with his ſecret informations, had occaſioned the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the gueſts happened to mention *Catullus Meſſalinus*, a noted informer under *Domitian*, when the emperor, hearing him named, *What would* Catullus *do*, ſaid he, *were he alive now? If he were alive now*, replied *Mauricus* with great freedom, *he would be at table with us*; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindneſs to *Veiento* and others, whom he ought rather to have puniſhed than careſſed [h]. As ſoon as, by the death of *Domitian* and aſſumption of *Nerva*, public liberty was reſtored, to uſe the expreſſion of *Pliny* [i], all who had ſuffered by falſe accuſations flocked to the ſenate, demanding, that condign puniſhment might be forth with inflicted onſuch as had informed againſt them. The ſenate hearkened to their requeſt, and puniſhed ſome with death, others with baniſhment; but, not without great partiality, ſparing thoſe of their own body. Hereupon *Pliny* boldly undertook the accuſation of *Publicus Certus*, who was not only of the ſenatorial order, but had been by *Domitian* named to the conſulſhip with *Veſtius Proculus*. The ſenate, having firſt attempted in vain to perſuade *Pliny* to drop the proſecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himſelf with confirming the conſulſhip to *Veſtius*, and naming another to that dignity in the room of *Certus*, who died ſoon after of grief [k]. *Nerva* did not think it adviſeable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, becauſe he lived in great friendſhip with the governor of *Syria*, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no ſmall umbrage to *Nerva* [l]. Beſides, in the heat of the firſt proſecutions, ſome perſons, among the reſt the philoſopher *Seras*, had been puniſhed with death as informers, and afterwards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneaſineſs [m].

His too great lenity and indulgence.

* Idem ibid. [h] Vict. epit. Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 22. [i] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [k] Idem ibid. Dio. p. 769. [l] Plin. ibid. [m] Dio. ibid.

On

On the kalends of *January Nerva* entered upon his third conſulſhip, which was the firſt after his acceſſion to the empire, and choſe for his collegue *L. Virginius Rufus*, to whom the ſoldiers had often offered the empire. As *Virginius* was riſing, after he had aſſumed the faſces, to pronounce a ſpeech in praiſe of the emperor, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and as he ſtooped to take it up, fell himſelf, and had the misfortune to break his leg; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occaſioned his death. He was, by the emperor's orders, buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, the hiſtorian, whom *Nerva* named to the conſulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration [n]. *Pliny* wrote another panegyric upon him, in a letter which he ſent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illuſtrious citizen [o].

Virginius Rufus dies.

This year, *Calpurnius Craſſus*, deſcended from the antient and illuſtrious family of the *Craſſi*, conſpired with ſome others againſt *Nerva*; who, being immediately informed of their wicked deſigns, ſent for them, and carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himſelf, and preſented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occaſion, the ſwords of the gladiators, which were always brought to and viewed by the emperor [p]. We are not told what effect this inſtance of generoſity had upon the conſpirators. All we know is, that *Craſſus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, baniſhed to *Tarentum*. The ſenate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death: but the emperor, alledging the oath he had taken, not to ſpill the blood of any ſenator, checked their zeal. Whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had reſigned the faſces, offended at the prince's unſeaſonable clemency, as he ſtyled it, ſaid boldly, that *it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a ſtill greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed* [q]. The emperor was ſo far from reſenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with ſomewhat more ſeverity, taking for his counſellors ſuch of the ſenators as were perſons of great experience and known integrity, and diſpatching, with their advice, all matters of conſequence. The ſame year, the prætorian guards, headed by *Caſperius Ælianus*, their commander, occaſioned diſturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of *Domitian*; flew to the palace, and there beſieged *Nerva*, demanding with great boldneſs, that all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the aſſaſſination of the

Calpurnius Craſſus *conſpires againſt* Nerva.

Who pardons him.

The prætorian guards raiſe a tumult.

[n] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 1. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Dio. p. 770. Vict. ibid. [q] Dio. p. 769.

lato

late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. *Nerva*, though naturally timorous, behaved on this occaſion with incredible firmneſs; for, offering his bare neck to the incenſed ſoldiery, he begged they would be ſatisfied with his life, and ſpare thoſe, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his reſolution was to no effect; he was in the end conſtrained, as *Pliny* writes [r], to condemn thoſe, whom he ſtudied to preſerve at the expence of his own life; for the ſoldiers, without being in the leaſt awed or moved by him, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conſpirators, as we read in *Victor the younger*, or, as he is by ſome ſtyled, *Victorinus* [s]. Neither did the mutinous ſoldiery ſtop here, but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for putting to death the worſt and moſt wicked of men [t]. This inſolence and boldneſs of the ſoldiery proved in the end very advantageous to the empire; for *Nerva*, finding himſelf deſpiſed on account of his infirmities and old age, reſolved to name ſome perſon for his ſucceſſor, who ſhould be able, both to ſupport him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but as he had more at heart the welfare of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and choſe *Ulpius Trajan*, the greateſt and moſt deſerving perſon of that age, for his ſucceſſor, and at the ſame time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice thus: *With my hearty wiſhes for the proſperity of the ſenate and people of* Rome, *and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myſelf, I declare* Marcus Ulpius Trajan *my ſon.* He afterwards gave him the title of *Cæſar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himſelf ſeems to have aſſumed about this time, inveſted him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of *emperor*; ſo that he created him not only his ſucceſſor, but his partner in the empire: at the ſame time, he named him conſul for the enſuing year [u]. The adoption of *Trajan*, which was received with great joy both by the ſenate and people, put a ſtop to the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, who immediately returned to their duty. As *Trajan* was then at the head of a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, *Nerva* ſent him a diamond of great value, and wrote to him with his own hand, acquainting him with his preferment, and leaving to him the revenging of the affront put upon him by the prætorian guards and their commander. Some time after,

Nerva *is obliged to comply with their unjuſt demands.*

He adopts Ulpius Trajan.

[r] PLIN. panegyr. [s] VICT. in epit. [t] Idem ibid. [u] VICT. ibid. SID. car. vii. ver. 114. PLIN. panegyr. DIO. l. lxix. p. 779.

Trajan

Trajan sent for *Casperius* and those of his party, under colour of employing them in some expedition; but, instead of making use of them, discharged them all with ignominy [w], or, as some write, put them to death. Towards the close of this year, *Nerva* took upon him the title of *imperator*, on account of a victory gained over the *Germans* in *Pannonia* [x], of which we know not the particulars.

The death of Nerva.

The following year, he entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Ulpius Trajan*, now the second time consul, for his colleague; but died soon after, according to some, on the twenty-first, according to others, on the twenty-seventh, of *January*. For having heated himself, in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer *Aquilius Regulus*, he was seized with a fever, which, as he was weak and stricken in years, soon put an end to his life, after he had reigned sixteen months and eight, or at most nine, days. He had lived, according to *Dion Cassius* *, sixty-five years, ten months, and as many days; according to *Eutropius*, seventy-one; and according to St. *Jerom*, seventy-three years [y]. He died in the *Sallustian* gardens, whence his body was carried by the senate to the tomb of *Augustus* [z].

Is ranked amongst the gods.

He was ranked amongst the gods, and *Trajan* out of gratitude caused several temples to be erected to him, both in *Rome* and the provinces [a]. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wisdom, generosity, and moderation; but some of the provinces were more grievously oppressed in his reign than in that of *Domitian*, the governors, who dreaded *Domitian*, presuming upon the lenity and goodness of his successor, to inrich themselves at the expence of the unhappy people, committed to their care. These grievances *Nerva* would not have failed to redress, had he lived long enough to know them.

Trajan.

Trajan was a *Spaniard* both by birth and extraction, descended rather of an antient than an illustrious family, born in *Italica*, near *Seville*, now known, according to some, by the name of *Old Seville*, according to others, by that of *Alcala del Rio* [b]. His father, named also *Trajan*, had been honoured with the consulship, distinguished with triumphal ornaments, and raised, no doubt, by *Vespasian* to the rank of a patrician [c]. *Trajan*, commander of the tenth legion, who signalized himself at the taking of *Japha*, as we read in *Josephus* [d], was, we conjecture, father to the present emperor, who was born, according to most writers, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fifty-

His family, ancestors, and preferments.

[w] Dio. ibid. [x] Plin. panegyr. Birag. numism. p. 145. * Dio. ibid. [y] Euseb. chron. [z] Vict. epit. [a] Plin. panegyr. Eutrop. Sid. car. vii. ver. 113. [b] Vide Baudr. p. 304. [c] Plin. pan. Eutrop. [d] Joseph. bell. Jud. c. 11

second

ſecond of the chriſtian æra [c]. He followed the profeſſion of arms from his early youth, and ſerved ten years in quality of tribune [f]. He checked the pride of the *Parthians*, ſays his panegyriſt, while he was yet very young, and defeated their meaſures with the bare fame of his name [g]. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of *Parthicus*, as appears from various medals [h]. He was prætor in the year 86. and conſul in 91. with *Acilius Glabrio*. Soon after his conſulſhip, he withdrew to *Spain*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of *Lower Germany* [i]; which muſt have been after the revolt and defeat of *Antoninus* in 88. for had he had any ſhare in that victory, *Pliny* would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of *Germany*, he performed nothing which his panegyriſt thought worth mentioning, ſince he only ſays, that while he governed *Germany*, he gained the affections of the ſoldiery; but, notwithſtanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the leaſt thought of revolting from the worſt of princes, to whom he had ſworn allegiance, and ſeizing, as he might, the empire for himſelf [k]. He was ſtill governor of *Germany*, when *Nerva* adopted him for his ſon, appointed him his ſucceſſor, and took him for his partner in the empire, as we have related above. To this choice *Nerva* was directed by the extraordinary merit of *Trajan*, and a ſincere deſire of continuing to all the nations ſubject to the empire that happineſs which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly *Trajan* poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all thoſe qualities which form a great, an excellent, prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-ſecond, or, as ſome will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and conſequently neither ſubject to the vices of youth, raſhneſs, and precipitation, nor to the weakneſs and indolence attending old age. His body was robuſt and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majeſtic; his ſtature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging [l]. He was not himſelf a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himſelf wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without diſpute, the beſt commander of his age, and equal to the greateſt generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and

Is adopted by Nerva.

Trajan *an excellent commander.*

[c] EUTROP. GOLTZ. GRUTER. &c. [f] PLIN. pan. [g] Idem ibid. [h] SPANH. l. vii. p. 851. [i] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 765. SPARTIAN. p. 1, S. PLIN. pan. [k] Idem ibid. [l] PLIN. ibid.

croſſed immenſe countries without ever once mounting on horſeback, or ſuffering himſelf to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and general dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he beſtowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had viſited the whole camp, and was always the firſt in the field when the uſual exerciſes were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old ſoldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly converſed with them; but at the ſame time knew how to keep them to their duty [m]. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he firſt aſſumed the ſovereign power, he publicly profeſſed, that he did not think himſelf in that high ſtation more exempt from the obſervance of the laws, than the meaneſt of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiouſly obſerved; and thence *Pliny* ſays, that all the emperors before him had made the ſame profeſſions, but their profeſſions were not believed. What they had promiſed to be, *Trajan* was; for he poſſeſſed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exerciſe of lawleſs power [n]. He delighted to ſee his people happy, and had nothing ſo much at heart as to make them ſo. To accompliſh this, he chearfully leſſened his revenue, leſſened his authority, and reſtrained his prerogative, where it ſeemed in the leaſt to interfere with the intereſt and happineſs of his people. He was aware, that over-bearing pride was not the means to win affection or eſteem, and that condeſcenſion in a prince is not irreconcileable with his dignity, but rather a ſure way to raiſe it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his ſubjects [o]. He advanced none but the moſt virtuous and worthy; and ſuch as were otherwiſe, he choſe to reform and reclaim rather with gentleneſs and clemency, than with rigour and ſeverity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full ſenate, that no good man ſhould ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a ſolemn oath, and religiouſly obſerved it. He ſuffered but few ſtatues to be erected to him, checked ſuch as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was conſtantly open to perſons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindneſs, heard with great patience, and ſtrove, as far as in him lay, to diſmiſs none from his preſence diſſatisfied; looking upon himſelf as raiſed to that high poſt, not for his own advantage, but

His moderation, affability, generoſity, and other virtues.

[m] Plin. ibid. Dio. l. lxviii. p. 772. [n] Plin. ibid. [o] Idem ibid. Dio. p. 773. Vict. in epit.

for

for that of others. To his other great qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without thoſe little artifices which wiſe men deſpiſe, and none but the apes of wiſe men practiſe. He would never ſuffer any one to be condemned upon ſuſpicions, however ſtrong and well-grounded, ſaying, it was better a thouſand criminals ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, than one innocent perſon be condemned [p]. When he appointed *Suburanus* captain of his guards, in preſenting him, according to cuſtom, with a drawn ſword, the badge of his office, he uſed theſe memorable words; *Pro me; ſi merear, in me: Employ this ſword for me; but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt me* [q]. He allowed none of his freedmen any ſhare in the adminiſtration, telling them, that he, and not they, was inveſted with the ſovereign power, and therefore warning them not to aſſume any authority inconſiſtent with their rank. Some perſons having a ſuit with one of them, by name *Eurythmus*, and ſeeming to fear the imperial freedman, *Trajan* aſſured them, that the cauſe ſhould be heard, diſcuſſed, and decided, according to the ſtricteſt laws of juſtice; adding, *For neither is he* Polycletus, *nor I* Nero. *Polycletus*, of whom we ſpoke in the reign of *Nero*, was that prince's favourite freedman. *Trajan* is ſaid to have excelled even *Nerva* himſelf in generoſity, and all the preceding princes in the largeſſes with which he relieved, not only the citizens of *Rome*, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and as ſuch loved and revered [r]. However, he was not without ſome faults: he was addicted to wine. This fault *Dion Caſſius* owns, but adds, that he never drank to exceſs [s]. On the other hand, *Aurelius Victor* aſſures us, that he injoined all his officers not to put in execution ſuch orders as he ſhould give at or after his banquets [t]; and *Julian*, ſurnamed the *apoſtate*, writes, that *Trajan* had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himſelf with ſucceſs to that ſtudy, had he not by immoderate drinking impaired his natural capacity [u]. *Pliny* extols his chaſtity [w], but *Dion* owns, that he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous and unnatural practices [x]; and agrees therein both with *Spartian* [y], and the emperor *Julian* [z], who likewiſe charges him with lazineſs, for ſuffering *Sura* to write moſt of his letters [a]. He loved gay amuſements and diverſions; but from hence aroſe no neglect or

His faults.

[p] PLIN. pan. VICT. epit. DIO. p. 771. [q] DIO. p. 778. AUR. VICTOR. [r] DIO. & PLIN. ibid. [s] DIO. p. 772. [t] AUR. VICT. in Trajan, p. 2. [u] JULIAN. CÆSAR. p. 39. [w] PLIN. pan. p. 36. [x] DIO. ibid. [y] SPART. in Trajan. [z] JULIAN. ibid. p. 12. [a] Idem, p. 38.

relaxation in his conducting public affairs. He was somewhat ambitious, and more desirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was consistent with justice. When he affirmed any thing for certain, he used to add; *So may I see* Dacia *reduced to a province, and pass the* Euphrates *and the* Danube *on bridges built by myself* [b]. He suffered his name to be placed on the buildings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him. Whence he was nick-named *parietarius*, which name is common to all plants growing on walls [c]. How his lenity, mildness, and good-nature, so much cried up by all the antients, were consistent with his persecuting the christians, is what we cannot easily conceive. He suffered himself to be styled *lord*, as appears from *Pliny*'s epistles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and *Augustus* himself, had constantly refused, and he seems at first to have declined [d]. He likewise allowed sacrifices to be offered to his statues, and people to swear by his life and eternity, as most sacred things [e]. We shall now pursue the history of his reign, according to the order of time.

Trajan commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, when he was adopted by *Nerva* and declared his successor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at first accepting that high post, but was soon prevailed upon, by the officers of his own army, and the deputies dispatched to him from the armies in *Upper Germany* and in *Mœsia*, to yield, and assume the title of *Cæsar*. He did not seem in the least elated with his new dignity, chusing rather to be looked upon by his soldiers as their general, than their emperor [f]. *Nerva* dying soon after, that is, on the twenty-first or twenty-seventh of *January* of the following year, tidings of his death were first brought to him by *Adrian* his cousin. Hereupon *Trajan*, who was then at *Cologne*, immediately assumed the title of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as such by the armies in *Germany* and *Mœsia*, who with great joy swore allegiance to him [g]. He had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to the senate, assuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity should ever by his orders be either put to death, or injured in his fortune [h]. He did not immediately leave *Germany*, but continued there all this and part of the following year; for the time of his consulship was expired, as *Pliny* informs us [i], before he set out for *Rome*. All the *German* nations sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his

He accepts the title of Cæsar, and the empire.

[b] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 4, & 106. [c] Plin. l. x. epist. 102, & 89. [d] Plin. panegyr. [e] Idem, l. x. epist. 53. [f] Plin. pan. [g] Idem, l. xxvii. [h] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 771. [i] Plin. pan.

accession

acceſſion to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and uſed, during the winter, to paſs that river on the ice, and commit great devaſtations on the *Roman* territories, hearing that *Trajan* was created emperor, refrained from all hoſtilities, not daring to provoke ſo great a commander, now at liberty to chaſtiſe them [k]. *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, in his book *of the cuſtoms of the* Germans, marks the years to the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*; whence ſome have concluded, that the ſaid book was compoſed this year, *Trajan* being now conſul the ſecond time. He ſpeaks there of the expulſion of the *Bructerians* by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians*, as a thing lately happpened; and adds, that the gods vouchſafed to gratify the *Romans* with the ſight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, ſays our hiſtorian, there fell above ſixty thouſand ſouls, without a blow ſtruck by us; and, what is a circumſtance ſtill more glorious, they fell to furniſh us with a ſpectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes *Tacitus*, perpetuate amongſt theſe nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, ſince they cannot more ſignally befriend us, than by ſowing diviſions amongſt our foes [l]! The *Bructerians*, who were thus expulſed, and, as *Tacitus* writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about *Rees* and *Emmerick* in the dutchy of *Cleves* [m]. However, the *Bructerians* were not utterly exterminated, as *Tacitus* ſeems to ſuppoſe; but being driven with great ſlaughter from their antient habitations, they ſettled in the preſent county of *Naſſau*, where they gave the *Romans* no ſmall trouble, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory. *Pliny* tells us, that *Trajan* cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to *Veſtricius Spurima* for having conſtrained the *Bructerians*, notwithſtanding their fierceneſs and arrogance, to receive their king [n], whom, it ſeems, they had driven out. But this muſt have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by *Tacitus*.

The barbarians awed by his preſence.

The Bructerians *driven out by other* German *nations.*

THE next conſuls were *Aulus Cornelius Palma* and *Caius Soſius Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* inſcribed ſeveral of the lives he wrote, and ſome of his moral works. The ſenate had offered the conſulate to *Trajan*; but he declining it, tho' all the emperors, ever ſince the time of *Claudius*, had aſſumed that dignity the year after their acceſſion to the empire, *Palma* and *Senecio*, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room [o]. This year *Trajan* left *Germany* and ſet out for *Rome*: his march proved no-ways burdenſome to the provinces through which he paſſed, no man being injured either in his perſon or fortune,

Trajan ſets out for Rome.

[k] Idem ibid. [l] TACIT. de Ger. c. 33. [m] BUCH. Belg. l. v. c. 1. [n] PLIN. l. ii. epiſt. 7. [o] PLIN. pan. p. 110—115.

by

by the emperor or his numerous attendance. He cauſed the expences of his march, and that of *Domitian* when he went into *Gaul*, to be computed and inſerted in the public regiſters, that his ſucceſſors might thence learn how to conduct themſelves on the like occaſion [p]. He entered *Rome* on foot, and was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, the people of *Rome* promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and ſo great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him, and would not be treated by them as their ſovereign, but as a friend, aſſuring them, that ſuch they ſhould find him on all occaſions. He went ſtrait to the capitol, attended by the ſenate and the whole city, and thence to the palace [q]. His wife *Pompeia Plotina*, who accompanied him, turning to the people as ſhe mounted the ſteps of the palace, *I hope*, ſaid ſhe, *to come out the ſame as I go in:* and truly, during the whole time of her huſband's reign, her conduct was without reproach; nay, ſhe acquainted the emperor with ſeveral diſorders, occaſioned by his too great indulgence; and by that means put a ſtop to them [r]. She is mightily cried up by *Pliny*, on account of her modeſt behaviour and extraordinary kindneſs to the emperor's ſiſter [s], by name *Marciana*, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [t]. The ſenate offered to both the title of *Auguſta*, which they declined; ſo long as *Trajan* refuſed that of *the father of his country*, which he ſeems to have accepted towards the end of this year, the ſecond of his reign. *Plotina* proved always very favourable to *Adrian*; for, by her means and at her recommendation, he was adopted by *Trajan* [u]. In an inſcription of the year 116, which was the nineteenth of *Trajan*'s reign, *Marciana* is ſtyled goddeſs; whence it is evident, that ſhe was then dead [w]. From her the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia* took the name of *Marcianopolis*. She had a daughter, named *Matidia*, mother to another *Matidia*, and to *Julia Sabina*, the wife of the emperor *Adrian*. *Pliny* obſerves, that *Silius Italicus*, who had withdrawn into *Campania*, did not quit his retirement to come to *Rome*, and congratulate the emperor upon his arrival; which, ſays that writer, greatly redounded to the glory of both, of *Trajan* for granting him that liberty, of *Silius* for daring to demand it [x]. The ſenate decreed the emperor ſoon after his arrival the title of *Optimus*, which he willingly accepted, and ſeemed to value above all thoſe

How received there.

His wife Pompeia Plotina.

The title of Optimus *decreed to the emperor.*

[p] Idem ibid. p. 37. [q] Idem ibid. p. 38, 39. [r] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 771. Vict. epit vit Conſtan [s] Plin. ibid. p 150, 151. [t] Birag. numiſm. p 165. [u] Spart. in vit. Adrian. [w] Velsarii monum. Auguſtina. lapide 35. [x] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 7

which

which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories [y]. However, we do not find it in any inſcription amongſt his other titles, till the year 110, the thirteenth of his reign [z]. This year he paid part of the donative, which he had promiſed according to cuſtom, to the ſoldiery, and made large diſtributions both of money and corn amongſt the *Roman* people, extending his generoſity to ſuch as were abſent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes till eleven years old [a]. By means of theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two million of ſouls [b]. He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to *Rome* alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not without great difficulty bring up and ſupport. To this unbounded generoſity allude, no doubt, ſeveral medals, ſtruck this or the following year, which repreſent *Trajan* diſtributing corn to children with the following legend, *He nouriſhes* Italy [c]. He took great care that *Rome* ſhould be ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, eſpecially corn, which during the whole time of his reign, was ſold at a very low rate: he exhibited ſeveral ſhows and a combat of gladiators, to ſatisfy the populace, fond of ſuch diverſions; but drove out of *Rome* the players, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, but at the requeſt of the people, recalled by *Nerva*. He publiſhed ſeveral laws againſt informers, and confined to the iſland, ſuch of that tribe as had been ſpared by *Nerva*, utterly aboliſhing the ſo much hated law of majeſty. He repaired, at a vaſt charge, ſeveral old buildings, and inlarged the circus; but would not ſuffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he iſſued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus or the theatre, which, till then, had reſounded, ſays *Pliny*, with the praiſes of wicked princes *. All theſe things are related by *Pliny*, as happening in the ſecond year of *Trajan*'s reign, before the time appointed for the electing of conſuls. The people had, it ſeems, recovered their antient privilege of creating magiſtrates; for *Trajan*, whom the ſenate had preſſed to accept a third conſulſhip, appeared amongſt the other candidates, begging like a private citizen the ſuffrages of the tribes [d]. He choſe for his collegue *Fronto*, according to ſome; *Frontinus*, according to others; for both *M. Julius Fronto* and *Sextus Julius Frontinus*,

His largeſſes.

Is an enemy to informers.

His modeſty.

[y] DIO. p. 781. [z] Vide FABRETTI de column. Trajan. c. 9. [a] PLIN. pan. p. 44. BIRAG. p. 149. SPART. p. 16. [b] Vide SPART. not. Caſaubon. p. 122. [c] OCCONIS numiſm. p 202, 205. * PLIN. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epiſt. 88. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. [d] PLIN. ibid. p. 120.

who

who wrote a treatiſe on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the ſame aſſembly, *Pliny* and *Tertullus Cornutus* were appointed to ſucceed *Trajan* and *Fronto* or *Frontinus*, and others to ſucceed them; for at this time few conſuls held that dignity above three months. In the beginning of the year, *Trajan* had no ſooner aſſumed the faſces, than he aſcended the roſtra, and, in the preſence of the people, bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve the laws, declaring, that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are not above the laws, are no leſs bound than the meaneſt of the populace to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and proſperity of the emperor, he added theſe conditions; *If he obſerves the laws*; *if he governs the republic as he ought*; *if he procures the happineſs of his people* [c]. Before *Trajan* reſigned the faſces, the cauſe of *Marius Priſcus*, accuſed, by a city of *Africa* and by ſeveral particular perſons, of extortion during his proconſulate, was heard by the emperor and ſenate. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the hiſtorian pleaded for the *Africans*; and the trial laſted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole time with great attention to the reaſons alledged on both ſides, without ever betraying the leaſt biaſs to either. In the end, *Priſcus* was degraded from the rank of ſenator, and baniſhed *Italy*: at the ſame time, *Hoſtilius Firminus*, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire [f]. This is, no doubt, the *Marius*, who, in ſpite of the angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in *Juvenal* [g], even in exile, the immenſe wealth which he had accumulated by the moſt wicked means; while *Africa* bewailed, without redreſs, the loſſes it had ſuſtained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation *an empty judgment*. The condemnation of *Marius Priſcus* was followed by that of *Claſſicus*, proconſul of *Bætica*, or rather of his accomplices; for *Claſſicus*, finding himſelf accuſed of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himſelf before the time appointed for his trial. However, the province purſued their action againſt his accomplices, who had ſhared in his rapines, and they were, by means of *Pliny*, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The eſtate, which *Claſſicus* poſſeſſed before he was ſent into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter; but the reſt was diſtributed amongſt thoſe whom he had plundered during his adminiſtration: *Bæbius Probus* and *Fabius Hiſpanus*, the miniſters

Binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws.

Marius Priſcus *tried and condemned.*

The trial of Claſſicus.

[c] Plin. ibid. p. 134. l. vi. ep. 29. l. iii. ep. 9. ver. 120.

[f] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 4. l. ii. ep. 11.

[g] Juvenal. ſat. i ver. 49. & ſat x.

of

of his rapines, were baniſhed for five years, though they alledged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconſul. *Stillonius Priſcus*, who had commanded a cohort under *Claſſicus*, was baniſhed *Italy* for two years: the daughter of *Claſſicus* was likewiſe accuſed by the province; but *Pliny*, judging her innocent, declined pleading againſt her; whence the proſecution was dropped [h]. *Norbanus Licinianus*, who had been lieutenant to *Claſſicus*, but his declared enemy, was at the ſame time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and confined to one of the iſlands in the *Archipelago* [i].

FOR what we have hitherto related of *Trajan*'s adminiſtration, we are chiefly indebted to *Pliny*, from whoſe panegyric on that prince we have copied it. *Pliny* pronounced his ſpeech in the ſenate, when he entered upon his conſulſhip, having compoſed it before at the requeſt of the ſenators. After he had delivered it in full ſenate, he added, as he himſelf informs us, many things to it, that it might ſerve as a model for other princes. Before he publiſhed it, he rehearſed it before ſome of his friends, who for three days together heard him with great attention; which he aſcribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being perſuaded, that the praiſes which he beſtowed on *Trajan*, were a ſincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. *Pliny* himſelf aſſures us, that ſuch paſſages in his diſcourſe, as were the leaſt ſtudied, pleaſed moſt; which gave him no ſmall ſatisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of ſeeing the true taſte revive, and the maſculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He ſent his diſcourſe, which he ſtyles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he diſliked in it, that he might by that means be ſure he approved of the reſt [k]. About this time, *Largius Macedo*, who, for his extraordinary parts, had been raiſed from a very mean condition (for he was the ſon of a freedman) to the prætorian dignity, was inhumanly murdered by his ſlaves, whom, forgetful of his origin, he treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. They fell upon him while he was bathing at one of his country-houſes, and left him for dead; but he afterwards returned to himſelf, and lived a few days, during which he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing all thoſe crucified, who had been any-ways concerned in the attempt [l]. Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*, granddaughter to *Marciana* the emperor's ſiſter, was married to *Adrian*, the ſon of *Ælius Adrian Afer*, couſin to *Trajan*. This match, which in the end proved un-

Pliny *pronounces his panegyric in the ſenate.*

Largius Macedo *murdered by his ſlaves.*

Adrian *marries* Julia Sabina.

[h] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 4, & 9. [i] Idem, l. iii. epiſt 9. [k] Idem. iii. epiſt. 13, 18. [l] Idem ibid. epiſt. 14.

happy to both, was concluded by the empreſs *Plotina*, who had a particular kindneſs for *Adrian*, the emperor himſelf rather conſenting to it, than approving it [m].

The following year, *Trajan*, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſenate, entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having for his colleague, according to ſome [n], *Sextus Articuleius Pætus*, according to others [o], *P. Orfitus.* The ſame year, *Bæbius Macer*, *Cæpio Hiſpo*, *Valerius Paulinus*, and *Caius Cæcilius Strabo*, were honoured with the conſular dignity [p]. *Adrian* was this year quæſtor, and charged with the care of the regiſters of the ſenate [q]; which employment he ſoon reſigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook againſt the *Dacians*. *Decebalus*, king of the *Dacians*, obliged *Domitian*, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, to purchaſe a peace with a large ſum; which he engaged to pay yearly to *Decebalus*. To this tribute *Trajan* would not ſubmit, alledging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Beſides, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good underſtanding with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom *Decebalus* had preſented with one *Callidromus*, who had been made priſoner in *Mæſia* by *Suzagues*, one of his lieutenants, during the war with *Domitian*. The good underſtanding between theſe two powers gave *Trajan* no ſmall jealouſy. Whereupon the *Dacians* having paſſed the *Danube*, and committed ſome hoſtilities in the *Roman* territories, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whoſe power he began to fear. Having therefore drawn together a mighty army, he marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the *Danube*, paſſed that river without oppoſition, *Decebalus* not being appriſed of his arrival, and entered *Dacia*, committing everywhere dreadful devaſtations. *Decebalus*, however, was not in the leaſt diſmayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the *Romans*, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from their intrenchments. *Trajan* immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large muſhroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in *Latin* cut upon it, *Your allies, eſpecially the* Burrhi, *adviſe you to conclude a peace with the* Dacians, *and to retire.* *Trajan*, deſpiſing that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he diſcovered *Decebalus* at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him. He then halted to encourage his men, which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to

Trajan's *firſt war with the* Dacians.

[m] Spart. in Adrian. [n] Idat. in faſt. [o] Oxuph. in faſt.
[p] Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 3, 12, 17. [q] Spart. in Adrian.

found

found the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the *Romans* gained the victory; which, however, coſt them dear, the wounded on their ſide being ſo numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes to ſupply that want. Such as fell in the battle he cauſed to be interred with great ſolemnity, and ordered an altar to be built on the ſpot, and ſacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceaſed[r]. *Trajan*, purſuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy cloſe; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, harraſſed them without intermiſſion to ſuch a degree, that *Decebalus*, reduced almoſt to deſpair, ſent ſome of the chief lords of nis court with propoſals of peace. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura* and *Claudius Libianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zarmiſogethuſa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other ſide, *Maximus*, one of the *Roman* generals, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in one of which he took the ſiſter of *Decebalus* priſoner, and recovered a *Roman* ſtandard, which had been loſt when *Fuſcus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. At length *Decebalus*, no longer able to withſtand the *Romans*, and dreading the deſtruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loſs of his whole kingdom, diſpatched anew embaſſadors to *Trajan*, offering to accept ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe. Accordingly *Trajan* granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he ſhould ſurrender the territories which he had unjuſtly taken from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he ſhould deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the *Roman* deſerters. 3. That, for the future, he ſhould entertain no deſerters, nor take into his ſervice the natives of any country ſubject to *Rome*. 4. That he ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds. And, laſtly, That he ſhould have the ſame friends and foes with the people of *Rome*. With theſe articles *Decebalus* complied, tho' much againſt his will; and, having ſworn to obſerve them, he was introduced to *Trajan*, before whom he threw himſelf on the ground, acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal. *Trajan* commanded him to ſend deputies to the ſenate for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, *Trajan*, having placed gariſons in moſt of the cities of *Dacia*, returned to *Rome*; which he entered in triumph, either in the

The Dacians *defeated.*

Trajan's *humanity to the wounded.*

Decebalus *king of the* Dacians *ſues for peace,*

Which is granted him upon hard terms.

[r] Dio l. lxviii. p 771—774.

Trajan *the first who triumphed over the* Dacians.

end of this, or the beginning of the following year, and took the ſurname of *Dacicus*, being the firſt *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation [s]. His triumph was followed by a combat of gladiators and the diverſions of the ſtage, in which one *Pylades* gained the applauſe of the people, and the emperor's favour. *Trajan* had but two years before driven all the players out of *Rome*; but, as he took great pleaſure in ſuch entertainments, he recalled them on this occaſion, though he did not abandon himſelf to theſe amuſements in ſuch manner as to neglect the diſpatch of buſineſs; for he diſcharged with great care and application all the duties of a prince, was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and aſſiſted in perſon at all the cauſes of any importance, that were pleaded either in the ſenate or the forum [t]. This year *Julius Baſſus*, who had been accuſed under *Trajan*, and, after a long trial, declared innocent, was again accuſed of extortion by the *Bithynians*; for he had been by *Nerva* appointed proconſul of *Bithynia*. *Pliny*, who pleaded in his behalf, owns, that he failed rather through imprudence than avarice, in accepting ſome preſents, which was, by ſome late laws, forbidden to all governors of provinces, under ſevere penalties. However, *Pliny* prevailed upon the ſenate, inclined to condemn him as guilty of extortion, to be ſatisfied with obliging him to reſtore the value of the preſents to thoſe, of whom he had imprudently accepted them [u].

Licinius Sura *the emperor's chief favourite.*

The following year, one *Suranus*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, and *L. Licinius Sura*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Suras*, were choſen conſuls. *Sura* was *Trajan*'s chief favourite, and had employed all his intereſt with *Nerva* in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after *Nerva*, *Trajan* acknowledged himſelf indebted for his adoption and preferment [w]. He was, as *Gruter* conjectures from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [x], a native of *Spain*, born either in *Tarragon* or *Barcelona*, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of *Trajan*'s friends, who by falſe inſinuations, ſtrove to eſtrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil deſigns. But *Trajan*, who repoſed an intire confidence in him, inſtead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to ſup with him, without being invited; and, diſmiſſing his guards, ordered *Sura*'s Surgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; truſting himſelf to his barber, who ſhaved him; then bathed, and ſupped with *Sura*, without ever betraying the

[s] Dio. p. 710. Spart. in Adrian. Goltz. p. 646. Euseb. in chron. p. 341. [t] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 774. [u] Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 9. l. vi. epiſt. 29. & l. x. epiſt. 14. [w] Vict. in epit. [x] Gruter. p. 249.

leaſt

leaſt diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told thoſe about him, who were always ſuggeſting ſomething againſt *Sura*, If he entertained any evil deſigns againſt me, he would have put them in execution laſt night [y]. *Sura* was ſtill alive in the year 109, the twelfth of *Trajan*'s reign, when *Adrian*, whom he had always favoured, was conſul; but died ſoon after, having aſſured *Adrian* before he died, that *Trajan* would in the end adopt him [z]. *Trajan* cauſed his funerals to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, erected a ſtatue to him, and called certain ſplendid baths, which he built, after his name. This year *Trajan*, at the requeſt of the ſenate, and at the motion of *Nigrinus*, tribune of the people, publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting ſuch pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion; and *Licinius Nepos*, prætor, upon his taking poſſeſſion of that office, procured a decree from the ſenate, commanding the parties, before their cauſe began to be tried, to ſwear, that they had neither given nor promiſed any fee, preſent, or reward, to thoſe who were to plead in their behalf. *Pliny* takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleaſed to ſee that forbidden to others, which he had never practiſed himſelf [a]. Towards the end of the year, *Trajan* aſſumed twice the title of emperor [b], for victories which were gained by ſome of his lieutenants (for he himſelf continued the whole year at *Rome*), but are not mentioned by any hiſtorian.

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees.

THE next conſuls were *Trajan*, the fifth time, and *Lucius Appius Maximus*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Dacian* war. This year *Trajan* began, and finiſhed two years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he called after his own name, *The harbour of* Trajan [c]. It is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and deſcribed by *Rutilius* in his poem [d]. *Pliny* was this year ſent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, not in quality of proconſul, as others had been, but of lieutenant and proprætor, with conſular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the ſenate, but by the emperor, tho' the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* belonged to the ſenate. As there were many abuſes in that province to reform, the emperor ſent *Pliny* thither with an extraordinary authority as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the ſenate to appoint the governors as formerly, *Adrian* being the firſt who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* from the ſenate, and gave them *Pamphilia* in the room of it [e].

The port of Centumcellæ.

Pliny *appointed governor of* Pontus *and* Bithynia.

[y] DIO. ibid. p. 777. [z] SPART. in Adrian. [a] PLIN. l. v. epiſt 14. [b] GOLTZ. p. 64. [c] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 31. Occo. numiſm. p. 212. [d] RUTIL. p. 132. [e] DIO. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 714.

Pliny

Pliny was particularly commiſſioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his juriſdiction, and to retrench all unneceſſary charges [f]; but the emperor would not impower him to recall ſuch as had been baniſhed by other governors [g], nor even thoſe whom he himſelf ſhould think fit to baniſh [h]. *Pliny* wrote an account of his journey to the emperor, whence it appears, that he arrived in *Bithynia* on the ſeventeenth of *September*, and *Servilius Pudens* his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of *November* [i].

The following year, *L. Licinius Sura* and *M. Marcellus* being conſuls, *Sauromates*, king of *Boſporus*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Trajan*, and entered into an alliance with him and the *Roman* people [k]. Soon after, *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians*, not able to live in ſubjection and ſervitude (for ſo he called the peace which *Trajan* had granted him), began, contrary to the late treaty, to raiſe men, provide arms, entertain deſerters, fortify his caſtles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the *Romans* as a common enemy. The *Scythians* hearkened to his ſolicitations; but the *Iazyges* refuſing to bear arms againſt *Rome*, he invaded their country, and ſeized that part of it which bordered on the *Danube*. Hereupon *Decebalus* was by the ſenate declared an enemy; and *Trajan*, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched againſt him in perſon. *Decebalus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand him by open force, had recourſe to deceit and treachery, ſending aſſaſſins, under the name of deſerters, to murder him; but one of theſe, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion and put to the torture, diſcovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately ſeized and executed. *Decebalus*, failing in this attempt, invited *Longinus*, one of *Trajan*'s favourites and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he deſigned to put an end to the war, by ſubmitting to the articles of the former treaty, with ſome ſmall alteration. *Longinus*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But *Decebalus* immediately ſeized him; and after having attempted in vain to make him diſcover the deſigns of the emperor, he wrote to *Trajan*, offering to ſet *Longinus* at liberty, upon condition that he would grant him an honourable peace, reſtore the country bordering on the *Danube*, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that if theſe conditions were not complied with, he would inſtantly put *Longinus* to death. *Trajan* returned him a judicious anſwer, neither ſeem-

Decebalus violates the articles of the treaty.

His treachery.

[f] Plin l. x. epiſt. 19. [g] Idem ibid. epiſt. 44. [h] Idem ibid epiſt. 57. [i] Idem ibid. epiſt. 17, 18, 26, 34. [k] Idem. l. x. epiſt. 68, 69, 73, 74.

ing

ing to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet make ſuch account of it, as to purchaſe it at too high a rate. But while *Decebalus* was deliberating with himſelf, and in ſuſpence about the meaſures he ſhould purſue, *Longinus*, by a doſe of poiſon, which was privately conveyed to him by a freedman, put an end to his life. *Decebalus* immediately diſpatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceaſed general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom *Longinus* had ſent, before he took the poiſon, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty: but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the propoſal, nor even ſuffer the centurion to return. In the mean time, *Trajan*, that his troops might with more eaſe paſs the *Danube*, built a bridge over that ſpacious river, which, by the antients, is ſtyled the moſt magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the moſt ſtately fabric of that nature in the univerſe. It was all of ſquare ſtone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and ſixty feet in breadth, all diſtant from each other one hundred and ſeventy feet. It was built where the river was narroweſt, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt and moſt rapid; which renders the fabric ſtill more ſtupendous and amazing, on account of the almoſt unſurmountable difficulties they muſt have met with in laying ſo large a foundation [l]. The architect employed on this occaſion was one *Apollodorus* of *Damaſcus*, who, it ſeems, left a deſcription of this great work [m]. *Trajan* ordered two caſtles to be built to guard the bridge, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* ſide, of the river. *Pliny* mentions this bridge in the ſhort account he gives us of the *Dacian* war [n]; and ſeveral medals repreſenting it have reached our times [o]. It was built in the *Upper Mœſia*, which, in the time of *Aurelian*, began to be called *Dacia* [p]. We are told, that ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen near *Zeverin* in *Lower Hungary* [q]. *Trajan* built it, that the *Roman* forces might with eaſe and readineſs paſs the *Danube*, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but *Adrian*, fearing the barbarians might make uſe of it to invade the *Roman* territories, broke down the arches, but the piers were ſtill ſtanding in *Dion Caſſius*'s time; that is, one hundred and twenty years after, tho' they ſerved then only to ſhew, ſays that writer, the utmoſt extent of human power [r]. When they were by time intirely demoliſhed, the river was ſo

Trajan *builds a bridge over the* Danube.

[l] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 776. [m] Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l. iv. c. 6. [n] Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [o] Occo. p. 204. Baron. annal. ad ann. 105. [p] Fabretti. de colum. Trajan. c. 301. [q] Occo. p. 204. [r] Dio. ibid.

choaked

choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another chanel [s]. This ſtupendous fabric was begun and ended this ſummer; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviſeable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himſelf with making the neceſſary preparations for vigorouſly attacking the enemy early in the ſpring.

In the mean time, the following conſuls were choſen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Candidus* and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the ſecond time. This year, the eighth of *Trajan*'s reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Aſia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitane*, and *Cumæ*; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ* [t]. *Adrian* diſcharged for ſome time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war againſt the *Dacians*. The emperor, early in the ſpring, paſſed the *Danube* on the bridge he had built, and entering the enemy's country, purſued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers [u]. He often incamped, ſays *Pliny* [w], on ſteep and barren mountains; was obliged to divert rivers into new chanels, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well atteſted, would ſeem altogether fabulous. He gave many ſignal inſtances of his perſonal courage, and the ſoldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardſhips of a laborious warfare [x]. Among the reſt, one of his horſemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreſſed, when he there underſtood, that his life was deſpaired of and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his ſpirits failed him, performed great feats, and expired fighting with incredible bravery [y]. Several inſcriptions are ſtill to be met with, mentioning perſons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the *Dacians* [z]. In this war *Adrian* commanded a legion, and, in the many battles that were fought, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; whence the emperor, highly pleaſed with his gallant behaviour, preſented him with the diamond which *Nerva* had ſent him, as we have related above, when he adopted and named him his ſucceſſor. This preſent *Adrian* looked upon as a pledge of his future adoption [a]. Some inſcriptions have reached our times, in which *Dacia* is ſaid to have been added to the empire by the courage and valour of *Adrian* [b]. At length *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the capital of *Dacia*, and almoſt of the

Trajan *marches againſt the* Dacians.

Expoſes himſelf to great dangers.

[s] Procop. ibid. [t] Euseb. chron. [u] Dio. ibid. [w] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 9. [x] Dio. p. 776. [y] Idem p. 777. [z] Fabr. colum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238, 241. [a] Spart. in Adrian. Dio. lxix. p. 787. [b] Fabr. ibid. p. 242.

whole

whole country; insomuch, that *Decebalus*, seeing himself stripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection, or acknowledge himself overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treasures in a deep pit, which he caused to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Istrig*, having for that purpose turned the stream into another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former course. As for his rich moveables, he secured them in deep caves, which he caused to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not discover the secret; but *Bacilis*, one of his chief favourites and confidents, being taken in this war, discovered the whole to *Trajan*, who seized both the treasure and precious moveables of the deceased prince [c]. We are told, that notwithstanding this discovery, great riches were found in those places many ages after, which had escaped *Trajan* [d]. The famous column of *Trajan*, of which we shall speak anon, is thought to have heen raised for a lasting monument of the victories, gained by that prince over the *Dacians* and their king; at least many of the remarkable events of this war are expressed, as *Ciacconius* and *Fabretti* inform us, in the basso-relievo of that pillar [e]. *Dacia* being thus intirely subdued, *Trajan* reduced it to a *Roman* province, which was, according to *Eutropius* [f], a thousand miles in compass. The *Romans* held it, as *Festus Rufus* informs us [g], to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*; during which time it was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from some antient inscriptions [h]. *Trajan* built several castles in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country, which were on this occasion built or peopled by the *Romans*: but the most celebrated of all was *Zarmisogethusa*, which in several antient inscriptions, is styled *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacia Sarmiz*. It was established by *M. Scaurianus* proprætor of *Dacia*, and continued subject to the *Romans* at least to the death of the emperor *Severus* [i]. At present it is but a poor village in *Transylvania*, known by the name of *Gradisch* [k]. In *Mœsia* and *Thrace* several cities borrowed their name from *Trajan*; for we find the city of *Trajanopolis* in *Thrace* mentioned by the antients;

Makes himself master of the capital of Dacia, *which is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

Many colonies planted in Dacia.

[c] Dio. ibid. [d] Fabr. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Eutrop. p. 236. [g] Ruf. p. 550. [h] Gruter. p. 354. [i] Idem, p. 63. Dio l. lxviii. p. 1040. [k] Baudr. p. 348.

that of *Ulpia* in *Upper Mœſia*, now *Servia*; the cities of *Plotinipolis*, which, no doubt, was ſo called from *Plotina Trajan*'s wife, and *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mœſia*, which took its name from *Marciana*, the emperor's ſiſter, and was, according to *Jornandes*, built by *Trajan* [l]. The ſame writer adds, that upon the banks of the river *Iater*, or *Iatrus*, he founded another city, which he called *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Sarmatians*, or rather *Dacians*; for *Jornandes* frequently confounds theſe two nations [m]. This city is by *Ammianus Marcellinus* called ſometimes *Nicopolis*, ſometimes *Ulpia*, and placed, not on the *Iatrus*, but on the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*; and truly, from ſeveral inſcriptions produced by the learned *Holſtenius* [n], it appears to have ſtood near the conflux of the *Neſtus* and the *Danube*. We muſt not confound, as ſome writers have done, *Nicopolis* in *Dacia* with another of the ſame name upon mount *Hæmus* in *Thrace*.

Trajan's *ſecond triumph over the* Dacians.

Trajan, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a ſecond time; cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined in memory of his victories, many of which are ſtill to be ſeen [o]; entertained the people with public banquets; with ſhows, in which ten thouſand gladiators entered the liſts; with combats of wild beaſts, of which above ten thouſand were killed, and all kinds of diverſions, which laſted one hundred and twenty-three days [p]. *Canius*, at the requeſt of *Pliny*, deſcribed this war in verſe [q]; and *Trajan* himſelf is ſaid to have written an account of it in ſeveral books [r]. This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took, for the fifth time, the title of *imperator*, about the latter end of the ninth year of his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign [s].

Arabia Petræa *intirely reduced.*

The ſame year is remarkable for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, after it had been long governed by its own kings [t]. The inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* reckon their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire [u]. *Trajan* reduced, together with the *Dacians*, ſeveral nations in alliance with them; ſo that the fame of his conqueſts reaching the moſt diſtant countries, and even *India*, embaſſadors were ſent from thence to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [w].

[l] Jorn. de reb. Goth. c. 16. [m] Idem ibid. c. 18. [n] Holst. ad Steph. p. 225. [o] Occo. p. 261. [p] Dio. ibid. p. 777. [q] Plin. l. viii. ep. 14. [r] Voss. hiſt. Lat. c. 30. [s] Vide Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 47, 48 [t] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 777. [u] Euseb. in chron. p. 206. [w] Dio. ibid.

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THE next conſuls were *Cerealis* and *L. Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the father of *L. Ælius Verus*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, who was by *Adrian* created *Cæſar* [x]. During their adminiſtration, the capitoline ſports, eſtabliſhed by *Domitian*, were exhibited the ſixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens* [y]. This year *Trajan* made, at a vaſt charge, a road through the *Palus Pontina*, or *Pontine Marſhes*, whereof the remains are ſtill to be ſeen [z]; and this, no doubt, is the *Via Trajana*, or *Trajan's Highway*, mentioned in ſeveral antient inſcriptions produced by *Occo* [a] and *Gruter* [b]. *Dion Caſſius* adds, that he ordered all the diminiſhed coin to be melted down, and mentions ſeveral magnificent buildings, with which he embelliſhed *Rome*: but of theſe we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; for *Trajan* muſt have only begun them this year, ſince he left *Rome* in the month of *October*, and was at *Antioch* in the very beginning of the enſuing year [c]. However, before he ſet out for the eaſt, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Craſſus*, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality; but ſeaſonably diſcovered. The conſpirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge, and at the ſame time a party), but by the ſenate, who, it ſeems, condemned them to baniſhment; for, upon the emperor's death, one *Craſſus Frugi* endeavoured to make his eſcape from an iſland, to which he is ſaid to have been confined for aſpiring at the empire; but was killed by one of *Adrian*'s officers, without the emperor's knowledge, as if he had attempted his eſcape with a deſign to raiſe new diſturbances [d]. The true motive of *Trajan*'s journey into the eaſt was a deſire of glory, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us [e], which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who, we may ſay, rivalled the *Romans* themſelves in power, and had given them ſeveral great overthrows. The pretence he alledged for quarrelling with that nation was, that the king of *Armenia*, by name *Exedares*, had received his crown at the hands of the king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of diſpoſing of that crown ever ſince the reign of *Nero*, who, in the year ſixty-ſix, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at *Rome Tiridates* king of *Armenia*. What happened after that time in *Armenia*, we find no-where recorded; we only know, that *Tiridates* was ſtill on the throne in ſeventy-two, the third of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. As for the affairs of the *Parthians*, *Vologeſes*, brother to *Tiridates*, was in the year eighty ſucceeded by

A conſpiracy againſt Trajan.

His moderation on that occaſion.

Deſigns to make war upon the Parthians.

[x] ONUPH. IDAT. in faſt. SPART. in Ælii. vit. [y] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 216. [z] DIO. ibid. [a] Occo p. 209. [b] GRUT. p. 199. [c] IDAT. acta. p. 2, 3. USSER. notæ p. 35. [d] DIO. ibid. p. 778. [e] Idem ibid.

Artabanes, and he by *Pacorus* the friend of *Decebalus* [f], who reigned while *Pliny* governed *Bithynia* [g]. *Pacorus* was father to *Parthamaſiris*, and probably to *Coſrhoes*, who reigned at this time in *Parthia* [h]. *Aurelius Victor* calls him *Coſdroes*, and *Dion Caſſius*, *Hoſroes*. *Trajan*, who wanted only a pretence to make war upon the *Parthians*, pretended to be highly affronted at the *Parthian* king's giving the crown and royal enſigns to *Exedares*, and demanded ſatisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refuſed to comply with his juſt demands. *Coſrhoes* deſpiſed his menaces; whereupon *Trajan*, who had already made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, immediately left *Rome* and croſſed over into *Greece*. When *Coſrhoes* found he was in earneſt, he began to abate of his pride, and ſent deputies to him with rich preſents, begging that he would not, upon ſuch ſlight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and deſtructive war; at the ſame time he acquainted him, that *Exedares*, finding himſelf neither acceptable to the *Romans* nor to the *Parthians*, had abdicated the crown, and beſought *Trajan* to diſpoſe of it in favour of *Parthamaſiris*. The embaſſadors met *Trajan* at *Athens*, and there delivered their meſſage; to which the emperor replied, that friendſhip was ſhewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into *Syria*, and that there he ſhould take ſuch reſolutions as he ſhould think proper. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, without deigning to accept any of their preſents [i]. He then purſued his journey through *Aſia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and the other provinces, to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and from thence to *Antioch*, the capital of that province, which he entered crowned with a branch of an olive-tree on a *Thurſday*, which, that year and the following, happened, and never more during his reign, to be the ſeventh of *January* [k].

And ſets out for the eaſt.

Embaſſadors ſent to him by the king of the Parthians.

Arrives at Antioch.

THE following year's conſuls were *Lucius Licinius Sura* the third time, and *Caius Soſius Senecio* the ſecond, who reſigned the faſces to *Suranus* and *Servianus* [l], in whoſe conſulſhip *Adrian* was prætor, and exhibited magnificent ſhows [m]; for he did not attend *Trajan* into the eaſt. When the time of his prætorſhip expired, he was ſent to command the armies in *Lower Pannonia*, where he maintained with great ſeverity the military diſcipline, and kept in awe the *Sarmatians*, whom *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* count among the nations ſubdued by *Trajan* [n]. *Servianus*, who was conſul with *Suranus*, is called in ſeve-

Adrian *commands in* Lower Pannonia.

[f] ZONAR. in vit. Tit. [g] PLIN. l. x. epiſt. 8. [h] Dio. p. 779. [i] Idem, p. 778. [k] USSER. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35. Lond, ann. 1647. [l] IDAT. chron. Alexand. ONUPH. in faſt. [m] SPART. in Adrian. [n] HIER. in chron.

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ral antient inſcriptions *Julius Servilius Urſus Servianus*, the ſame, no doubt, who married *Paulina*, ſiſter to *Adrian*, and the emperor's couſin[o]. *Pliny* wrote ſome letters to him as an intimate friend, and by his means obtained ſeveral favours of the emperor [p]. When he ſpeaks of him to others, he calls him a perſon of great accompliſhments[q]. He was governor of *Upper Germany* in the year 98, the firſt of *Trajan*'s reign, and from thence was ſent into *Pannonia* [r]. *Trajan* entertained a mighty opinion of his talents, and uſed to ſay, that among the great men who might aſpire at the empire, he was the moſt capable of diſcharging that high truſt with reputation. He was no friend to *Adrian*, and is ſuppoſed to have oppoſed his adoption; for that prince, a little before he died, in the year 138, ordered *Servianus*, then ninety years old, to be put to death, that he might not ſurvive him, tho' he had, during the whole courſe of his reign, treated him in a very friendly manner, and preferred him to the firſt employments [s]. He is often called by the *Greek* writers *Severianus* inſtead of *Servianus* [t]. But to return to *Trajan:* he made his entry into *Antioch* on the ſeventh of *January*, as we have related above. During his ſtay in that city, *Abgarus*, or, as ſome call him, *Augarus*, prince of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, ſent him preſents, and, by his embaſſadors, declared his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with him and the people of *Rome*; but, as he equally feared the *Romans* and *Parthians*, and was deſirous to pleaſe both, he declined waiting upon him in perſon. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came perſonally to offer their ſervice to the emperor of *Rome*, and brought with them, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, rich preſents. One among the reſt preſented him with a ſtately courſer, who, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught before-hand. *Trajan* received all the princes who came to attend him, with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, accepted their preſents, and pretended to repoſe an intire confidence in them. Having made the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, when *Parthamaſiris*, who had wrote to him before, and in his letter ſtyled himſelf king of *Armenia*, ſent him a ſecond letter (for *Trajan* had returned no anſwer to the firſt), wherein he omitted the title of king, and deſired, that *M. Junius*, governor of *Cappadocia*, might be appointed to treat with him. *Trajan* ſent only the ſon of *Junius*, and in the mean time pur-

Abgarus king of Edeſſa, and other princes ſend preſents to Trajan.

The king of Armenia writes to the emperor, who ſeizes ſeveral places in that kingdom.

[o] SPART. in Adrian. p. 1, 2. [q] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 26, 27. [q] Idem. l. viii. epiſt. 23. [r] SPART. in Adrian. p. 1. [s] Idem ibid. & DIO. l. lxix. p. 795. [t] Vide SPART. cum not. Caſaubon.

ſued

fued his march, making himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. At *Sata*, or rather *Satala*, a city in *Armenia Minor*, the emperor was met by *Anquialus* king of the *Heniochi*, a people of *Circaſſia*, on the *Euxine* ſea, and of the *Mabeloni*, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. *Trajan* received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made him rich preſents, in order to attach him to his intereſt. Upon his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamaſiris* came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him ſeated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamaſiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a ſingle word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time, the ſoldiers, pleaſed to ſee the king of *Armenia*, tho' ſupported by the whole power of the *Parthian* empire, obliged to ſubmit, and reſign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud ſhouts of joy; which ſo terrified *Parthamaſiris*, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he deſired to ſpeak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* not liking his propoſals, and refuſing to comply with them, he left the tent in a great paſſion, and endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the camp. But *Trajan*, having ordered him to be ſtopped, and brought back, aſcended his tribunal anew, and deſired the prince to repeat, in the hearing of all, the propoſals he had made to him in private, and his anſwers, that perſons, who were ignorant of what had paſſed between them, might not give falſe accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the world. Upon this *Parthamaſiris*, no longer able to contain himſelf, told *Trajan*, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken priſoner; that he came thither voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he ſhould receive his kingdom of *Trajan*, as *Tiridates* had done of *Nero*. *Trajan* replied, that *Armenia* belonged to the *Romans*, and that it ſhould receive a *Roman* governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that as for *Parthamaſiris*, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleaſed. Accordingly he diſmiſſed him, and the *Parthians* who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be inſulted by the ſoldiery, or raiſe diſturbances; the *Armenians* he detained, as ſubjects of the *Roman* empire, and ordered them to return to their reſpective dwellings. *Parthamaſiris* endeavoured to maintain himſelf in his kingdom by force of arms; but loſt his life in the attempt, ſo that *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of

The king of Armenia waits upon him in perſon.

Trajan *refuſes him the crown of* Armenia.

of *Armenia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province[u]. As to the other particulars of this war, we find them no-where recorded. Upon the reduction of *Armenia*, ſeveral princes ſubmitted of their own accord to *Trajan*, amongſt whom are mentioned the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Boſporus*, and *Colchis*[w]. He named a king to rule over the *Albanians*, and appointed one *Julianus* prince of the *Apſiles*, whoſe country bordered on the *Euxine* ſea, having for its metropolis the city of *Dioſcuris*, afterwards called *Sebaſtopolis*. *Arrian*, who wrote under *Adrian*, ſpeaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the *Roman* empire[x]. The *Romans* had, before *Trajan*'s time, a gariſon in *Melitene* or *Melitine*, a caſtle of *Leſſer Armenia*, which *Trajan* made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence in proceſs of time it became one of the moſt populous and wealthy cities in the eaſt[y]. The emperor, having left gariſons in all the ſtrongholds of *Armenia*, advanced to the city of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus* king of that diſtrict. *Abgarus* had before ſent him ſeveral preſents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in perſon. However, *Trajan*, by the mediation of *Abgarus*'s ſon, by name *Arbandes*, a very comely youth, received his excuſes, and admitted him to his friendſhip. *Abgarus* made a great entertainment for the emperor and the chief officers of his army, at which *Arbandes*, who was perhaps too much beloved by *Trajan*, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country[z]. *Manes*, the chief of one of the *Arabian* nations, *Sporaces*, prince of *Anthemuſia*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, *Mebarſapes*, king of *Adiabene*, and *Maniſares*, king of ſome diſtrict in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join *Trajan*; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him, ſo that the emperor began to diſtruſt them, eſpecially after the treachery of *Mebarſapes*; who having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, againſt the *Parthians*, put moſt of them to the ſword, and kept the reſt in captivity. Amongſt the latter was a centurion, named *Sentius*, who, as *Trajan*, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great ſtrength, called *Ademyſtres*, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the *Romans*[a]. *Trajan*, now maſter of ſo ſtrong and important a place, advanced

Armenia reduced to a Roman *province.*

Several kings ſubmit to Trajan.

Enters Meſopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

[u] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 779 ARRIAN. in perip. pont Euxin. p. 7. EUTROP. in vit. Trajan. [w] EUTROP. ibid. [x] ARRIAN. ibid. [y] PROCOP. de ædific. Juſtin. l. iii c. 4. [z] Dio ibid. p. 780. [a] Idem. p. 781.

boldly

Trajan builds a bridge over the Tigris.

boldly into *Mesopotamia*, and reduced great part of it by the bare fame of his name. As the greatest part of *Adiabene* lay beyond the *Tigris*, *Trajan* built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that have reached our times [l]. The cities of *Nisibe* and *Batue* made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield. If the city of *Nisibe* belonged, as *Josephus* writes, to the king of *Adiabene*, it was at this time, as is manifest from *Dion Cassius* [m], in the hands of the *Parthians*. As for *Cosrhoes*, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made to stop the progress of *Trajan*'s conquests. In *Dion Cassius* we read, that *Manisares* offered to yield to the *Romans* for ever all *Armenia*, and that part of *Mesopotamia* which they had already conquered. Whence we conjecture, that the name of *Manisares* has crept into the text instead of *Cosrhoes*, who alone could make such an offer, and between whom and *Trajan* a treaty was, it seems, concluded, since *Aurelius Victor* writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom it was violated (for the war broke out anew), we are no-where told. To this treaty perhaps allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, *Peace established; the king of the* Parthians *restored* [n]. The power of the *Parthians* was, as *Dion Cassius* informs us [o], greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that *Cosrhoes* was perhaps obliged to recur to *Trajan*, and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of *Trajan*'s wars in the east, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the *Parthian* history, composed by *Arrian*, who flourished at this time, on purpose to set forth the exploits of *Trajan*, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us [p]; but that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under *Trajan*), we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with *Trajan*'s. Not to mention the many historians who have described the *Parthian* war, in which *Trajan* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, *Marius Maximus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Aurelius Verus*, *Statius Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dion Cassius*, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the *Roman* history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to recur to the abridgment of *Dion Cassius* by *Xiphilin*, and to the still

A treaty between Trajan *and the king of the* Parthians.

[l] Occo p. 205. Birag. p. 157. Occon. p 201. [m] Dio ibid. [n] Vide [o] Dio. p. 783. [p] Phot c. 58.

more

more compendious and undigeſted writings of *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*. We cannot even learn of any writer, whether *Trajan* ever returned to *Rome* after he ſet out from thence to conquer *Armenia*. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves that he continued in the eaſt, without once viſiting the metropolis of the empire, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years; the more, becauſe from ſome medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to *Rome* before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the ſame or the following year [q]; which gives a great light to hiſtory, and may ſerve to juſtify the acts of the glorious martyr St. *Ignatius*. *Luſius Quietus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders employed by *Trajan* in this war. He was a *Moor* by nation, and born in a country not ſubject to *Rome*; but nevertheleſs ſerved in the *Roman* cavalry, till he was either by *Domitian* or *Nerva* for ſome miſdemeanor degraded and diſmiſſed. *Trajan*, wanting *Moors* in his wars with the *Dacians*, took this prince again into the ſervice, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the firſt and ſecond *Dacian* war [r]. In the *Parthian* war he ſerved with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that *Trajan* honoured him with the conſulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of *Paleſtine*, by way of reward for a ſignal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* [s]. His reducing the *Mardi*, a people of *Aſia* near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caſpian* ſea, is mentioned as what moſt of all contributed to his glory and preferment [t]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* extols him as one of the greateſt captains that ever bore arms for the *Romans* [u]. We are told, that *Trajan* had ſuch a kindneſs and eſteem for him, that he had ſome thoughts of naming him for his ſucceſſor, though he was not even born a ſubject of the empire [w]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention him again in the following reign. In the ſix following years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients (for the works of the antients themſelves have been long ſince loſt, as we have hinted above), except the names of the conſuls, the making the high-way by *Trajan* from *Beneventum* to *Brunduſium*; the burning the pantheon by lightning; the overturning of ſome cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake; and dedicating of the great ſquare at *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. The conſuls (for of theſe magiſtrates

Luſius Quietus *diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this and* Trajan's *other wars.*

[q] Vide BIRAG. p. 158. [r] DIO in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 710. l. lxviii p. 773. SPART. in Aur. THEMIST. orat. xvi. MAURIC. tactic. l. xi c. 2. [s] DIO. in excerpt. p. 710. EUSEB. l. iv. c. 1. [t] EUSEB. ibid. [u] AMMIAN. l. xxix. [w] EUSEB. & THEMIST. ibid.

we have never yet omitted the names) were *Appius Annus Trebonianus Gallus* and *Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua*; *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, the second time, and *L. Tullus*; *Priscinus*, or *Priscianus*, and *Orfitus*; *Caius Calpurnius Piso* and *M. Vettius Bolanus*; *Trajan*, the sixth time, *and Titus Sextius Bolanus*; *Lucius Publius Celsus*, the second time, and *Caius Clodius Crispinus*; *Quintus Ninnius Hosta* and *Publius Manilius Vopiscus*. These were consuls from the eleventh to the seventeenth year of *Trajan*'s reign, inclusively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the christian æra. On some medals that were coined during *Trajan*'s sixth consulship, is marked the departure of that prince from *Rome* [x], no doubt, to return to the east: which we may suppose to have happened the year he was consul, the fifteenth of his reign; for in that year *Adrian*, who commanded under him in the second *Parthian* war, was created archon, or chief magistrate of *Athens*; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he passed through that city with *Trajan* [y].

Trajan returns to the east.

The eighteenth year of *Trajan*'s reign and 115th of the *Christian* æra was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the *Parthians*, and for which he assumed the title of emperor the seventh, eighth, and ninth, times [z]. Whatever gave occasion to this war (for history is silent upon this head), *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, sent, at the request of his friends, some persons to consult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he should return from this war to *Rome*. The oracle returned an answer, as usual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. *Trajan*, putting the best construction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the spring left *Syria*, and marched against the *Parthians* encamped on the other side of the *Tigris*. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy possessed with a numerous army the opposite bank, he secretly caused a great number of boats to be built in the woods of *Nisibis*, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-side, a bridge was suddenly formed with them over the river, which *Trajan* passed in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with showers of arrows, till he sent several boats against them manned with archers and slingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This so distracted the *Parthians*, already dismayed and surprised at the sight of so many vessels in a country quite destitute of wood, that they gave way, and suffered the *Roman* army to pass the river with-

He consults the oracle of Heliopolis.

He passes the Tigris *on a bridge of boats.*

[x] Noris epist. consul. p. 72 [y] Vide Noris. ibid. [z] Goltz. p. 218. Goltz. p. 63, 66.

out

out further moleſtation. *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Adiabene*, which he had reduced in the former war, but perhaps reſtored upon the concluſion of the peace. He likewiſe ſubdued the country, which at that time ſtill retained the name of *Aſſyria*, and in which ſtood the city of *Ninus* or *Nineveh*, and *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, two places famous in hiſtory on account of the victories of *Alexander the Great*. As the *Parthians* were greatly weakened by their domeſtic wars and ſtill divided among themſelves, *Trajan* advanced, without oppoſition, to the celebrated city of *Babylon*, of the power and greatneſs of which we have read ſuch wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withſtand him; and reduced its large territory, where the *Roman* ſtandards had never before been diſplayed. By this acquiſition he became maſter of thoſe rich and noble countries, *Aſſyria* and *Chaldæa*. There he was led by his curioſity, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, to viſit the lake of bitumen which was made uſe of in building the famous walls of *Babylon*. But that lake is by *Rutilius* [a] and others placed in *Meſopotamia*. Afterwards he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his veſſels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the *Tigris*, being reſolved to beſiege *Cteſiphon*, which ſtood on that river: but being informed, that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, he abandoned the deſign, fearing the ſtream would become too rapid, and conſequently unnavigable [b]. However, *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſures us, that the emperor *Julian*, having removed the ſtones with which the mouth of the canal was ſtopt, conveyed his veſſel through that cut from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, a little above *Cteſiphon* [c]. This canal was called *Naarmalca*, that is, *the river of kings*. *Trajan*, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it adviſeable to make uſe of the canal; but ordered his veſſels to be brought upon land-carriages from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, theſe two rivers being in ſome places at a ſmall diſtance from each other; and having formed a bridge with them, paſſed his army over the *Tigris*, and made himſelf maſter of *Seleucia*, and likewiſe of the great city of *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian*, and afterwards of the *Perſian*, empire *. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed emperor by the army, who with loud ſhouts of joy confirmed to him the title of *Parthicus*, which he had firſt gained by the reduction of *Niſibis*. At *Cteſiphon* he took the daughter of *Coſrhoes*, and ſeized the throne of the *Parthian*

Reduces Aſſyria.

And arrives at Babylon.

He begins a canal between the Euphrates *and the* Tigris, *but drops that undertaking.*

Makes himſelf maſter of Seleucia *and* Cteſiphon, *the metropolis of the* Parthian *empire.*

[a] RUT. itiner. p. 32. [b] DIO. p. 784. [c] AMMIAN. l. xxiv. * DIO. ibid. EUTROP. in Trajan.

kings, which was of maſſy gold [d]. *Coſrhoes* himſelf made his eſcape, and was ſtill living in the reign of *Adrian*. *Trajan* acquainted the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree paſſed, allowing the conqueror of the *Parthians* to enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleaſed [e].

Reduces ſeveral countries.

The taking of *Ctеſiphon* put him into poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring countries. *Eutropius* tells us, that he reduced the *Marcomades*, the *Cardueni*, *Anthemiſia*, a large province of *Perſia*, ſays that writer, and all the countries lying between *Babylon* and *India*. At *Babylon* he viſited the houſe in which *Alexander the Great* died, and there performed ſome ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror [f]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in his time *Trajan*'s tribunal was ſtill to be ſeen at a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, which he calls *Ozogardene* [g]. *Trajan* reduced *Aſſyria* to a *Roman* province, as he had done before *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the empire now extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. How he diſpoſed of the country of the *Parthians*, we ſhall relate anon. He obliged the inhabitants of *Meſopotamia*, and, no doubt, thoſe likewiſe of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute [h]. The dialogue between *Triepho* and *Critias*, which is falſly aſcribed to *Lucian*, ſeems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of *Suſa* formerly the metropolis of *Perſia*. Mention is likewiſe there made of inroads made by the *Scythians*, as if they committed great devaſtations in the *Roman* territories [i].

Aſſyria made a Roman province.

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

Towards the end of the autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was that winter almoſt intirely ruined by one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes mentioned in hiſtory. That city was then crouded with troops, and ſtrangers come from all quarters, either out of curioſity, or upon buſineſs, and embaſſies: ſo that there was ſcarce a nation or province but what had a ſhare in the calamity; and all the *Roman* world, ſays *Dion Caſſius* [k], ſuffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of thunder, unuſual winds, and a dreadful noiſe under ground: then followed ſo terrible a ſhock, that the earth all trembled, ſeveral houſes were overturned, and others toſſed to and fro like a ſhip in the ſea: the noiſe of the cracking and burſting of the timber, of the falling of the houſes, and a diſmal and loud roaring under ground, drowned the cries of the diſmayed people. Thoſe who happened to be in their houſes, were, for the moſt part, buried under their ruins; ſuch as were walking in the ſtreets and in the ſquares, were, by the violence

[d] Spart. in Adr. [e] Dio. ibid. [f] Dio. p. 785. [g] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 265. [h] Eutrop. ibid. Fest. Ruf. breviar. p. 553. Spart. ibid. [i] Lucian. in philopatride, dialogo. Et Baron. ad ann. 114. [k] Dio. p. 781.

of

of the ſhock, daſhed againſt one another, and moſt of them either killed or dangerouſly wounded. As the earthquake continued, with ſome ſmall intermiſſion, for many days and nights together, many thouſands periſhed by it, and among the reſt the conſul *Marcus Pedo Virgilianus*, with many other perſons of great diſtinction. The moſt violent ſhock of all was, as we read in the acts of St. *Ignatius*, on a *Sunday*, the twenty-third of *December*. *Trajan* himſelf was much hurt, but nevertheleſs eſcaped through a window out of the houſe where he was. *Dion Caſſius* pretends, that he was taken out of the window, and carried away by one, who in tallneſs exceeded the human ſize. The ſame writer adds, that mount *Liſon*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had flowed before, forſook their courſe, and vaniſhed. When the earthquake ceaſed, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, ſhe was found with a ſucking child in her arms, whom ſhe had kept alive, as well as herſelf, with her milk. Search was made for others; but no one beſides was found alive, except a child that was ſtill ſucking its dead mother [l]. This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by *Euſebius*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Evagrius*, who all ſpeak of it as the greateſt calamity recorded in hiſtory [m].

Trajan himſelf is hurt.

THE next conſuls were *L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Verus*. From an inſcription of this year, the nineteenth of *Trajan*'s reign, we learn, that the ſenate and people of *Rome* returned the emperor ſolemn thanks, for having facilitated the entry into *Italy* on the ſide of the *Adriatic* ſea, by a port made by his orders at *Ancona*, as he had ſome years before made one on the *Mediterranean*, at or near *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita-Vecchia*. Upon the return of the ſpring, *Trajan*, leaving *Antioch*, viſited the conquered countries; and finding them all in a ſtate of tranquility, he made various regulations; and then imbarquing on board his fleet, ſailed down the *Tigris*, being deſirous to view the *Perſian* gulph, which *Dion Caſſius* calls the *Red Sea*, or *Mare Erythræum*, ſuppoſing it to have taken that name from *Erythrus*, a prince once very powerful in thoſe parts [n]. The ſtorms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation both troubleſome and dangerous. However, he made himſelf maſter of *Meſene*, an iſland formed by the *Tigris*, and obliged *Attambylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of *Charax Spaſinæ*,

The port of Ancona.

Trajan ſails down the Tigris into the Perſian gulph.

[l] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 781. IGNAT. acta. p. 53. 54. [m] EUSEB. chron. p. 208. & l. i. c. 12. [n] Dio. p. 784.

the

the metropolis of *Athambylus*'s dominions, which moſt geographers place at the mouth of the *Tigris*. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Trajan* ſailed into the *Ocean*, meaning perhaps the *Perſian* gulph; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet conſiſted, he purſued his courſe beyond *Ormuz*, where the gulph ends. It was, we conjecture, on this occaſion, that he reduced *Arabia Felix*. *Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, had ſome years before ſubdued *Arabia Petræa*, as we have obſerved above, and reduced it to a *Roman* province. But now *Trajan* made himſelf maſter, it ſeems of *Arabia Felix*; for *Arrian*, in his book on the navigation of the *Red Sea*, obſerves, that in the reign of *Trajan*, there were at *Leuca*, a borough upon that ſea, a centurion, and ſome troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there [o]. The ſame writer places upon the ſouth coaſt of *Arabia*, beyond the ſtraights of *Bebel Mander*, a city called *Arabia*, and ſurnamed *Eudæmon*, or the *Happy*, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little before our time it was de-"ſtroyed by *Cæſar*, and is at preſent only a village [p]." As he places it in the country of the *Homeritæ* [q], ſome writers take it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Aden* ſtands. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of *Trajan*'s reign [r], that he reduced *Arabia*, not by his lieutenants, but in perſon [s]. *Feſtus* too mentions the conqueſt of *Arabia* [t]; and *Eutropius* ſeems to reckon the reducing of that country to a *Roman* province amongſt the laſt actions of *Trajan* [u]. A writer, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about this time, after having ſaid, that the power of the *Perſians* and *Parthians* had yielded, adds, that *Suſa* itſelf was taken, and that all *Arabia* would ſoon ſubmit to the victorious and invincible prince [w]. This muſt, without all doubt, be underſtood of *Arabia Felix*, which it is thence plain he did not ſubdue, till after the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the chriſtian æra. Some read in *Feſtus* [x], that he conquered the country of the *Saracens*; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of thoſe times, we readily fall in with thoſe who, inſtead of *Saraceni*, read *Oſrhoeni*, who inhabited one of the provinces of *Meſopotamia*, called *Oſrhoene*, from a king of the Country named *Oſrhoes* [y].

He reduces Arabia Felix.

[o] Arrian. in peripl. Erythr. p. 6. [p] Idem, p. 8. [q] Idem, p. 46. [r] Birag. p. 115. [s] Occo. p. 215. [t] Feſt. in breviar. p. 551. [u] Eutrop. in Trajan. [w] Lucian. philop. [x] Feſt. p. 551—553. [y] Procop. l. i. Perſ. c 18.

Trajan

Trajan having reached the ocean, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, and there diſcovering a ſhip bound to *India*, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend, as *Alexander* had done, his conqueſts to that country [z]. *Eutropius* tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the *Red Sea*, with a deſign to invade *India*; that he informed himſelf of the cuſtoms, ſtrength, and manner of fighting, of the *Indians*; and that he envied the happineſs of *Alexander*, who had ſubdued them, and extended his conqueſts far beyond the bounds of the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought *India* under ſubjection, as *Euſebius* obſerves [a]; but by *India* they perhaps meant *Arabia Felix*. *Trajan* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs of his arms, and naming the ſeveral nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the reſt, that he ſhould, upon his return to *Rome*, triumph over each particular nation, which he had ſubdued; which was decreeing him not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmoſt pomp upon his return. But to *Rome* he never returned; nor was the end of his actions anſwerable to the beginning. For moſt of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted and ſhook off the yoke, after having driven out or maſſacred the gariſons that had been left amongſt them. The *Jews*, who had been diſperſed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the abſence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfal of the *Roman* empire. They roſe at the ſame time in *Alexandria*, all over *Egypt*. and in *Libya Cyrenaica*, againſt the other inhabitants of thoſe countries, whom hiſtorians call *Grecks*, and againſt the *Romans*, who were very numerous in thoſe provinces, which had been long ſubject to *Rome*. In *Egypt*, which was then governed by *Lupus*, they aſſembled in vaſt crouds, committed dreadful diſorders, and falling upon the inhabitants, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the tumult, defeated them at the very firſt onſet with great ſlaughter. But this advantage coſt them dear; for the *Egyptians*, who had the good luck to eſcape the general carnage, ſheltering themſelves in *Alexandria*, ſeized and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all the *Jews* who dwelt in that city [b]. The *Jews* indeed ſold their lives dear, but were in the end overpowered, and all

He envies Alexander, who conquered India.

Extraordinary honours decreed him by the ſenate.

The Jews revolt in ſeveral places.

[z] Dio. p. 784 [a] Euseb chron p. 205. [b] Eutrop. l. viii. c. 2.

to a man cut in pieces [c]. The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, who were, it seems, the ringleaders of the revolt, finding they could not receive the assistance which they had promised themselves from their brethren in *Alexandria* (for they had formed a design of seizing that city), entered *Egypt*, committing every-where most dreadful devastations and unheard-of cruelties. They were headed, according to *Eusebius* [d], by one *Lucua*, whom he styles king; but, according to *Dion Cassius* [e], by one named *Andrew*, whom they had chosen for their leader. However that be, their rage and fury was so great and boundless, their barbarities so heinous and outrageous, that they are scarce to be matched in history. For, not satisfied with inhumanly massacring *Greeks* and *Romans* of all ranks, ages, and degrees, they devoured their flesh, washed themselves in their blood, wore their skins, and made themselves garlands with their intrails; some they sawed asunder; others they threw to wild beasts, or obliged them to fight till they killed one another, after they had put them to all kinds of torments. Thus they destroyed in *Libya* above two hundred thousand persons; an incredible number in *Egypt*, not specified by historians; and in the island of *Cyprus*, where they likewise rose, two hundred and fifty thousand: *Salamis*, one of the chief and most populous cities of that island, they laid in ashes, after having, with that cruelty which was ever peculiar to the *Jewish* nation, murdered all the inhabitants, without sparing either women or children [f]. By these massacres, the province of *Libya* was so dispeopled, that it would have been left quite uninhabited, had not the emperor *Adrian* sent thither a few years after several colonies [g]. *Trajan*, informed of these barbarities, resolved in a great rage to pursue those impious wretches, not as rebels, but as monsters, and enemies to mankind. Accordingly he dispatched into *Libya*, *Marcius Turbo*, with a strong body of horse and foot and a considerable fleet, injoining him to pursue them both by sea and land, with revenge answerable to the enormity of ther crimes. *Turbo* defeated them in a pitched battle, and put great numbers of them to the sword, but not without the loss of many of his best men, the *Jews* of *Cyrene* having been joined before the battle by those of *Egypt* [h]. Neither was the victory complete, nor the battle decisive; for the war continued till the reign of *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* on the eleventh of *August* of the year 117. That prince is said by St. *Jerom* to have conquered the *Jews*, who had revolted a *second time* [i]; which *Scaliger*

And commit unheard-of cruelties.

They are defeated in Africa *by* Turbo.

[c] Oros. l. vii. c. 12. [d] Euseb. ibid. [e] Dio. l. lxviii. p 786. [f] Dio. ibid. [g] Oros. l. vii. c. 12. Euseb. in chron. [h] Euseb. l. iv. c. 2. [i] Hier. in chron.

liger and others underſtand with reſpect to the firſt revolt under *Nero*. Beſides, *Spartian* tells us, that *Turbo*, having, in the very beginning of *Adrian*'s reign, ended the war with the *Jews*, was ſent by that prince againſt the *Moors*, who had begun to make incurſions into the *Roman* territories before the death of *Trajan* [k]. In the iſland of *Cyprus*, the *Jews* were, by the *Romans* and inhabitants, all cut off to a man; and thoſe of that cruel and treacherous nation forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to ſet foot upon that iſland; which prohibition the inhabitants extended even to ſuch as were driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and whom conſequently they put immediately to death *. They likewiſe revolted in *Meſopotamia*, but were there ſoon quelled by the brave *Luſius Quietus*, who defeated them in a pitched battle, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the reſt out of the country [l]. The example of the *Jews* was followed by moſt of the countries which *Trajan* had conquered, the inhabitants riſing every-where up in arms, and murdering or driving out the *Roman* gariſons. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Luſius Quietus*, and *L. Appius Maximus*, who were attended with very different ſucceſs; for *Maximus* was defeated and killed; by whom, hiſtory does not inform us: but *Luſius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf as uſual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of *Niſibis*, beſieged, ſtormed, and laid in aſhes, the city of *Edeſſa*. On the other hand, *Erucius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and ſeveral others, which had ſhaken off the yoke. *Luſius* was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of *Paleſtine* [m], no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, and ſeemed inclined, as *Spartian* informs us [n], to revolt and raiſe new diſturbances in the empire. For theſe advantages, and the recovery of his conqueſts, *Trajan* took the tenth and laſt time the title of emperor [o]. During theſe diſturbances, *Sambelus*, king of *Meſene*, continued faithful to *Trajan*. Neither did the *Parthians* make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But *Trajan*, fearing they would ſoon ſhake off the yoke, thought it adviſeable to oblige them, by giving them, inſtead of a *Roman* governor, a king of their own nation. With this deſign he repaired to *Ctеſiphon*; and having there aſſembled in a large plain the *Romans* and *Parthians*, he aſcended a high throne, and declared one *Parthamaſpates* king of

And all cut to pieces in the iſland of Cyprus.

Moſt of the countries conquered by Trajan *revolt.*

But are again reduced.

Trajan *gives a king to the* Parthians.

[k] Spart. in Adr. p. 3. * Dio l. lxviii. p. 785. [l] Dio. p. 786. Ammian l. xxix. Eutr. l. iv. c. 2. [m] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 720. [n] Spart. in Adr. p. 6. [o] Goltz. p. 85.

of the *Parthians*, putting, with great pomp and ſolemnity, the crown upon his head. *Parthamaſpates*, whom *Spartian* calls *Pſamateſſiris*, continued faithful to the *Romans*; but was deſpiſed by the *Parthians* as a ſlave to *Rome*, and had ſcarce any authority over them [p]. In ſeveral coins, which have reached our times, is repreſented a king proſtrate before *Trajan*, with this legend on ſome, *He gives a king to the* Parthians; and on others the following, *He diſtributes kingdoms* [q].

The following year, the twentieth and laſt of *Trajan*'s reign, *Niger* and *Apronianus* being conſuls [r], the emperor marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, or *Agareni*, who had likewiſe revolted. What part of *Arabia* they inhabited, we cannot determine, ſince we find no farther mention made of them till the times of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. The emperor laid ſiege to their city, which by *Xiphilin* is called *Atra*. It was neither great nor beautiful, ſays *Dion Caſſius* [s], but thought to be very rich, by reaſon the ſun was worſhipped there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich preſents from the neighbouring countries [t]. It was ſituated on the top of a high and ſteep mountain, well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſtrong walls [u]. But its chief ſtrength conſiſted in the barrenneſs of the neighbouring country, deſtitute, to a great diſtance, of graſs, wood, and even of water; ſo that a great army could not long ſubſiſt before it; hence it was neither taken now by *Trajan*, nor afterwards by *Severus*, though they had both made a breach in the wall. *Trajan* narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed a horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. At the ſame time, they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies: ſo that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire. Soon after, as he was ſtricken in years, and worn out with ſo many long marches, he was ſeized with a dropſy and palſy, which he aſcribed to poiſon, but others thought natural. However, he was ſtill for returning into *Meſopotamia*, to reduce ſome places, which had revolted there.

He beſieges Atra.

But raiſes the ſiege.

[p] Dio. p. 786. [q] Occo. p. 213. Birag. p. 163. & Cassiodor. in faſt. [r] Idat. [s] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 785. [t] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 834. [u] Herodian. l. iii. p. 528.

But

But his diſtemper increaſing, he left the command of the army to *Adrian*, whom he had appointed governor of *Syria*, and imbarqued for *Italy*. It was no ſooner known, that he had ſet ſail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vaſt charge, and by expoſing himſelf to innumerable dangers, ſhook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in ſpite of the troops which he had left to keep them in ſubjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaſpates*; the *Armenians* choſe themſelves a king; and the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia* revolted from *Rome*, and ſubmitted to the king of the *Parthians*. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had undergone, and the immenſe ſums he had expended, proved in the end to no effect. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, which was afterwards from him called *Trajanopolis*, he was ſeized with a flux, which in a very ſhort time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of *Auguſt*, after having reigned nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of *Nerva* to the eleventh of *Auguſt* (for we know not the preciſe day on which he died), when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for ſome time, and thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [w]. *Eutropius*, and ſuch as have copied him, tell us, that *Trajan* died at *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*. But *Seleucia* is at a great diſtance from the ſea; and moſt writers agree, that he was going to *Rome* by ſea. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral inſcriptions [x], from the author of the verſes commonly aſcribed to the *Sibyls*, and from the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that he died at *Selinus*. Hence *Scaliger* and *Caſaubon* wonder, how any one can call in queſtion a thing ſo well atteſted [y]. His body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his aſhes carried by his wife *Plotina* and his niece *Matidics*, or *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited under the ſtately column, which he had erected, though it ſtood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried [z]. Sports, called *Parthic Sports*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the eaſt [a]. From an antient inſcription, we learn, that *Phidemion* his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and ſecretary, died a few days after him, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, of grief for the loſs of ſo good a maſter [b]. *Trajan* left

He is taken ill, and ſets ſail for Italy.

The Parthians *drive out their king.*

Trajan *dies at* Selinus *in* Cilicia.

His aſhes are conveyed to Rome, *and depoſited under his column.*

[w] Dio. p. 786. AUREL. epit. JULIAN. Cæſar. p. 39. [x] Vide P. PAGI ad ann. 117. [y] Vide CASAUBON. in Spart. not. C. p. 10. & SCALIGER. in Euſeb. chron. p. 341. [z] Dio. l. lxix. p. 788. CIACCON. col. Traj. VICT. epit. [a] Dio. ibid. [b] EUSEB. chron. p. 208.

no children [c]; nor are we told that he ever had any. Some write, that he designed, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, to die without naming a successor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten persons to the senate, leaving it in their power to chuse which of them they judged best qualified for the sovereignty [d]. We read in *Dion Cassius* [e], that once at a banquet he desired his friends to name ten persons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the supreme power. Both *Trajan* himself and his friends seemed, according to *Spartian*, to judge *Neratius Priscus*, who was the greatest civilian of his time, the best qualified for succeeding him in the empire [f]. That writer adds, that one day he addressed him thus: *To you*, Neratius, *I recommend the provinces, in case I should I die.* He had likewise some thoughts of leaving the empire to *Servianus* [g], whose daughter *Adrian* had married; and to *Lusius Quietus*, of whom he deservedly entertained a mighty opinion [h]. But in the end, *Adrian* was preferred to all the rest; which was rather owing to the favour of *Plotina*, than to any extraordinary kindness of *Trajan* towards him. For though the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him [i]; nor did *Adrian* shew any particular affection for *Trajan*. Hence it was commonly believed, that *Trajan* did not adopt him; but that *Plotina*, who was a great friend to *Adrian*, introduced, after the death of her husband, a suppositious person, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted *Adrian*. *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that *Trajan* never adopted *Adrian*; but that the whole affair was managed by *Plotina* and *Atianus*, or rather *Tatianus*, who had been, jointly with the emperor, *Adrian*'s guardian; and adds, that for this reason the emperor's death was for some days concealed. This *Dion Cassius* learnt of his father *Apronianus*, who, as he had been governor of *Cilicia*, where the emperor died, had thence certain intelligence of what had passed at his death. Besides, the letters written to the senate concerning this adoption were not signed by *Trajan*, but *Plotina*, who had never before signed any of her husband's dispatches [k]. A modern writer, of no mean character [l], looks upon what *Dion Cassius* relates of the suppositious adoption of *Adrian* as an arrant fable; and pretends, that he was adopted by the emperor a whole year before his death; which, if true, would have left no room

Whether he adopted Adrian.

[c] Themistius, orat. 16. [d] Spart. in Adri. p. 3. [e] Dio. l. lxix. p 795. [f] Spart. ibid. [g] Dio. p. 795. [h] Themist. orat. 16. [i] Dio. p. 795, 788. Spart. ibid. [k] Dio. l. lxix. p. 787, 788. [l] Dodwell. in append. ad dissertat. Cyprianic. Oxon. 1684. p 67.

even

even for ſuch a fable. What induced him to embrace this opinion is, that *Adrian*, as we read in moſt authors, and as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, reigned twenty-two years: on the other hand, it is certain, that he died on the tenth of *July* in 138. He muſt therefore have begun to count the years of his reign from the ninth of *Auguſt* of the year 116, that is, a year before *Trajan*'s death; for that prince died in the beginning of *Auguſt* in 117; he thence concludes, that *Adrian* muſt have been adopted a year before; and from the time of his adoption reckoned the years of his reign. This objection, which we ſhall endeavour to anſwer at the end of *Adrian*'s reign, as in a more proper place, is not of ſuch weight with us as to make us look upon the account, which *Dion Caſſius* gives of *Adrian*'s adoption, as an *arrant fable.*

We ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of this great emperor's reign with a ſuccinct account of his noble and uſeful works. *Aurelius Victor* will have him to have firſt introduced the uſe of poſt-chaiſes; but that invention is generally aſcribed to *Auguſtus* [m], and was probably only improved by *Trajan*, as it was after his time by ſeveral other emperors, as appears from *Gothofredus*, who treats of this ſubject at length in his comments upon the *Theodoſian* code [n]. He made, at an immenſe charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the moſt diſtant coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea to thoſe of the *Ocean* in *Gaul* [o]. He built ſeveral magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a ſtately theatre in the field of *Mars* [p]. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, inlarged the circus, repaired a great number of antient buildings, and ſupplied with plenty of water thoſe quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the moſt magnificent of all his works was the great ſquare, which he made at *Rome*, and called from his own name, having for that purpoſe levelled a hill an hundred and forty-four foot high. In the midſt of the ſquare, he erected the famous column, which is ſtill to be ſeen, to ſerve him for a tomb, and at the ſame time to ſhew the height of the hill, which he levelled, as appears from the inſcription on the baſis, dated the ſeventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the chriſtian æra. The emperor *Conſtantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357, found nothing in that ſtately metropolis which he admired ſo much as *Trajan*'s ſquare [q]. The architect employed by *Trajan* in this inimitable work, as *Conſtantius* ſtyled it, was one *Apollodorus*. *Ciacconius* tells us,

Great works performed by Trajan.

His ſquare and column.

[m] Vide Cod Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. [n] GOTH. in cod Theodoſ. tom. ii. p 506, &c. [o] AUR. VICT. [p] PLIN. paneg. p. 96. DIO. l. lxviii. p 778. [q] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71.

that

that on the top of the column, which ſtood in the midſt of the ſquare, was placed *Trajan*'s ſtatue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were depoſited the aſhes of the deceaſed prince [r]. But *Eutropius* and *Victorinus*, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried under the column. During this prince's reign, moſt of the provinces of the empire ſuffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievouſly afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations [s]. At *Rome* the *Tiber* overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, overturned many houſes, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' *Trajan* cauſed a great canal to be dug in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural chanel [t]. *Phlegon* tells us, that in *Trajan*'s time a woman was delivered at *Alexandria* of five children the ſame day, three males and two females, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year, the ſame woman was delivered of three children [u]. We read in *Plutarch* [w], that in *Trajan*'s reign a veſtal, named *Helvetia*, going on horſe-back, was ſtruck dead with a flaſh of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one ſide, and her horſe on the other; which the ſoothſayers looked upon as preſaging ſomething highly diſhonourable to the veſtals and the *Roman* knights. Accordingly, not long after, the ſlave of a knight, named *Buteces*, came of his own accord, and depoſed, that his maſter and ſeveral others of the equeſtrian order had for a long time carried on a criminal converſation with three veſtals, *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*, who were immediately puniſhed, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having firſt conſulted the books of the *Sibyls*, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the *forum boarium*, or *the ox-market*, two men and two women, natives of *Greece* and *Gaul*; which was done accordingly, tho' they had not long before condemned the ſame crime in others. For the *Britons* having immolated a human victim to their gods, their magiſtrates had been ordered to puniſh them; though they were afterwards pardoned upon their pleading an antient cuſtom, but at the ſame time commanded, under the ſevereſt penalties, to forbear ſuch ſacrifices for the future [x]. *Trajan*, notwithſtanding his humanity and good-nature, ſuffered the chriſtians to be inhumanly perſecuted in moſt provinces of the empire. As he publiſhed no new edicts againſt the chriſtian religion, he is not

Three veſtals puniſhed.

Two men and two women buried alive at Rome.

[r] Dio. p. 789. [s] Ciaccon. de col. Trajan. c. 14. [t] Vict. epit. [u] Plin. l. viii. ep. 17. [w] Phleg. mir. c. 29. [x] Plut. quæſt. Rom. [y] Idem ibid.

as

as *Baronius* obſerves [y], reckoned by *Tertullian* among the perſecutors of the church. But that he was an enemy to the chriſtians, and highly prejudiced againſt them, is manifeſt from *Pliny*'s letter to him [z], and his anſwer to *Pliny* [a]. This may be aſcribed to his looking upon the chriſtians, who were already very numerous and multiplied daily, with a jealous and ſuſpicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies to the gods adored at *Rome* and in all the *Roman* provinces. Beſides, he perhaps accounted them eſtabliſhers of *hetæriæ*, or *illegal ſocieties*, which uſually breed factions and ſeditions; whence all ſocieties, or colleges, not ſettled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the ſenate, were forbidden, and the perſons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treaſon. But after he had been informed by *Pliny* of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his anſwer, entertain any ſiniſter opinion of them. But nevertheleſs, inſtead of putting an immediate ſtop to the perſecution, he ſent directions into *Bithynia*, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good ſenſe, and altogether inconſiſtent with his ſo much boaſted juſtice, humanity, and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquiſition ſhould be made for the chriſtians, but that ſuch as were accuſed ſhould be puniſhed; which was, as *Tertullian* obſerves in his excellent apology [b], declaring them innocent, and at the ſame time ordering them to be treated as criminals. If they are guilty, ſays that writer, addreſſing himſelf to the emperor, why do you forbid any ſearch to be made after them? If they are innocent, why do you command them to be puniſhed? This ordinance, however iniquitous and abſurd, continued in vigour till the perſecution of *Severus*, that is, for almoſt a whole century. But for a more particular account of the unjuſt proceedings, even of the beſt emperors, againſt the chriſtians, we refer our readers to *Tertullian* [c] and *Euſebius* [d], where they will find, that by ſome emperors it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to accuſe the chriſtians, who nevertheleſs were, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, to be capitally puniſhed, when accuſed or diſcovered [e]. As *Trajan* was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encourager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and ſtudy began to revive [f]; and his reign became famous for a great number of eminent hiſtorians, poets, orators, and philoſophers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (A).

Trajan ſuffers the chriſtians to be perſecuted.

His unjuſt proceedings againſt them.

[y] BARON. ad ann. 100. [z] PLIN. l. x. ep. 102. [a] Idem ibid. ep. 103. [b] TERTULL. apol. c. 2. [c] TERTULL. in apol. [d] EUSEB. l. v. c. 21. [e] TERTULL. apol. c. 5. [f] PLIN. pan. p. 81. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

(A) Theſe were *Julius Frontinus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny* the younger, *Pompeius Saturninus*, *Tutianus Capito*, *Cornelius Nepos*,

Dion

Virginius Romanus, &c. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* was prætor in the firſt year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, but yielded that dignity to *Domitian*, after having held it but one day, or two at moſt (1). Some years after he commanded in *Britain* with great reputation and ſucceſs, till the ninth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, when he was ſucceeded by the celebrated *Agricola*. As that command was given to ſuch only as had been conſuls, *Frontinus*, no doubt, had been honoured with the conſulſhip before he was ſent into *Britain*. He is thought to have been conſul a ſecond time under *Nerva*, and a third under *Trajan* (2). He was likewiſe augur, and ſucceeded in that dignity by *Pliny* the younger, in the fourth year of *Adrian*'s reign (3); whence we conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the chriſtian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly eſteemed by all the men of learning who flouriſhed in his time, eſpecially by *Martial*, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his laſt will he deſired, that no tomb might be erected to him, ſaying that without ſuch monuments the world would remember him, if his life had deſerved it (4). *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of *Frontinus*, ſays, that he was a man as great and able as he found ſcope and ſafety to be (5). He was one of the greateſt commanders of his time (6), and gave ſignal proofs both of his bravery and conduct, in utterly ſubduing the powerful and warlike nation of the *Silures*, tho' beſides the courage of the enemy, he was likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation (7). He wrote four books of *ſtratagems*, which have reached our times, and are ſuppoſed to have been inſcribed to *Trajan*. As he flatters *Domitian* in ſeveral places of his work, we may thence conclude, that it was compoſed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had ſtudied the military art with great application; and, beſides the book of *ſtratagems*, written ſome others upon the ſame ſubject. We read likewiſe in *Vegetius*, that what *Frontinus* compendiouſly wrote on military diſcipline, and copied in great part from *Cato* the cenſor, was greatly eſteemed by *Trajan* (8). *Ælian* quotes another work done by him, in which he ſeems to have collected whatever he found in *Homer* upon the ſubject of war (9). *Nerva* committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of *Rome*; on which occaſion he wrote the treatiſe of *aqueducts*, which has reached us; as have done ſome other ſmall pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which *Scriverius* has made of the antients, who have treated of the military art, and publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1607. From theſe pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the *Dacians*; which ſome underſtand of *Domitian*'s war with that people; others of *Trajan*'s (10). As for the treatiſe of *colonies*, which

(1) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 39. (2) *Noris epiſt. conſul p.* 61, 62. (3) *Plin. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 8. (4) *Plin. l.* xix. *epiſt.* 19. (5) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 17. (6) *Ælian. tact. p.* 3. (7) *Tacit. ibid.* (8) *Veg. l.* i. *c.* 19 *hiſt Lat. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (9) *Ælian. tact. c.* i *p.* 1. (10) *Veg.*

Scriverius

Scriverius aſcribes to *Frontinus*. it either was not done by him, or has been ſince altered; for mention is there made of *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, and other emperors, who reigned long after *Frontinus*'s time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greateſt orator, ſtateſman, and hiſtorian, of his time, was, as is commonly ſuppoſed, the ſon of *Cornelius Tacitus*, a *Roman* knight, and procurator of *Belgic Gaul*. His promotion in the ſtate was begun, as he himſelf informs us (11), by *Veſpaſian*, augmented by *Titus*, and by *Domitian* advanced yet higher. He was prætor under *Domitian* in the year of the *Chriſtian* æra 88, the ſeventh of that prince's reign, and conſul under *Nerva* in 97. being ſubſtituted to *Verginius Rufus*, whoſe panegyric, or funeral oration, he compoſed and pronounced (12). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* (13). *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he left children by her, ſince the emperor *Tacitus* pretended to be deſcended from him, or to be of the ſame family; for he called the hiſtorian, as *Vopiſcus* informs us (14), his kinſman; and *Sidonius* counts him among the anceſtors of *Polemus*, prefect of *Gaul* (15). He had been four years abſent from *Rome*, when *Agricola* died (16); which has given occaſion to ſome writers to ſuppoſe, without any foundation, that he was baniſhed by *Domitian*. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been conſul; and, by his eloquent ſpeeches, gained the reputation of the greateſt orator of his time (17). He was much admired by *Pliny*, who lived in cloſe friendſhip with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a perſon of his extraordinary accompliſhments (18). He ſeems to have publiſhed ſome ſpeeches, and likewiſe verſes (19), which have been long ſince loſt. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongſt thoſe of *Pliny*. Tho' he was the greateſt orator of his time, he is now known only by his hiſtorical works, which can never be ſufficiently admired and commended. He ſeems to have written his deſcription of *Germany* during the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*, that is, in 98. His life of *Agricola*, which *Lipſius* thinks one of the fineſt pieces in the *Latin* tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the firſt pieces he compoſed, and probably publiſhed in the very beginning of *Trajan*'s reign. The work which compriſes the lives of the emperors, from the death of *Galba* to that of *Domitian*, ought to be placed next; for in his annals he refers the reader to his account of the reign of *Domitian* (20). That work, which is by *Tertullian* (21), and other antients called *the hiſtory of* Tacitus, compriſed the tranſactions of the *Romans*, both at home and abroad, from the year 69 to the year 96, of the *Chriſtian* æra; but only

(11) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1. (12) *Plin. l.* ii. *ep.* 1. (13) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 9. (14) *Vopiſ. in Tacit.* (15) *Sid. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 4 (16) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 44. (17) *Plin. l.* ii. *epiſt.* 1, 11. (18) *Idem, l.* iv. *epiſt.* 13, 15. *l.* ix. *epiſt.* 10. (19) *Plin. l.* ix. *ep.* 10. (20) *Tacit. annal. c.* 11. (21) *Tertull. ap. c.* 16. & *lib. de ſpectac.*

his account of the year 69, and part of the year 70, have reached our times. Having ended his history, he began his *annals*, (for so he himself ſtyles them) from the death of *Auguſtus* to the reign of *Galba*, in which there are many lamentable chaſms, as we have obſerved in the preceding volume. He had reſerved, as he himſelf tells us (22), for the ſtudy and employment of his old age, the reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*; but that work, it ſeems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the antients. He likewiſe propoſed writing the hiſtory of *Auguſtus*'s reign; but St. *Jerom* knew of no other hiſtorical works of *Tacitus*, except his hiſtory and annals, which were in all thirty books (23). Of theſe are now remaining, not without many chaſms, only ſixteen books of his annals, and five of his hiſtory. As to his ſtyle, it is ſublime and expreſſive; his thoughts are great, his phraſe elevated, and his words few. He ſhews himſelf, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every where recommends them. As no man had ſeen more, and few thought ſo much, he draws events from their firſt ſources, takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice. He ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are maſterly and profound, like mirrours, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours. His ſtyle is a kind of language peculiar to himſelf, weighty, grave, and well-adapted to his ſubject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his ſtyle; for his hiſtory is much more copious and flowing than his annals; ſo that what has by ſome been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His *Latin* is pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is ſparing of his words, and, after having ſtarted the idea, leaves the reader to purſue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obſcurity. The emperor *Tacitus* directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and. for their better preſervation, ordered ten copies of them to be tranſcribed every year at the public expence (24). But notwithſtanding this care, many of them have been long ſince loſt, as we have obſerved above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by ſome aſcribed to *Tacitus*, by others to *Quintilian*, and was written in the ſixth year of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, *Lipſius*, from the ſtyle, is more inclined to adjudge it to *Quinſilian* than to *Tacitus*. But of that piece we have ſpoken in the foregoing part of this volume (25). The unjuſt cenſure of Mr. *Bayle* and others upon *Tacitus*, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the moſt innocent, from wicked counſels and deſigns, is fully confuted by Mr. *Gordon*, in the diſcourſes which he has prefixed to his excellent tranſlation of that hiſtorian (26); a tranſlation which has been of great uſe to us in compiling part of this volume.

(22) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1. (23) *Hier. in Zac.* (24) *Vopiſc. in Tacit.* (25) *See before p.* 149. n. (G). (26) *Gord. p.* 18—23.

Pliny

Pliny was a native of *Comum*, now *Como*, the ſon of *L. Cæcilius*, by the ſiſter of *Pliny* the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus* (27). He was born in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign, the 61ſt of the chriſtian æra, and ſtudied eloquence under *Quintilian* (28) with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and *Tacitus* were reckoned the two greateſt orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profeſſion of arms (29), was prætor under *Domitian*, and under *Trajan* conſul, augur, and governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. But his chief employment was to plead cauſes, which he did with great eloquence and equal diſintereſtedneſs, not accepting of his clients fees or preſents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them paſſed in the ſenate. He publiſhed ſeveral harangues or ſpeeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*. An inſcription quoted by *Voſſius* (30), aſcribes to him ſome hiſtorical pieces; but of theſe no mention is made by any antient writer: nay, *Apollinaris Sidonius* tells us, that *Tacitus* did not apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage *Pliny* in that province (31). The letter, in which *Pliny* excuſes himſelf from that taſk, is ſtill extant (32), but inſcribed to one *Capito*; perhaps in the time of *Sidonius*, that is, in the fifth century, it paſſed for a letter written to *Tacitus*. Some make *Pliny* author of the *lives of illuſtrious men*, which by moſt critics is aſcribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, but by *Voſſius* to *Aurelius Victor* (33). *Pliny* often mentions his own verſes; but, as they have been long ſince loſt, we can give no account of them. He himſelf made and publiſhed a collection of ſuch of his letters as he thought the moſt diverting and inſtructing (34); and of theſe are ſtill extant ten books, which have been of ſignal uſe to us in deſcribing the reign of *Trajan*. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable inſtances in his letters. He preſented the city of *Comum*, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchaſing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children (35). As the citizens of *Comum* uſed, for want of proper maſters at home, to ſend their children to be educated at *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of profeſſors in all arts and ſciences, and was himſelf at the third part of the charge; he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to diſburſe two thirds of the requiſite ſum, would be thence more effectually induced to chuſe profeſſors well qualified for that truſt, than if the whole charge were born by him; in which

(27) *Plin. prol.* & *l.* v. *ep.* 8. (28) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 14. (29) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 10. (30) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (31) *Sidon. l.* iv. *ep.* 23. (32) *Plin. l.* v. *ep.* 8. (33) *Voſſ. ibid.* (34) *Plin l.* i. *ep.* 1. (35) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 8. *l.* vii. *ep.* 18.

caſe, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (36). Beſides his countrymen, he preſented others with conſiderable ſums, namely, *Quintilian*, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter (37); the poet *Martial*, when he left *Rome*, to return to *Spain*, his native country, (38); and one *Romanus Firmius*, to make up the ſum that was requiſite for his being raiſed to the equeſtrian order (39). He was not himſelf poſſeſſed of a large eſtate; but by beſtowing little upon himſelf, he could afford beſtowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (40). A lady of merit, named *Corellia*, for whom *Pliny* had a particular value, having betrayed to him a deſire of having lands on the lake of *Como*, he generouſly offered her a ſmall eſtate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. *Corellia* refuſed the preſent, and deſired to know the value of it; when one of *Pliny*'s freedmen, no doubt by private orders from his maſter, undervalued it, and ſold it to her at a very low rate; which *Corellia* afterwards knew, but *Pliny* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (41) He at once diſcharged all the debts of one of his friends, ſubſtituting himſelf in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter *Calvina* was for renouncing the inheritance; but *Pliny*, to ſave the reputation of the deceaſed, generouſly forgave her what ſhe owed him, tho' he had contributed a conſiderable ſum towards her fortune, when ſhe was married (42). The reader will find in *Pliny*'s letters innumerable other inſtances of his generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature, which the brevity we have propoſed to ourſelves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flouriſhed under *Trajan*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*, with whom he lived in great friendſhip, as an excellent orator, poet, and hiſtorian (43). *Pliny* publiſhed nothing without ſubmitting it firſt to the judgment of *Saturninus* (44). This is perhaps the ſame *Saturninus* who died in the fifth year of *Trajan*'s reign, and bequeathed part of his eſtate to *Pliny* (45). His works have been long ſince loſt. *Titinius Capito* is likewiſe mentioned by *Pliny* as a writer of no mean character. He deſcribed the *deaths of illuſtrious men*, amongſt whom were ſome of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by *Domitian* (46). *Pliny* tells us elſewhere (47), that with excellent verſes he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, *Nerva* or *Trajan*, to erect a ſtatue in the forum to *L. Silanus*, who was by *Nero*'s orders put to death in the year 65, the eleventh of that prince's reign. *Catancus*, in his notes upon *Pliny* (48), tells us, that *Lactantius* quotes a book upon the public ſhows written by *Titinius Capito*. *Claudius Pollio*, who is likewiſe greatly commended by

(36) *Idem*, *l.* iv. *ep.* 13. (37) *Idem*, *l.* vi. *ep.* 32. (38) *Idem*, *l.* iii. *ep.* 21. (39) *Idem*, *l.* i. *ep.* 19. (40) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (41) *Idem*, *l.* vii. *ep.* 11. & 14. (42) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (43) *Idem*, *l.* vii. *ep.* 16. (44) *Idem ibid. ep.* 8. (45) *Idem*; *l.* v. *ep.* 7. (46) *Idem*, *l.* viii. *ep.* 12. (47) *Idem*, *l.* i. *ep.* 17.

Pliny

Pliny (49), wrote the life of *Muſonius Baſſus*, his benefactor. *Suidas* ſpeaks of one *Aſinius Pollio*, who was a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, and a celebrated ſophiſt and philoſopher, and aſcribes to him ſeveral pieces; amongſt the reſt, one giving an account of the memorable actions and ſayings of the philoſopher *Muſonius*; but he adds, that *Muſonius* taught at *Rome* in the time of *Pompey the Great* (50); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great overſight (51). *Pliny* likewiſe mentions and commends one *Verginius Romanus* who wrote comedies and other poetical pieces (52). Under *Trajan* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (53), two *Greek* poets, *Serapio*, an *Athenian*, *Plutarch*'s friend, and *Rufus*, an *Epheſian*, author of the ſix books upon ſimples, known to *Galen* and other phyſicians. *Pliny* ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the ſophiſt *Icæus*, who came to *Rome*, when he was about ſixty (54), and there gained, as appears from *Juvenal* (55), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of *Aſſyria*, and in his youth had led a moſt debauched life; but afterwards changing his conduct, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence (56). He ſeems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Epictetus*, and ſeveral other writers, who lived under *Trajan*, but died after him, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

(48) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 17. (49) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 31. (50) *Suidas, p.* 579. (51) *Vide Jonſ. l* iii. *c.* 7. (52) *Plin. l.* vi. *ep.* 31. (53) *Voſſ. poet. Græc. p.* 73. (54) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 3. (55) *Juv. ſat.* iii. *ver.* 74. (56) *Philoſtr. ſoph. c.* 20. *Suidas, p.* 1274.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The history of Rome, *from the death of* Trajan, *to the death of* Marcus Aurelius, *when the power of the* Roman *empire began to decline.*

Adrian.

His extraction, employments, &c.

Adrian, who succeeded *Trajan* in the empire, was the son of *Ælius Adrianus Afer*, cousin-german to that prince, and of *Domitia Paulina*, sprung from an illustrious family in *Cadiz*. His family came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of *Trajan*, whither *Adrian*, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his ancestors had removed, some ages before, from the city of *Adria* in the country of the *Picentes*, now the dukedom of *Atri* in *Abruzzo*. *Marullinus*, his great-great-grandfather, was the first *Roman* senator of the family [h]. He was born, according to *Spartian*, in *Rome*, on the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year seventy-six of the christian æra, while *Vespasian* was consul the seventh time, and *Titus* the fifth [i]. *Eutropius* writes, that he was born in *Italica*; but *Casaubon* thinks he was therein mistaken [k]. He was named *P. Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*, to which names he added, after his accession to the empire, that of *Trajan* [l]. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of *Trajan* and *Cælius Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, as *Salmasius* calls him, a *Roman* knight [m]. He applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly surnamed the *Young Grecian*. He then went to serve in *Spain*, and staid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his son. He was soon after appointed by *Domitian* one of the decemvirs, and thence raised to the command of the second auxiliary legion, with which he was sent into *Mœsia* about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in *Mœsia* an astrologer assured him, that the sovereign power was by the fates destined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle *Ælius Adrianus*, who was likewise skilled

[h] Spart. in Adrian. p. 1—3. Paris. 1620. [i] Idem ibid. & P. Pagi, p. 30. [k] Casaub. in not. ad Spart. [l] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 786. [m] Spart. ibid.

in

in aſtrology, had foretold many years before [n]. When *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, he was ſent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occaſion, and ſoon after removed by *Nerva* from *Mœſia* into *Upper Germany*; whence he haſtened, upon the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, to carry the firſt tidings of it to *Trajan*. *Servianus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, and was no friend to *Adrian*, tho' he had married his ſiſter *Paulina*, detained him, till he had diſpatched an expreſs to *Trajan* with the news of *Nerva*'s death, and afterwards ſupplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himſelf with the new emperor, by firſt informing him of his acceſſion to the empire. But nevertheleſs *Adrian* purſued his journey on foot with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in *Lower Germany*, where *Trajan* then was, before the expreſs [o]. *Trajan* kept him with him; but though he was his kinſman, his guardian, though he gave him afterwards his ſiſter's grand-daughter, *Sabina*, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had ſquandered away his eſtate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, *Servianus* took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to eſtrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for *Servianus* entertained a very indifferent opinion of *Adrian*, and believed, that *Rome* could never be happy under ſuch a prince [p]; and truly he was a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts, and had ſome great virtues, but allayed with no leſs vices. He was endowed with a memory almoſt beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the ſubject of it was, after having once peruſed it; he knew the name of every ſoldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old ſoldiers, who had once ſerved under him, though they had been long diſbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was without compariſon the beſt orator, poet, grammarian, philoſopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly ſkilled in phyſic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of moſt herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greateſt maſters; ſung, and played upon all kinds of inſtruments, ſo as to be reckoned the moſt ſkilful muſician of the age he lived in. He even applied himſelf to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology and magic. He uſed at the ſame time to write, dictate to ſeveral ſecretaries, give audience to his miniſters, and diſcourſe with them about affairs of the greateſt importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domeſtic affairs, than he with thoſe of the whole empire. His court was conſtantly

Trajan conferred no extraordinary honours upon him.

His extraordinary memory, learning, &c.

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem, p. 4. [p] Idem, p 3.

crouded

Favours the learned.

crouded with philoſophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, &c. for whom he always ſhewed a particular eſteem, and took great pleaſure in diſputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verſes, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted againſt an expreſſion uſed by *Favorinus*, that philoſopher modeſtly yielded, though he might have produced out of good authors ſufficient authority for his expreſſion; which ſeeming ſtrange to his friends, *Do you think*, ſaid pleaſantly *Favorinus*, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck?* In the beginning of his reign, he gave many inſtances of his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards cauſed ſeveral perſons to be unjuſtly put to death: whence ſome writers cry him up as a moſt merciful prince, while others repreſent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. In the very beginning of his reign, *Tatianus* adviſed him to put three perſons to death, who, he ſaid, would not fail to raiſe diſturbances, *viz. Bæbius Macer* governor of *Rome*, *Laberius Maximus*, and *Craſſus Frugi*, of whom the two latter had conſpired againſt *Trajan*, and were then in baniſhment; but the emperor would not hearken to any ſuggeſtions againſt them ſaying, It would be highly unjuſt and tyrannical to puniſh any one for a crime, which he was only likely to commit[r]. *Spartian* writes, that he freely forgave all thoſe who had any-ways injured him while he was a private perſon; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, that he had eſcaped by his promotion to the empire[s]. On the other hand, *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he remembered, and puniſhed with great ſeverity, ſome injuries done him in *Trajan*'s time; and that he never forgave the famous architect *Apollodorus*, who had ſpoken contemptuouſly of him before that prince[t]. He allowed every one free acceſs to him, and ſeemed never better pleaſed than when they ſpoke to him with liberty, or admoniſhed him of his faults. Of this we read the following inſtance: A woman having one day applied to him on occaſion of a troubleſome law-ſuit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leiſure to hear her. The woman, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, cried out to him aloud, *To what purpoſe then are you emperor?* With which frankneſs *Adrian* was ſo well pleaſed, that, poſtponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and diſmiſſed her fully ſatisfied[u]. The *Roman* people demanding one day with great noiſe in the theatre

Inſtances of his clemency.

Remembers and puniſhes ſome injuries done him in Trajan*'s time.*

[q] Idem ibid. Ammian. l. xxx. Dio. l. lxix. p 790. [r] Spart: p. 10. [s] Idem. p. 8. [t] Dio. l. lxix. p. 789. [u] Idem, p. 790.

ſomething,

ſomething, which *Adrian* was no-ways inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command ſilence with the imperious word *Tacete*, *Be ſilent*, uſed by *Domitian* on the like occaſion; but the crier, inſtead of obeying him, ſaid only, *The emperor begs you would be ſilent*; which *Adrian* was ſo far from reſenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply rewarded it [w]. He was courteous and affable towards perſons of all ranks, converſed familiarly with his friends and viſited them, nay, and his freedmen, when indiſpoſed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their ſickneſs, and aſſiſting them with his counſels. He frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his company at their houſes, without being invited, converſing with them more like a private perſon than a prince. He refuſed them nothing which he thought reaſonable to grant them, and inriched ſome who had never aſked him the leaſt favour [x]; but at the ſame time gave ear to ſlanderers, and believed every tale that was whiſpered againſt them; whence all thoſe whom he had moſt favoured and raiſed to the higheſt honours, were in the end diſgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or baniſhed [y]. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large ſums for the maintenance of poor children of both ſexes, and in that excelled even *Trajan*. Upon ſuch of the ſenators as were, by misfortunes, reduced to poverty, he ſettled penſions ſuitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace he diſtributed yearly an immenſe quantity of corn, made large preſents to ſuch of the knights as were not able to ſupport their dignity, and ſupplied all thoſe whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horſes, mules, cloaths, and money to defray the charges of their journey. During the feaſt of *Saturn*, he uſed to ſend preſents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity and attachment to his perſon. His preſents to kings and princes always exceeded thoſe which they had ſent him. Such of the public profeſſors as were no longer able to diſcharge their office as they ought, he diſmiſſed with marks of honour and handſome allowances. As he ſpent moſt part of his reign in viſiting the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great and princely [z]. He is ſaid never to have ſeized unjuſtly any man's property [a]; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by perſons who were not known to him, or by ſuch of his friends as had children [b]. He ſhewed on all occaſions a high

Bears to be admoniſhed.

Kind to his friends.

But gives ear to ſlanderers.

His liberality.

[w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem. p. 7. Dio. p. 791. [y] SPART. & Dio. ibid. [z] SPART. p 10. Dio. p. 790. PHILOST. ſoph. c. 27. [a] Dio. ibid. [b] SPART. p. 9.

Reſpects the ſenate.

reſpect for the ſenate, conſuls, and other magiſtrates, tranſacting nothing without their advice. He ſcarce ever failed aſſiſting at their aſſemblies, when he was either at or near *Rome*, and uſually waited on the conſuls to their houſes. He would not ſuffer the *Roman* knights to ſit as judges in the cauſe of a ſenator, tho' that had been cuſtomary when the cauſe was pleaded before the emperor in perſon; neither would he allow of any appeals from the ſenate to him [c]. He adminiſtered juſtice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of *P. Jubentius Celſus*, *Salvius Julianus*, and *Neratius Priſcus*, all three men of great probity, and the beſt civilians in *Rome*. He narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his miniſters, diſcharging them when guilty of the leaſt injuſtice or miſdemeanor. He allowed his freedmen no power; and ſuch as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Obſerving one day from his window one of his freedmen walking between two ſenators, he ſent one of his attendants to give him a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become him to walk between two perſons, to whom he might one day be a ſlave [d]. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade; whence he would never ſuffer the ſenators to attend him but upon buſineſs. He uſually returned from the ſenate in a ſedan, that the ſenators might be diſpenſed from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the uſual titles of *emperor*, *high pontiff*, *father of his country*, &c. He would not ſuffer his name to be put upon any of the ſtately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple which he built in honour of *Trajan*; but at the ſame time was pleaſed that ſeveral aqueducts and cities ſhould bear his name [e]. Out of *Rome* he laid quite aſide the port and majeſty of an emperor; in his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier; his diet was ſuch as chance preſented; he uſually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no diſtinction between the frozen mountains of the *Alps*, and the ſcorching deſerts of *Africa*; he viſited the ſoldiers in perſon when ſick, took particular care of their proviſions, made them preſents, &c. but at the ſame time put down the uſe of arbours, ſhady walks, bowers, &c. baniſhing from the camp whatever ſeemed in the leaſt to encourage luxury and idleneſs. He was acquainted with every ſoldier in the army, knew his age, remembered his exploits, if he had performed any, &c. He preferred none but men of courage, ſtrength, and good characters, ſaying, Such as the officers are, ſuch will the ſoldiers ſoon be. By this means he revived and reſtored the

Is impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Allows no power to his freedmen.

He revives the antient military diſcipline.

[c] Idem, p. 17. [d] Idem, p. 10. [e] Idem, p. 9, 10.

ancient

ancient military diſcipline, which, by the negligence of many princes, had been decaying ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus* [f]. He is generally blamed by the ancients as too inquiſitive, and prying into every one's ſecrets, tho' they no-ways concerned him; as addicted to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and abandoned to all manner of ſuperſtition; which was the chief cauſe of his perſecuting the chriſtians, whom he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worſhip of his gods[g]. He took great delight in hunting, and is ſaid to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beaſts, with his own hand. He founded a town in *Mœſia*, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, that is, Adrian's *chace*, becauſe he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunting-horſes and dogs to ſuch a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himſelf their epitaphs[h]. He was the firſt emperor, as *Spartian* obſerves [i], who let his beard grow, to cover ſome ſcars, which diſfigured that part of his face. He married, as we have related above, *Julia Sabina*, grand daughter to *Marciana*, *Trajan*'s ſiſter; but treated her more like a ſlave than a wife, and often declared, that, had he been a private perſon, he would have divorced her. However he ſuffered her to be honoured with the tittle of *Auguſta*, when he took that of the *father of his country*[k]. He is thought in the end to have poiſoned her, being no longer able to bear with her haughty and imperious temper. She ſeems to have been a woman of a very indifferent character; for ſhe is ſaid to have publicly bragged of her having prevented *Adrian* from having any children by her, and by that means ſaved the world from utter deſtruction [l]. Having thus premiſed a ſuccinct account of the virtues and vices of *Adrian*, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time. Having cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor on the eleventh of *Auguſt* of the year 117, he immediately wrote to the ſenate, excuſing his having aſſumed that title without their conſent and authority, alledging, that he had been forced to it by the ſoldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deſerved them. In the ſame letter he ſolemnly promiſed never to put any ſenator to death, nor to tranſact any affair of conſequence without their counſel and advice[m]. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the ſoldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, formerly his guardian, with *Similis*, captains of the prætorian guards. *Similis* was a man

His vices.

Diſlikes his wife Julia Sabina.

[f] Idem, p. 5. DIO. p. 790—792. [g] DIO. & SPART. ibid. AMMIAN. l. xxv. HIER. chron. TERTUL. apol. c. 5. [h] SPART. p. 12, 13. DIO. p. 792. [i] Idem ibid. [k] EUSEB. chron. OROS. l. vii. c. 13. [l] VICT. epit. [m] DIO. l. lxix. p. 788.

The characters of Similis *and* Tatianus *captains of the prætorian guards.*

of great probity, moderation, and prudence, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in quality of centurion under *Trajan*, who had a particular value for him. As it was much againſt his will that he accepted the command conferred upon him by *Adrian*, he reſigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there ſpent in retirement the ſeven remaining years of his life. A little before he died, he compoſed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been ſeventy-ſix years upon the earth, but lived only ſeven [n]. *Tatianus* was a man of a quite different character; for he adviſed *Adrian*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to put ſeveral perſons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders, which that prince committed about two years after [o]. *Adrian* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he deprived the brave *Luſius Quietus*, who had ſerved with great credit under *Trajan*, of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, ſuſpecting him as if he aſpired at the empire. As to the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, he reſolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*; ſo that the *Euphrates* became anew the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He allowed the *Armenians* to chuſe themſelves a king; and as the *Parthians* were diſſatisfied with *Parthamaſpates*, whom *Trajan* had raiſed to the throne, he appointed him king of ſome neighbouring nation, and ſuffered the *Parthians* to recal *Coſrhoes*, whom *Trajan* had driven out two years before [p]. He was likewiſe determined to abandon *Dacia*; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which ſuch numbers of *Roman* citizens had ſettled. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge built by *Trajan* over the *Danube* to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themſelves maſters of it, and invade the *Roman* territories [q]. *Adrian*, having giving the neceſſary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the eaſt, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, left *Antioch*, and ſet out for *Rome*, which he did not reach till the next year [r]. *Epiphanius* tells us, that before he left the eaſt, he went into *Egypt*; and that paſſing by *Jeruſalem* forty-ſeven years after it had been taken by *Titus*, on that occaſion he reſolved to rebuild it; which deſign, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign [s].

Adrian *abandons the countries conquered by* Trajan.

[n] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 19. Dio. p. 796. [o] Spart. & Dio. ibid. [p] Spart. p. 10. Dio. l. lxviii. p. 776. [q] Eutrop. in Adrian. & Dio. ibid. [r] Spart. p. 3. [s] Epiphan. menſ. c. 14.

The

THE following year, *Adrian* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having been named to that dignity by *Trajan* before he died, together with *Fuſcus Salinator*, who had married the daughter of *Servianus*, *Adrian*'s niece [t]. This year *Adrian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of men with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was by the ſenate decreed for him. At his motion that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which *Adrian* himſelf ſeems to have carried [u]. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy* all debts, without reſtriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular perſons in the provinces what was owing by them for the laſt ſixteen years, burning in *Trajan*'s new ſquare all the bonds and regiſters relating to thoſe debts, in order to ſecure every one againſt ſuch claims. The ſum, which he forgave on this occaſion, amounted to ſeven millions of our money and upwards. No wonder therefore, that ſuch a generous action is ſo much extolled by the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and mentioned in moſt of the inſcriptions and medals of this and the following year. On one of the medals which has reached our times, *Adrian* is repreſented with a torch in his hand, ſetting fire to the bonds, with this legend, *He inriches the whole world* [w]. Beſides, he leſſened the taxes both at *Rome* and in the provinces, and eaſed the cities of the great burden which had been laid upon them by *Trajan*, of ſupplying ſuch as travelled for the ſervice of the public with horſes, chariots, and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor [x].

He arrives at Rome; *but refuſes the triumph decreed him by the ſenate.*

Remarkable inſtances of his generoſity.

THE following year, *Adrian* was conſul the third time; but reſigned the faſces after four months, and never after reſumed them. He had for his collegue one *Ruſticus*, of whom we find no further mention. This year the *Sarmatians* and the *Roxolani*, whoſe country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; which obliged *Adrian* to leave *Rome* and haſten into *Mæſia*, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from *Illyricum*. Thoſe who eſcaped ſaved themſelves by ſwimming croſs the *Danube*, and ſoon after ſent embaſſadors to *Adrian*, who granted them honourable terms, and by that means put a ſpeedy end to the war. They afterwards quarrelled with one another, and choſe *Adrian* for their umpire, who compoſed their differences to the general ſatisfaction of both parties. Having thus both terrified the barbarians and at the ſame time gained their affections, he appoined *Martius Turbo*, whom he had re-

The Sarmatians *and* Roxolani *defeated.*

[t] IDAT. CASSIODOR. ONUPH. in faſt. [u] SPART. p. 3. [w] SPANH. l. ix. p. 811, 815. [x] SPART. p. 17.

called

called from *Mauritania*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*; whence he wrote to the ſenate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celſus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Luſius Quictus*, as if they had formed a conſpiracy againſt him. They were all conſulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly eſteemed and beloved by *Trajan*; but nevertheleſs the ſenate, out of complaiſance to the emperor, ordered them to be immediately put to death, without ſo much as acquainting them that they had been accuſed. As no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left *Illyricum* and haſtened back to *Rome*, where he publicly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed againſt his will and without his knowledge; but was not believed, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, by thoſe who knew, that *Palma* and *Celſus* had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and *Quietus*, who were equally beloved and eſteemed by the *Roman* people [y]. Beſides theſe four excellent men, as *Dion Caſſius* ſtyles them, ſeveral other perſons of great merit and diſtinction were accuſed and condemned, as privy to the ſuppoſed conſpiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But *Adrian* himſelf, having got rid of thoſe whom he chiefly feared, put a ſtop to the cruel and unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, by an edict, forbidding any one to be accuſed or tried upon the law of majeſty. He was deſirous of having *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of a haughty and imperious temper, and aſſumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheleſs *Adrian*, not thinking it adviſeable to ſpill more blood, diſſembled his hatred for the preſent, and prevailed upon *Tatianus* to reſign his command, by offering him a place in the ſenate, and the conſular ornaments, which he readily accepted. *Martius Turbo*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and one of the beſt officers of his age, was put in his room, as was *Septicius Clarus* in the room of *Similis*, who this year reſigned of his own accord, and retired from the city [z]. Towards the end of the year the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved with great generoſity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he paſſed.

Four conſulars put to death.

The next conſuls were *L. Catilius Severus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Syria* three years before, and *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, who ſucceeded *Adrian* in the empire, and

[y] Dio. l. lxix p. 788. [z] Idem. p. 795, 796. Spart. p. 7.

is

is commonly known by the name of *Antoninus Pius* [a]. This year *Adrian*, who uſed to ſay, that an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, who illuminates not one place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progreſs, with a deſign to viſit in perſon all the provinces of the empire, and examine the ſtate of each country ſubject to *Rome*, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts tranſmitted to him by his miniſters and governors. Thus he employed almoſt the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near ſeventeen years. From ſeveral antient coins we learn, that he viſited the following countries, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Mauritania*, *Africa*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Achaia* or *Greece*, *Eubœa*, *Macedonia*, *Egypt*, and the city of *Alexandria*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, and *Dalmatia* [b]. No mention is made on any of the medals, which have reached us of *Britain*, *Armenia*, or *Dacia*; which provinces, it is certain, he viſited, as we ſhall relate anon. He began his progreſs with *Gaul*, where he viewed all the chief cities and *Roman* forts, and ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generoſity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he paſſed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where lay the flower of the *Roman* troops; and therefore he ſpent ſome time there, in order to revive and eſtabliſh among them the antient military diſcipline; for he did not leave *Germany* till the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Augur*, or, as he is called in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Augurinus*, were conſuls. During their conſulate, *Adrian*, leaving *Germany*, returned to *Gaul*, and from thence paſſed over into *Britain*, where he is ſaid to have reformed many abuſes [c]. The greateſt part of the iſland was, when he arrived in *Britain*, ſubject to *Rome*; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of *Agricola*, revolted, and recovered their antient liberty. *Adrian* did not think it adviſeable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to ſecure the countries belonging to the *Romans* againſt the incurſions of the warlike *Caledonians*, he cauſed a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length [d]. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not ſeparated from the *Romans* by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, ſays *Spartian* [e], which were ſtrengthened with

Adrian reſolves to viſit all the provinces of the empire.

He goes into Gaul, *and thence into* Germany.

Croſſes over into Britain.

His wall there.

[a] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 220. [b] BIRAG. p. 175, 177. [c] SPART. p. 6. [d] Idem ibid. USSER. Britan eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. Dublin. 1635. [e] Idem ibid.

ſharp

sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. In *Britain* he disgraced and discharged his secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the historian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina* [f]. Having settled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Nisme* a magnificent palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. No remains of this statel edifice, or *basilic*, as *Spartian* calls it, are now to be seen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants calls *les Arenes*, the *Pont du gard*, and several other antient buildings, which are still to be seen in that city, to have been raised by *Adrian*, or by his successor *Antoninus* [g]. From *Gaul Adrian* went into *Spain*, and passed the winter at *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, where he rebuilt the temple of *Augustus* founded by *Tiberius*, and held a general assembly of the states of *Spain*, in order to compose the differences which reigned amongst them, about the raising of levies to recruit the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he narrowly escaped being killed by a slave, who, while the emperor was walking in his master's garden, assaulted him with a drawn sword. *Adrian*, closing with him, seized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were hastening to his assistance; but afterwards, finding the slave was distracted in his senses, he committed him to the care of the physicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt. *Adrian* did not visit the city of *Italica*, whence his family originally came; but distinguished it with many privileges [h]. *Gellius* quotes a discourse made by the emperor in the senate in favour of *Italica*, *Utica*, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, tho' *Adrian* himself thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies [i]. From *Spain* the emperor returned to *Rome* in the month of *April*, as appears from an antient inscription, *Acilius Aviola* and *Cornelius Pansa* being then consuls; but he did not stay there long; for either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, when *Quintus Arrius Pætinus* and *Caius Ventidius Apronianus* were consuls, he was, according to St. *Jerom*, and *Eusebius* [k], at *Athens*. During his stay in that city, the *Cephisus* happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of *Eleusina*, he caused a bridge to be built over that river, and provided against its overflowing for the future [l]. From *Athens* he passed into the east, where he apprehended a war with the *Parthians*; but prevented it by a conference, with whom history does not inform us;

He returns to Gaul.

And thence goes into Spain.

Where he is in danger of being assassinated.

Returns to Rome.

Goes to Athens, *and from thence into the east.*

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 23. [h] Idem, p. 6. & Dio. p. 792. [i] Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 13. [k] Euseb. chron. p. 211. [l] Hier. in chron.

but

but it was in all likelihood with *Cosrhoes* king of the *Parthians*. The following year, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* and *Caius Bellicius Torquatus* being consuls, *Adrian* returned from the east through *Asia*, and visited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*, ordering temples, squares, and other edifices, to be built at his expence, in most of the chief cities of those provinces, especially in *Nicomedia*, *Nicæa*, and *Cyzicus*. He likewise visited the islands of the *Archipelago*, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus* and *Vettius Aquilinus* being consuls, in *Achaia*, and passed the remaining part of the winter at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, called the *Eleusinian mysteries*, following therein the example of *Hercules* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*. From *Athens*, after he had presided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he sailed to *Sicily*, where he was led by his curiosity to visit the top of mount *Ætna*, in order to view from thence the rising sun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rain-bow. From *Sicily* he returned to *Rome* in the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was the third time consul, with *L. Varius Ambibulus* [w]. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian*'s reign, and 127. and 128. of the christian æra, are quite barren of events. The consuls were *Titianus* and *Gallicanus*, *Torquatus Asprenas* and *Annius Libo* [x]. The following year, *P. Juventius Celsus* and *Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus* being consuls, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Cæsarea*, and *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, were almost intirely overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence styled the *Restorer of* Bithynia, as appears from some medals [y]. In the beginning of this year, *Adrian* was still at *Rome*; for on the third of *March* he proposed some difficulties touching inheritances, which were resolved by a decree of the senate, dated the fourteenth of the same month [z]. But soon after he set out again on a new progress, passing first into *Africa*; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which, together with the many favours he bestowed upon the inhabitants of that province (for he left everywhere signal marks of his liberality and good-nature), gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there caused the obsequies of *Plotina*, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with

Visits several provinces, and passes the winter at Athens.

Visits Sicily, *and returns to* Rome.

Rebuilds several cities at his own expence.

Crosses over into Africa, *whence he returns to* Rome.

[w] NORIS. epist. consul p. 78 DIO. l. lxix. p. 797. [x] IDAT. ONUPH &c. in fast. [y] EUSEB in chron p. 211: BIRAG. p. 123. [z] Digest. v. c. 3 l. xx. NORIS. epist. consul. p. 421.

Plotina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.*

the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. She died either while *Adrian* was in *Africa*, or ſoon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, compoſed verſes in her praiſe, and cauſed her to be ranked among the gods [a].

The temple of Venus *and* Rome.

THE next conſuls were *Q. Fabius Catullinus* and *M. Flavius Aper*, during whoſe adminiſtration a temple was built at *Rome*, in honour of that city and of the goddeſs *Venus*, which was called the *Temple of* Rome, and the *Temple of the fortune of* Rome [b]. On account of this temple *Adrian* changed the antient name of the feaſt, which was yearly kept on the twenty-firſt of *April* for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, inſtead of *Palilia* [c]. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor *Conſtantius* chiefly admired when he came to *Rome* [d]. It was afterwards conſumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by *Maxentius* [e]. When the fabric was ended, *Adrian* ſent the plan of it to the famous architect *Apollodorus*; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by ſending the plan after the building was accompliſhed; for though he himſelf had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in *Trajan*'s time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings.

Apollodorus *finds fault with it, which coſts him his life.*

Apollodorus, who was no flatterer, after having viewed the plan, deſired thoſe who brought it, to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it ſtood; and, on the contrary, the ſtatues of *Rome* and *Venus* too tall: the architect, added he pleaſantly, has taken care, that the goddeſſes ſhall not riſe, nor walk out. *Adrian* was ſo offended at the freedom of this anſwer, that though he had deſired *Apollodorus* to acquaint him with his ſentiments concerning the building, yet he baniſhed him, and ſoon after, under ſome pretence or other, cauſed him to be put to death *.

Adrian *returns to* Aſia,

In the beginning of the ſummer, *Adrian* ſet out from *Rome*, with a deſign to viſit anew the provinces of the eaſt; and, paſſing through *Athens*, purſued his journey to *Aſia*, where he conſecrated ſeveral temples. In *Cappadocia* he purchaſed a great number of ſlaves for the ſervile offices of the camp. To *Coſroes* he ſent back his daughter, who had been taken priſoner by *Trajan*, and promiſed to reſtore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promiſe. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with the invitation, *viz.* *Malaſſes* king of the *Lazi*, *Reſmagas* king of

and there enters into the meaſures of the eaſtern kings.

[a] Dio p. 792. [b] Ammian. l. xvi. [c] Athen. l. viii
[d] Ammian. ibid. [e] Aur. Vict. p. 526. * Dio. p. 789.

the

the *Abaſgi*, *Spadages* king of the *Sauni* or *Sauniges*, *Staquimſan* king of the *Zydretæ*. The territories of theſe princes lay partly eaſt, partly north, of the *Euxine* ſea. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other petty kings came to wait upon *Adrian*, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich preſents upon their departure. The *Bactrian* princes did not come, but ſent embaſſadors to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*. The kings of *Albania* and *Iberia* neither ſent embaſſadors, nor came in perſon; which they repented when they underſtood how the others had been received and entertained [f]. In *Syria* he went up to the top of mount *Caſius* in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, to obſerve from thence the riſing ſun, and to offer a ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, who was worſhipped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the prieſt and the victim [g]. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Paleſtine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt* [h]. It is obſerved in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that the famous coloſſus of *Rhodes* ſhook this year, the fourteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, for the firſt time [i].

He viſits Paleſtine, Arabia, and Egypt.

THE next year *Servius Octavius Lænas Pontianus* and *M. Antoninus Rufinus* were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the moſt learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the *perpetual edict*, containing all the laws which had been yearly publiſhed by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the *edictum perpetuum*, becauſe it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of ſtanding laws, to prevent the great confuſion occaſioned by the new edicts, and to ſerve as a guide and rule in the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the whole empire [k]. *Adrian* continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year, when *Auguſtinus* and *Sergianus* were conſuls. At *Peluſium* he viſited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and finding it almoſt intirely demoliſhed, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence [l], and performed the uſual ceremonies in honour of the deceaſed hero.

The edictum perpetuum.

He diſliked the fickle, turbulent, and ſatirical, temper of the *Egyptians*, eſpecially of the *Alexandrians*. In a letter which he wrote to *Servianus* his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the *Chriſtians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Jews*, of that country, were always ready to change their religion, becauſe they all adored one and the ſame god, their own intereſt; and adds, that they all ſuper-

He diſlikes the ſatirical temper of the Alexandrians.

[f] SPART. p. 27. ARRIAN. in perip. Pont p. 7. [g] SPART. p. 7. [h] DIO. p. 792. [i] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. [k] Vide VOEURG. hiſt. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. [l] DIO. p. 792. SPART. p. 7.

ſtitiouſly obſerved the motion and aſpects of the ſtars, and pretended to be ſkilled in divination [m]. He ſpeaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then viſited *Egypt*, meaning, no doubt, the patriarch of the *Jews* [n]. He concludes with this obſervation, that at *Alexandria* no one was ſuffered to be idle; inſomuch, that even thoſe who were blind followed ſome profeſſion [o]. That city had, it ſeems, forfeited many of its antient privileges, probably on account of ſome ſedition; for St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was almoſt intirely ruined by the *Romans* [p]; but *Adrian* not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and reſtored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them; for which they returned him ſolemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this ſenſe of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he no ſooner left their city, than they publiſhed moſt bitter and virulent lampoons againſt him and his favourites. In the palace at *Alexandria*, which took up the third part of the city, one quarter was conſecrated to the muſes and ſciences, and thence called the *Muſeum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the expence of the public, men of learning, divided into ſeveral companies or colleges, according to the different ſciences and ſects which they profeſſed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of *pontiff*. This inſtitution is generally aſcribed to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, who placed there his famous library. The emperor *Claudius* to the antient muſeum added a new one, with large revenues. In the muſeum were always perſons eminent in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this ſociety, or, as it is ſometimes expreſſed, to this table. This diſtinction *Adrian* granted to *Dionyſius* the ſophiſt, whom he greatly eſteemed, and to an *Egyptian* poet named *Pancrates* [q]. *Adrian* did not fail viſiting this place, and converſing with the moſt eminent men of that learned ſociety: he examined them, and ſuffered himſelf to be by them examined, aſking them many queſtions, and anſwering thoſe which they propoſed to him [r]. The emperor *Caracalla* ſuppreſſed this ſociety in the year 216 [s]; but it was afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted till the civil wars in the time of *Aurelian*, when that quarter, named *Bruchium*, was utterly demoliſhed [t]; inſomuch, that about the latter end

He repairs the city of Alexandria, *and reſtores to the* Alexandrians *their antient privileges.*

He viſits the muſeum.

[m] Vopisc. vit. Sat. p. 245. [n] Vide Pears de Ignat. c. 3. & Vopisc ibid. [o] Vopisc. ibid. [p] Hier. chron [q] Strabo, l. xvii. p 703,794. Ammian l. xxii. Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 873. Athen. l. vi. & xxvi. [r] Spart. p. 10. [s] Dio. ibid. p. 873 [t] Ammian. l. xxii.

of

of the fourth century, it was quite deſerted, and at ſome diſtance from the city [u]. *Adrian* from *Egypt* paſſed into *Libya Cyrenaica*, where he killed (for he took great pleaſure in hunting) a lion of a monſtrous ſize, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled ſome parts of it [w]. What moſt of all rendered *Adrian*'s journey into *Egypt* remarkable, was the death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the moſt unnatural pleaſures. He fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was ſailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned. This is the account which *Adrian* himſelf gave of his death. But *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that the emperor, who had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of magic, being, by the falſe and execrable principles of that art, miſled into a belief, that he ſhould prolong his life by ſacrificing a human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the reſt preferring their own ſafety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would by choice have rather ſacrificed his deareſt friends, than his beloved catamite; but as no conſtraint was to be uſed, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of *Antinous* was accepted, and he ſacrificed [x]. Be that as it will, the emperor bewailed him, ſays *Spartian* [y], with all the tenderneſs and weakneſs of a woman lamenting the death of her huſband. To allay in ſome meaſure his grief, he deſired the *Greeks* to rank him amongſt the gods; which they did accordingly: ſo that in a ſhort time all the eaſtern provinces were filled with ſtatues, temples, and chapels, conſecrated to this new divinity. At *Mantinea* in *Arcadia* a magnificent temple was erected to him by *Adrian*, ſolemn ſports inſtituted, and prieſts appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic [z]. It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his anſwers were commonly thought to have been compoſed by *Adrian* [a]. The aſtrologers, having diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover, a new ſtar, gave out, that it was *Antinous* [b]. The deifying of *Antinous*, and the ſacrilegious worſhip paid him, was made uſe of by the chriſtian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous *Antinous*, and to expoſe the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by *Juſtin* the martyr, who was converted about this time to the chriſtian religion, and likewiſe by *Hegeſippus*,

He paſſes into Libya Cyrenaica.

The death of Antinous, *ſuppoſed to have been ſacrificed by him.*

He is ranked among the gods.

[u] Vide CASAUB in Spart. p. 36. [w] ATHEN. l. xv. p. 677.
[x] Dio. l. lxix p. 793. [y] SPART. p. 7. [z] Dio. ibid. SPART. p. 8 SPANH. l. vii p. 652.—657. [a] SPART. p. 7. Dio. ibid.
[b] Dio. ibid.

Athenagoras,

Athenagoras, *Tatian*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Tertullian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*. *Adrian* caused the body of *Antinous* to be buried with the utmost magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was said to work miracles[c]; which we find exposed and ridiculed by the pagans themselves.

Adrian returns to Syria.

The following year, when *Hiberus* and *Sisenna* were consuls, *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he passed this and the following year, and honoured *Servianus* his brother-in-law with a third consulship, and gave him *C. Vibius Juventius Varus* for his collegue. While *Servianus* was consul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the state of *Egypt*, and of *Alexandria* its metropolis[d]. At the same time, he sent some presents, both to him and his wife *Paulina*, the emperor's sister, who died soon after. As *Adrian* conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the *Roman* senate and people were the more displeased with those he had bestowed upon *Antinous*[e]. Early in the spring, he left *Syria*, in order to return to *Italy*; but made a long stay at *Athens*, after having visited *Thrace* and *Macedon*. During his stay at *Athens*, the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly, says *Dion Cassius*[f], at *Adrian*'s sending a *Roman* colony to *Jerusalem*; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*, and his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the ancient temple stood. *Spartian* tells us, that *Adrian* published an edict, forbidding them to be circumcised; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. Be that as it will, *Adrian* had no sooner left *Syria*, than they openly revolted, under the conduct of one *Barcoquebas*, whom St. *Jerom* calls *Coquebas* and *Coquibus*[g]; but his true name was, as *Scaliger* informs us, upon the authority of the rabbies[h], *Cozeb*, that is, *Lyar*, or *Barcozebas*, that is, *the son of a lye*; but being ashamed of that name, he called himself *Coquebas*, which imports *a star*, or *Barcoquebas* signifying *the son of a star*; for to himself he applied the prophecy of the *star* which was to go forth out of *Jacob*, and pretended to be the promised Messiah[i]. The *Jews* flocked to him from all parts, appointed him their king, and looked upon him as the deliverer and restorer of their nation[k]. He over-ran all *Judæa* and *Syria*, committing every-where most dreadful ravages, and exerting his cruelty chiefly against the christians,

Visits Thrace *and* Macedon *and returns to* Athens.

The Jews *revolt.*

And commit dreadful ravages.

[c] Origen. in Celf. l. iii. p. 132. [d] Vopisc. vit. Sat p. 245. [e] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 714. [f] Dio. l. lxix. p. 793. [g] Hier. in Dan. [h] Scalig. in chron. Euseb. [i] Euseb. l iv. c. 6. [k] Idem ibid.

whom

whom he put to moſt exquiſite torments, in order to oblige them to blaſpheme Chriſt, and join him againſt the *Romans* [l]. *Titinius*, or *Tinnius Rufus*, who had been formerly governor of *Thrace*, as appears from ſome medals [m], and commanded at that time in *Judæa*, being reinforced with ſome troops, which *Adrian* ſent him upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fell upon the rebellious *Jews*, and, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all to the ſword who fell into his hands. The *Jews* at firſt durſt not appear in the open field; but either kept within the ſtrong-holds which they had ſeized, or concealed themſelves in caves, which for that purpoſe they had dug to an incredible depth, ſallying from thence, and often ſurpriſing the *Romans* with great ſlaughter. However, *Adrian* ſeemed to deſpiſe them, till being joined by an infinite number of *Jews* from moſt provinces of the empire, and by many others who were not of that religion, but hoped to inrich themſelves with plunder, they became formidable. Then the emperor, fearing a general inſurrection, diſpatched an expreſs to *Julius Severus*, governor of *Britain*, and the greateſt commander of his time, ordering him to leave that iſland, and haſten into *Paleſtine*, to take upon him the command of the *Roman* army there. *Severus*, upon his arrival, did not think it adviſeable to venture an engagement, the *Jews* being very numerous, and fighting, as he obſerved in ſome ſkirmiſhes, like men in deſpair. He therefore contented himſelf with intercepting their proviſions, ſtraitening their quarters, and cutting off the parties which they ſent out to forage. By this means he did not doubt, but he ſhould reduce them at laſt to ſubmit without any conſiderable loſs on his ſide [n]. *Tinnius Rufus* commanded under him; for to him chiefly is aſcribed, by St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, the glory of having intirely reduced the rebels [o]. The *Jews* made themſelves maſters of *Jeruſalem*, after having driven out, or rather maſſacred, the *Romans* who had ſettled there by the emperor's orders. But *Severus* beſieged it anew, took the place, and laid it in aſhes, as we read in St. *Jerom* [p], *Euſebius* [q], *Chryſoſtom* [r], and *Appian* [s], who lived at this time. If credit is to be given to the tradition of the *Jews*, *Turanus Rufus*, or rather *Tinnius Rufus*, cauſed the ground where the temple had ſtood to be ploughed up; which, among the *Romans*, was a mark of the greateſt ignominy, and

Julius Severus governor of Britain, ſent againſt them.

The Jews make themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, which is beſieged anew, taken and laid in aſhes.

[l] JUST. apol ii. p. 72. SULP. l. ii. p. 148. [m] NORIS. epiſt. conſul. p. 399. [n] DIO. p. 793, 794. [o] HIER. in Dan. EUSEB. in chron. [p] HIER in chron. ann. 124. in Joel. i. p 55. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. in Dan. ix. p. 595. in Ez. v. 390. [q] EUSEB. l. i c. 38. l. iii. c. 5. l. vi. c. 18. [r] CHRYS. c. 1. hom 3. [s] APPIAN. Syr. p. 83.

utter

utter deſolation, no one being, according to their laws, allowed to build, without an expreſs decree of the ſenate, in places where that inauſpicious ceremony had been performed [t]. The taking and razing of *Jeruſalem* under *Adrian* happened, according to St. *Jerom* [u], in the month of *Auguſt*, the twentieth year of that prince's reign, and 136. of the chriſtian æra. The *Romans* were more vigorouſly oppoſed by the *Jews* in *Bitther* or *Bether*, a ſtrong city at a ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, than in any other place. As great numbers of *Jews* had retired to that place, and the ſiege laſted a long time, the beſieged were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, for want of proviſions. At length, moſt of them being ſtarved to death, and the reſt no longer able to manage their arms, the place was taken, ſays St. *Jerom*, the ſame day on which *Jeruſalem* had been reduced by *Nebuchadonoſor*, and the temple burnt by *Titus* ſixty-five years before [w]. The reduction of *Bether* did not put an end to the war, which was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, long and troubleſome [x]. It laſted according to the *Jewiſh* tradition, three years and a half [y], according to St. *Jerom* [z], two or three years, and was ended by a complete victory, which the *Romans* gained over the *Jews*, *Barcoquebas* their leader being taken priſoner [a], and, no doubt, puniſhed according to his deſerts. In the courſe of this war the *Romans* demoliſhed fifty caſtles of great ſtrength, nine hundred and eighty-five towns, and killed, in battle, ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges, five hundred and eighty thouſand men; for thoſe who periſhed by famine, fire, and diſtempers, are almoſt without number [b]. The *Romans* too loſt many of their beſt troops, notwithſtanding the great caution uſed by *Severus* and the other generals; inſomuch, that *Adrian*, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate acquainting them with the laſt victory, omitted the expreſſion uſed by other emperors and commanders, *If you and your children are well, I and the army are well* [c]. Of the *Jews* who outlived this ſecond general maſſacre of their nation, incredible numbers were ſold at the ſame price as horſes in a famous fair called the fair of *Terebinthus*, or of the *Turpentine-tree* [d]; which was on that account ever after abhorred by the *Jews* [e]. St. *Jerom* tells us, that a great fair was yearly held at the tent of *Abraham* [f], which ſome writers take to be the fair mentioned here; for in the valley of *Mamre* near *Hebron*, where that patriarch pitched his tent, and received the three

Bether taken.

The Jews *utterly defeated.*

The Jews *who outlived the ſlaughter, ſold for ſlaves.*

[t] Vide Scal. iſag. l. iii [u] Hier. in Zach. viii. p. 262. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Dio. p. 793. [y] Vide Scalig. ibid. [z] Hier. in Dan. v. p. 592. [a] Euseb l iv. c. 6. [b] Dio. p. 794. [c] Idem. ibid [d] Hier in Jer. xxxi p 312. Chron. Alexan p. 590. [e] Hier. in Zac. xi. p. 272. [f] Idem ibid.

angels,

angels, there was in the fourth century, as *Euſebius* informs us[g], a turpentine tree, which the natives of the place pretended to have ſtood there from the beginning of the world. The *Jews*, who were not ſold at the fair of *Terebinthus*, were carried to *Gaza*, and there expoſed to ſale at another fair eſtabliſhed by *Adrian*, and thence called after his name[h]. Such as were not diſpoſed of in *Paleſtine*, were tranſported to *Egypt*, where they periſhed either by famine, or were maſſacred by the inhabitants, who, as we have often obſerved, bore them an irreconcileable hatred[i]. The *Jews* were by ſeveral preſages forewarned of this dreadful calamity, among which the moſt remarkable was the falling of the ſepulchre of *Solomon*, which was held by them in great veneration, and fell a little before this war broke out[k]. When the war was ended, *Adrian* publiſhed an edict, which was confirmed by the ſenate, and hung up in all public places, forbidding all *Jews* on pain of death, to ſet foot in *Jeruſalem*, to approach that city, or any place whence it could be ſeen[l]. St. *Jerom*[m] and *Tertullian*[n] extend this decree to all *Judæa*; which ſeems to have been the opinion of the *Jews* themſelves, for in their calendar is marked a faſt, inſtituted, as is ſaid there, on account of the decree, by which their forefathers were forbidden to ſet foot in the land of *Judæa*[o]. This faſt is marked on the ninth of their fifth month, called by them *Ab*, and anſwering part of our *Auguſt*. But, on the other hand, *Clement* of *Alexandria* tells us, that he ſtudied in *Paleſtine* under one who was of *Jewiſh* extraction[p]; and it is manifeſt from *Origen*[q], that in the third century there were *Jews* in *Paleſtine*; and from *Epiphanius*, that, in the reign of *Conſtantine*, their patriarch reſided at *Tiberias*[r]. St. *Auſtin*[s] likewiſe and St. *Hilarius*[t] tell us, that they were excluded from *Jeruſalem*, but not from the other cities of *Paleſtine*. *Julian* the apoſtate, out of hatred to the chriſtians, countenanced the *Jews*; whence in his reign they undertook the rebuilding of their temple. But the ſucceeding emperors renewed the prohibition of *Adrian*, allowing, however, the *Jews*, upon their paying a conſiderable ſum, to enter, or rather approach, the city once a year; that is, on the day in which it had been deſtroyed and laid in aſhes by the *Romans*[u]. They were then ſuffered to bewail

All Jews *forbidden, on pain of death, to ſet foot in* Jeruſalem.

They are afterwards allowed to viſit Jeruſalem *once a year.*

[g] EUSEB. chron. p. 209. & demonſtr. evang. l. v. c. 9. [h] Chron. Alexan. p. 596. [i] DIO. l. lxix. p. 794. [k] Idem ibid. [l] EUSEB. l. iv c. 6. HIER. in Iſ. vi p. 36. JUST. apol. ii. p. 84. TERTUL. apol. c. 21. [m] HIER. in Dan ix. p 595. [n] TERTUL. ibid. [o] SCALIG. iſag. l. i. c. 6 [p] CLEM. ſtrom. 1. [q] ORIG. ad Afric. p. 244 [r] EPIPHAN l. xxxii. c. 4. [s] Aug. civit. Dei l. xvi. c. 21. [t] HILAR. in pſal. xlviii. [u] ORIG. in Joſuah. xvii NAZIAN. orat. xii. HIER. in ſoph. i.

their misfortunes, and to be eye-witneſſes, ſays St. *Jerom*[w], of the accompliſhment of the prophecies. From the *Itinerarium Burdigalenſe*, which is ſuppoſed to have been written before the time of *Julian* the apoſtate, about the year 333, we learn, that on this occaſion they aſſembled chiefly in the place where the temple had formerly ſtood, and there performed certain ceremonies altogether idolatrous[x]. Thus all the attempts of that perfidious nation, towards the recovery of their former condition, ſerved only to heighten and aggravate thoſe calamities, with which they had been ſo often threatened by the prophets, and to reduce them to the deplorable ſtate in which we now ſee them, being a crew of contemptible vagabonds diſperſed all over the world, without king, temple, or pontiff; driven from their own country, and not daring to ſet foot in it even as paſſengers and ſtrangers. The edict of *Adrian*, excluding all *Jews* from *Jeruſalem*, extended to ſuch of them as had embraced the chriſtian religion; ſo that they too being obliged to quit that city, the church was by that means delivered from the ſervitude of the law; for, till that time, not only the biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had been choſen from among the circumciſed chriſtians, but all the converted *Jews* joined to the obſervance of the goſpel that of the law. When the *Jews* were baniſhed *Jeruſalem*, the church began to be compoſed only of converted *Gentiles*; and before the death of *Adrian*, which happened in 138, St. *Mark*, who was one of them, was appointed biſhop of that city, and ſucceeded by *Caſſianus* in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, and 156 of the chriſtian æra[b]. The *Jews* being thus driven out of *Jeruſalem*, that city began to be peopled only by *Gentiles*, and by another *Roman* colony, which *Adrian* ſent thither after the war. Upon the ruins and aſhes of the antient city, the emperor built a new one, giving it, as we have obſerved above, the name of *Ælia Capitolinus*[c]; by which means the antient name of *Jeruſalem* was for ſome ages ſo intirely forgotten, that a martyr ſaying, when he was examined at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, that he was a native of *Jeruſalem*, neither the governor of the province, nor any who were preſent, could conceive what city he meant[d]. *Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, *Hilarius*, and other fathers, tell us, that *Jeruſalem* was no more; and truly that which *Adrian* built, was quite different from the antient city, as to its inhabitants and buildings, and in ſome meaſure as to its ſituation; for it extended more to the north, and took in mount *Calvary* and our

Jeruſalem *rebuilt by* Adrian, *and named* Ælia Capitolina.

[w] Hier. ibid. c. 6. & l. v. c. 12.
[x] Itin. Burdig. p. 43.
[b] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6.
[c] Dio. l. lx. p. 793. Euseb. l. iv. c. 6.
[d] Euseb de pal. c. 11.

Saviour's

Saviour's ſepulchre; and leſs to the ſouth; for about the middle of the fourth century, the celebrated mount *Sion*, formerly the place where the prieſts reſided and the doctors of the law, was quite uninhabited, cultivated like an open field, and planted with citruls, (as had been in expreſs terms foretold by *Iſaiah*) and other greens [e]. The temple lay in ruins, and the place where it ſtood was covered with a wood. The other quarters of *Jeruſalem*, which *Adrian* had not compriſed within the precincts of his new city, were filled with ruins; and thence were taken ſtones and other materials both for public and private buildings. At the ſight of theſe ruins, infinite numbers of perſons of all ranks, ſays *Euſebius*, embraced the chriſtian religion, ſeeing evidently fulfilled in them our Saviour's predictions touching *Jeruſalem* [f]. The name of *Ælia* ſtill obtained in the time of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and long after, in all the public acts and regiſters; but by the chriſtians the city was ſtill named *Jeruſalem*, eſpecially after *Conſtantine*'s time. *Adrian* in his new city erected a theatre and ſeveral temples, employing for that purpoſe the ſtones of the temple and ſanctuary of the *Jews*. Two ſtatues of the emperor, and others of the gods, were erected in the place where the temple had ſtood, and over the gate which led to *Bethlehem*, one of marble, repreſenting a hog, to ſignify the utter reduction and ſervitude of the *Jewiſh* nation [g].

A theatre and ſeveral temples erected in the new city.

Dion Caſſius, after having deſcribed the war which *Adrian* waged with the *Jews*, ſpeaks of another which broke out about the ſame time with the *Alani* or *Maſſagetæ*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who, under the conduct of *Pharaſmanes* their king, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but ſoon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus* governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them [h]. The inſtructions given by *Arrian* concerning the march of the *Roman* army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle, which, it was thought, would enſue, have reached our times [i]. The *Roman* army conſiſted, as appears from theſe inſtructions, of troops from various nations, commanded by one *Xenophon*, who, no doubt, ſerved under *Arrian* governor of the province, ſince *Arrian* directs him how he is to conduct himſelf both in the march and battle. We have a deſcription of the *Euxine* ſea by *Arrian*, probably the governor of *Cappadocia*, addreſſed by way of a letter to *Adrian*. The author begins his relation

The Alani *invade the provinces of the empire.*

[e] EUSEB. dem. evang. l. vi. c. 13. & l. viii. c. 3. CYR. cat. xvi. Iter. Burdig. [f] EUSEB. dem. evang. l. viii. c. 3. [g] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. EUSEB. ibid. Iter Burdig. p 43. [h] DIO. l. lxix. p. 794. [i] ARRIAN. mandat. in Alan. Upſaliæ. ann. 1664.

Arrian's *deſcription of the* Euxine *ſea.*

with his arrival at *Trebizond*, where, by the emperor's orders, a temple was then building in honour of *Mercury*. He imbarqued at *Trebizond*, in order to view the eaſtern coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea; which he did accordingly, viſiting every-where the *Roman* gariſons; obliging the ſoldiers to perform their military exerciſes before him; paying them their arrears, *&c.* and acquainting the emperor with the ſtate of each gariſon †. He ſailed by the mouth of the *Phaſis*, the waters of which river be obſerved ſwimming a long time, on account of their lightneſs, upon thoſe of the ſea. At the mouth of the *Phaſis* ſtood a caſtle gariſoned by four hundred *Roman* ſoldiers, and a town inhabited by ſome veterans and ſea-faring men; which, for the greater ſecurity of the place, he ſtrengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at *Sebaſtopolis*, the moſt diſtant city gariſoned by the *Romans*. Of all the barbarous nations, along whoſe coaſts he ſailed, the *Sanni*, called by *Xenophon* the *Drilli*, were the moſt fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and as they had formerly paid tribute to the *Romans*, *Arrian*, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation [k]. We are ſure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, he adds a deſcription of the coaſts of *Aſia*, from *Byzantium* to *Trebizond*, and another of the country, from *Sebaſtopolis* to the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, that the emperor might take what meaſures he thought proper, in caſe he deſigned to concern himſelf with the affairs of *Boſporus*, the king of that country, by name *Cotys*, being juſt then dead. From this relation it appears, that at this time a port was forming by the emperor's orders at *Trebizond* [l].

Adrian, in the mean time, continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the cuſtoms and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great myſteries of *Eleuſina*, different from thoſe in which he had been initiated ſome years before, and celebrated, according to *Euſebius* [m], the ſecond year of each olympiad; that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left *Athens* in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of the two hundred and twenty-eighth olympiad. As he had been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magiſtrates, celebrated the great feſtival of *Bacchus*, diſtributing

† Arrian. perip. pont. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3. [k] Idem, p. 4—7.
[l] Idem, p. 7—10. [m] Euseb. chron. p. 214.

on

on that occaſion, large ſums and an immenſe quantity of corn among the populace [n]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he ſubjected to *Athens*, the whole iſland of *Cephalenia* [o]; but in an inſcription addreſſed to *Adrian Olympicus*, as he is there called, the city of *Pale* in that iſland ſtyles herſelf *autonomos*, that is, free, and governed by her own laws [p]. He embelliſhed the city of *Athens* with many ſtately buildings, eſpecially with a library of marvellous ſtructure. Theſe edifices had been by his orders begun before, but were finiſhed this year, and conſecrated by the emperor himſelf [q]. He likewiſe finiſhed the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympius* [r], begun, according to *Philoſtratus* [s], five hundred and ſixty years before. In this temple he conſecrated an altar to himſelf, and ſuffered the *Greeks* to build and conſecrate a temple to him, which they called *Panellenian* [t], inſtituting on this occaſion annual ſports. In ſhort, he embelliſhed *Athens* with ſo many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the ſecond founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called *Adrianopolis*. Many monuments of his generoſity towards the *Athenians* are ſtill to be ſeen [u]. From a decree of this prince concerning the ſale of oil, produced by *Wheler*, it appears, that at this time all controverſies were determined at *Athens* by the ſenate and people aſſembled by the magiſtrates, with an appeal to the proconſul, or to the emperor [w]. The *Athenians* employed part of the money, with which he preſented them, in building a city in the iſland of *Delos*, which they called Adrian's *new* Athens *and* Olympia [x]. The *Athenians* of *Delos* are mentioned in an inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at *Venice* [y]; but now remain only ſome ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the ſuperſtitious pagans were erected in that iſland [z].

Adrian's generoſity to the Athenians.

His buildings there.

THIS year, the nineteenth of *Adrian*'s reign and the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra, the emperor left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, *Lupercus Pontianus* and *Rufus Atilianus* being conſuls [a]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that in the ſhows which he exhibited ſoon after his arrival, the people preſſing him to declare free one of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private perſon, he returned the following anſwer; It does not become the *Roman* people to beg of their emperor the liberty of one who

Adrian *returns at length to* Rome.

[n] Dio. p. 795. SPART. p 9. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Vide REIN. inſcript. p. 335. [q] HIER. chron. WHELER's travels, p. 437. SPART. p. 7. [r] Dio. ibid. [s] PHILOS ſop. xxv [t] SPART. cum not. Caſaub. p. 26. [u] Vide WHELER p. 421—471. [w] Idem, p. 470. [x] EUSEB. chron p. 215. [y] GRUT. p 405. [z] WHELER. p. 93. &c. [a] NORIS epiſt. conſ.

does

does not belong to him, nor the emperor to oblige the perſon to whom he belongs to grant him it [b]. He had not been long in *Rome*, when embaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes*, probably king of *Armenia*, with complaints againſt *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia*, and from the *Iazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were deſirous to have their antient treaties with the people of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the ſenate, and there read to them an anſwer, which, at the requeſt of the ſenate, he had compoſed before-hand. *Pharaſmanes* came to *Rome* in perſon, with his wife and his ſon, to anſwer the complaints of *Vologeſes*, bringing with him rich preſents for *Adrian*, who repaid them with others far more valuable, and beſides preſented him with fifty elephants and five hundred choſen men, to ſerve him as a guard; inlarged his dominions; ſuffered him to ſacrifice in the capitol: cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be erected to him; and aſſiſted in perſon at a military exerciſe performed by him, his ſon, and the chief men of his court [c]. Nevertheleſs, by a ſtrange whim, as we may call it, after ſo many preſents and ſuch extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beaſts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which *Pharaſmanes* had preſented him, as if they had been fit only for ſuch uſes [d]. But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the *Iberian* prince. After *Adrian* had travelled, we may ſay, all over the known world, he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, attended with a frequent bleeding at the noſe, which the phyſicians of thoſe days aſcribed to his going conſtantly with his head uncovered in the greateſt colds, heats, ſhowers, &c. The loſs of blood, as he was ſtricken in years, was followed by a dropſy, from which, as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a ſucceſſor; when ſeveral perſons of great merit occurred to him, namely, *Servianus*, who had married his ſiſter, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; *Fuſcus* the grandſon of *Servianus*, and his own great nephew; *Pletorius Nepos*, his antient and intimate friend; and *Terentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and eſteemed by the ſenate. Theſe he judged, among the great men of *Rome*, the moſt capable of the ſupreme power; but nevertheleſs neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred to them, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus*, for he is called by all theſe names, and *Adrian* added thoſe of *Ælius*

Where he receives Pharaſmanes king of Iberia.

He falls into a lingering diſeaſe.

Begins to think of a ſucceſſor.

He adopts Commodus Verus

[b] Dio p. 793. [c] Idem, p. 794. [d] Spart. p. 9.

and

and *Cæsar*. He was sprung from an illustrious family, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince; was well versed in most branches of learning, especially in poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm constitution, and at the same time intirely addicted to lewdness and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to *Adrian*, who is said to have adopted him upon condition, that he should consent to his satisfying the passion which he had conceived for him. But what passed between them on this occasion was never well known, says *Spartian* [e], both *Adrian* and *Verus* having bound themselves by a solemn oath to keep it secret. The adoption of *Verus* occasioned great rejoicings in *Rome*. *Adrian* gave a largess to the people; distributed three thousand sesterces among the soldiery; exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But as the new *Cæsar*'s weakness daily increased, and he began to vomit blood, *Adrian* soon repented his choice, telling the captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and support in a falling wall; that he had lost the four thousand sesterces which he had distributed amongst the people and soldiery; and adopted not a son, but a god, alluding to the custom which obtained among the *Romans* of deifying their emperors and *Cæsars*. These words being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of *Verus*, and so sensibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year, as we shall relate anon. The captain of the guards was immediately discharged and banished the court. *Verus*, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and sent to govern the province of *Pannonia*; in which employment he acquitted himself with reputation, and shewed himself well qualified for the command of an army. In an inscription of the following year, the twenty-first of *Adrian*'s reign, he is styled *imperator* [f]; whence we may conclude, if there is not some mistake in the inscription, as father *Pagi* pretends [g], that he waged war in those parts; of which, however, no mention is made by historians.

His character.

Adrian *repents his choice.*

Verus *is sent into* Pannonia.

THE following year, *Adrian* raised to the consulship his adopted son *Verus*, and gave him for his collegue *Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus*, whose sister *Verus* had married [h]. This year *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villa [i], the stately ruins of

Adrian *retires to* Tivoli.

[e] SPART. in Æl. Ver. p. 14. [f] GRUTER p. 23. [g] PAGI, p. 137. [h] NORIS. epist. cons. p. 98. [i] SPART. p. 13.

which

which are ſtill to be ſeen in the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* jeſuits at a ſmall diſtance from *Tivoli*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that in this retreat he abandoned himſelf, as *Tiberius* had done formerly at *Capræa*, to all manner of lewdneſs; but he was ſoon ſeized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miſerable condition. In that ſtate, abandoning himſelf to his natural cruelty, which till then he had reſtrained, he ordered many illuſtrious perſons, under various pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were *Servianus* his brother-in-law, and his great-nephew *Fuſcus*, who, he pretended, had formed a deſign of ſeizing the empire. *Fuſcus* was but eighteen, and *Servianus* ninety. We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witneſs his innocence, and begged of them that they would puniſh the cruelty and injuſtice of *Adrian*, by reducing him to ſuch a ſtate, that he ſhould wiſh for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly, as we ſhall relate anon [k]. To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, ſays *Spartian*, a great biaſs, he uſed to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whoſe lives, he ſaid, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed [l]. But for this ſaying, which we do not ever find to have been uſed by any good prince, he was indebted to *Domitian*. The following year, *Ælius Verus Cæſar* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius*, who had been raiſed by *Adrian* to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the anceſtors of *Cælius Balbinus*, whom we ſhall ſee preferred to the empire in the year 237, that is, a hundred years after [m]. This year the *Jewiſh* war being ended, *Julius Severus*, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governor of *Bithynia*, where he behaved with ſuch juſtice and moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happineſs of the people committed to his charge, that his name was famous in that province a hundred years after and upwards [n]. The next conſuls were *Camerinus* and *Niger* [o]. In the beginning of this year *Verus*, who had ſpent part of the preceding year in *Pannonia*, being returned to *Rome*, and finding himſelf greatly indiſpoſed, took a medicine, which proving too ſtrong for him, he fell into a ſleep, and died the very day in which he was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The ſpeech which he had prepared for this purpoſe is commended by *Spartian*, in whoſe time it was ſtill extant [p]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was carried off by a

Abandons himſelf to cruelty, ordering ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.

Verus dies, and is ranked among the gods.

[k] Dio. p. 795. Spart. p 12. [l] Spart. ibid [m] Onuph. Idat. &c. Gruter. p. 393. [n] Dio. p. 793. [o] Idat. Pighius, &c. [p] Spart. p. 11.

violent

violent voiding of blood [q]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and grandeur, and his aſhes depoſited in the ſtately mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had begun for himſelf. The emperor cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and in ſeveral cities ordered temples to be built and ſtatues erected to him [r]. He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, and paſſed moſt of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife reſenting, he uſed to tell her, that *wife* was a name of honour, not of pleaſure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, *Ovid*'s books of love, together with *Martial* the epigrammatiſt, whom he uſed to call his *Virgil*. When he travelled, he was attended by a great many domeſtics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like ſo many *Cupids*, and called by the names of the winds, *Boreas*, *Notus*, *Aquilo*, *Circius*, &c. He had married the daughter of *Nigrinus*, whom *Adrian* put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above, and had by her a ſon named *L. Verus*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee raiſed to the throne with *Marcus Aurelius*, and ſeveral daughters, of whom one was by *Adrian* betrothed to *Marcus Aurelius*, who nevertheleſs did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that *Fabia*, who is but too famous in hiſtory. *Verus* being dead, *Adrian* was ſome time in ſuſpence whom he ſhould chuſe in his room [s]; but at length ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed, ſays *Aurelius Victor* [t], on account of the weakneſs both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting *Titus Antoninus*, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the ſon of the deceaſed prince of that name. *Antoninus* having taken ſome time to deliberate, whether he ſhould accept of the adoption upon the terms propoſed by the emperor, in the end conſented to it; and was accordingly adopted with the uſual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of this year, the 137th of the chriſtian æra, and at the ſame time inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power [u]. Many were diſpleaſed with this adoption; but no one more than *Catilius Severus*, governor of *Rome*, who aſpired at the empire himſelf, and began privately to pave himſelf a way to it; but being diſcovered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empreſs *Sabina* died, it ſeems, after the adoption of *Antoninus*; for in an antient inſcription he ſtyles her his mother [w]. She is thought either to have been poiſoned by *Adrian* [x], or ſo ill-uſed, *dies*.

His debaucheries.

Adrian *adopts* Titus Antoninus.

Sabina Auguſta *dies.*

[q] Dio. p. 796. [r] Spart. in Vero. [s] Spart. Ver. p. 16. [t] Adrian. vit. p. 11. [u] Julius Capitol. in vit. Antonin. p. 18. [w] Onuph. p. 223. [x] Spart. p. 11.

that ſhe choſe to lay violent hands on herſelf [y]. *Adrian* cauſed her to be ranked among the gods [z], not caring whether ſhe was in the ſupernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleaſed his own.

Adrian bore his diſtemper a long time with firmneſs and patience; but being in the end tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourſe to magic, ſays *Dion Caſſius* [a], and by that means once diſcharged his body of the watery humour with which it was filled. But the humour being ſoon recruited, and his pains increaſing daily, he became in a manner furious, put ſeveral ſenators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care, that ſeveral others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and adviſed them to keep themſelves concealed; which they did accordingly, and were ſaved [b]. In the mean time, the emperor, deſiring to end his inſufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poiſon, promiſing impunity, and a great reward, to ſuch as ſhould bring him either. But no one could, by any promiſes, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one day by chance found a dagger, he would have ſtabbed himſelf with it, had it not by one of his domeſtics been wreſted out of his hand. He then commanded his chief phyſician to give him poiſon: but he choſe rather to kill himſelf in his preſence, than obey his command [c]. He often conjured his moſt faithful freedmen to diſpatch him, and conſtrained a *Fazygian*, by name *Maſtor*, to promiſe it; but *Maſtor* fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the ſame promiſe, haſtened to *Antoninus*, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room attended by the captains of the guards, and beſought him to bear his illneſs, ſince it was unavoidable, with more patience and conſtancy; which ſo provoked him, that he commanded the perſon, who had diſcovered his deſign, to be put to death; but *Antoninus* ſaved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, ſaying, he ſhould think himſelf a parricide, if he neglected to preſerve his life as long as he could [d]. *Spartian* writes, that two blind perſons were reſtored to ſight by *Adrian* while in this condition; but at the ſame time owns, that *Marius Maximus*, who flouriſhed before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of *Antoninus*, to perſuade *Adrian*, that he would recover, and by that means divert him from laying vio-

Adrian's *impatience in his ſickneſs.*

Attempts to lay violent hands on himſelf.

[y] Vict. epitome. [z] Eutrop. p. 185. [a] Dio. p. 7.
[b] Aur. Vict. in Adri. p. 12. Antonin. vita, p. 17. [c] Spart. p. 12. [d] Idem ibid.

lent

lent hands on himſelf. One of theſe blind perſons was a woman, who, as ſhe gave out, had been admoniſhed in a dream to forbid *Adrian* to kill himſelf, becauſe he would one day recover; which ſhe neglecting to do, had been ſtruck blind, and ordered to return upon the ſame errand, having been firſt aſſured, that when ſhe had done it, and kiſſed *Adrian*'s feet, ſhe ſhould receive her ſight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having waſhed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence ſhe came. The other was a blind man, who coming out of *Pannonia*, touched *Adrian*, and that inſtant received his ſight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is ſaid to have immediately abated [e]. From *Rome*, *Adrian* removed to *Baiæ* in *Campania*, and there neglecting the advice of his phyſicians, and often ſaying, that a multitude of phyſicians ſerves only to diſpatch the ſooner a patient, he lived without any rule, choſe what food and drink he liked beſt, and by that means haſtened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, and ſeemed apprehenſive of its future ſtate, as appears from the celebrated verſes (B) which he compoſed and uttered a little before he expired, inquiring of his ſoul, *whither it deſigned to go?* He died at *Baiæ* on the tenth of *July*, after having lived ſixty-two years, five months, and ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day [f] (C). *Antoninus*, whom he had left at *Rome*, and

Two ſuppoſed miracles.

Adrian *removes to* Baiæ.

His death.

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. DIO. p. 797. EUTROP.

(B) The verſes were:

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hoſpes, comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca.
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut ſoles, dabis jocos.

Spartian ſeems to deſpiſe them, which ſhews, that he underſtood as little of poetry, as he did of hiſtory.

(C) Moſt writers agree, that *Adrian* began his reign on the eleventh of *Auguſt* 117, and that he died on the tenth of *July* 138, and conſequently reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day. But on the other hand, in ſome antient inſcriptions is marked the twenty-ſecond year of his tribunitial power; which induced the learned *Dodwell* to maintain, as we have obſerved above, that *Adrian* was adopted by *Trajan* a year before that prince's death; and conſequently, that the account given by *Dion Caſſius* of his adoption ought to be looked upon as a mere fable. But cardinal

and ſent for, when he found himſelf at the point of death, arrived according to *Spartian* [g], juſt before, according to others, ſoon after, he expired. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his aſhes conveyed by *Antoninus* to *Rome*, where they were expoſed in the gardens of *Domitia*, and afterwards depoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had built for himſelf near the *Tiber*, that of *Auguſtus* being quite full [h]. *Adrian* had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to ſuch a degree, that the ſenate were for annulling all his acts, and calling ſeveral perſons to an account, who had raiſed themſelves by abuſing the intereſt they had with him. They therefore at firſt unanimouſly oppoſed *Antoninus*, demanding for him the ſame honours which had been decreed to other emperors [i]. But *Antoninus* remonſtrating with great modeſty, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire, the reſpect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at laſt to comply with his demands, eſpecially when they ſaw a great number of perſons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by *Adrian*, but had been ſaved and carefully concealed by *Antoninus* [k]. The ſenate dreaded likewiſe the ſoldiery, who were greatly attached to *Adrian* [l]. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant,

Theſe ate are for annulling his acts;

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Jul. Capit. in Anton. Dio. ibid. [i] Eutrop. Antonin. vit. p. 18. [k] Aur. Vict. in Heliog. p. 103. [l] Dio. p. 799.

Noris (57), *Petavius* (58), and F. *Pagi* (59), obſerve, that theſe inſcriptions were made in diſtant provinces, where the death of the emperor might not have been known a month after it had happened. Beſides, as only one month was wanting to the twenty-ſecond year of the emperor's tribunitial power, the author of the inſcription probably looked upon it as begun; whereof there are not wanting inſtances both in antient times and our own. Cardinal *Noris*, miſled, as he himſelf owns, by theſe inſcriptions, maintained, that *Adrian* died in 139, but afterwards finding the arguments proving his death to have happened in 138, unanſwerable, he changed his opinion, and rejected the inſcriptions as faulty (60). *Dodwell* owns, that *Adrian* died in 138, but will have him to have been inveſted with the tribunitial power a year before the death of *Trajan*, contradicting therein all the antients, who tell us, that he was adopted by that prince not long before he expired.

(57) *Nor. de cenotaph. Piſan. c.* 3. *p.* 86. (58) *Petav. doct. temp. l.* xi. *c.* 23. (59) *Pagi, p.* 35. (60) *Noris. ep. con. p.* 85.

was

was ranked among the gods, and divine worſhip decreed him. *Antoninus* built a temple at *Puteoli*, and inſtituted annual ſports to his honour, with prieſts, fraternities, victims, &c [m]. But what gave *Antoninus* a far better claim to the title of *pious*, was his interceding with the ſenate in behalf of thoſe who had been baniſhed by *Adrian*, and whom that prince, ſaid he, would have recalled, had he lived longer [n].

But deify him, at the requeſt of Antoninus.

No prince, perhaps, ever raiſed ſo many public and private edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in moſt cities of any note, eſpecially at *Athens*; and *Greece*, as appears from *Pauſanias*, was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts. In an antient inſcription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in *New Athens*, and ended by *Antoninus* in the third year of his reign and 140. of the chriſtian æra. By *New Athens* ſome underſtand a city of *Liguria*, others *New Athens* in the iſland of *Delos* [o]. At *Rome* he rebuilt the *Pantheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the ſquare of *Auguſtus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other public edifices, conſecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their firſt founders [*]. His houſe at *Tivoli* was an extraordinary ſtructure, and adorned with fine paintings, repreſenting in one apartment the infernal regions. This palace he ſtyled his *Lycæum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*, *Canopus*, *Pœcile*, and *Tempe*, names of the moſt celebrated places abroad, and gave to the ſeveral apartments of it the names of the different provinces [p]. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now known by the name of *Ponte Sant Angelo*, and near it his own mauſoleum [q], which, from the deſcription *Procopius* gives us of it [r], appears to have been rather a caſtle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor *Juſtinian* it was made uſe of as a caſtle, and is at preſent the chief, we may ſee the only, fortreſs of *Rome*, called by the preſent *Romans Caſtel Sant Angelo*. *Spartian*, to give us ſome idea of the height of this lofty building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it, ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who ſtood on the ground; but nevertheleſs was of ſo large a ſize, that a corpulent man could with great eaſe paſs through the openings which repreſented the eyes of the horſes [s]. Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by *Adrian* with colonies, bore for ſome time his name, or that of his family, which was *Ælia*, viz. *Carthage*, *Jeruſalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Murſa*, now *Eſſek*, in *Pannonia*; *Stratonice* in *Macedon*, *Palmyra*

Adrian's *public works.*

His houſe at Tivoli.

His bridge on the Tiber, *and mauſoleum.*

Many cities called by his name.

[m] SPART. p. 17. [n] ANTON. in vit. p. 19. [o] Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 53. [*] SPART. p. 8. [p] Idem ibid. [q] DIO. p 797. [r] PROCOP. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22. [s] SPART. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 51.

in

in *Syria*, *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*; *Adrianopolis* in *Thrace*, which ſtill retains it; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Libya Cyrenaica*; *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*; called alſo *Adrianopolis*; *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*, which ſtill retained that name in the fifth century; and *Adriane*, in the ſame province, the birth-place of *Ariſtides* the ſophiſt, which, however, ſome writers will have to be the ſame city with *Adrianothera* [t].

His military inſtitutions.

The regulations, which *Adrian* eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of the diſcipline among the troops, were afterwards obſerved as the military laws of the *Romans*, and are often quoted by *Vegetius*. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that the books of *Mauritius*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter, are a collection of the military conſtitutions of *Trajan* and *Adrian* [u]. *Adrian* was the firſt who appointed, that each cohort ſhould have its proper maſons, architects, and ſuch artificers as were employed in raiſing buildings, and adorning them [w]. The regulations which he introduced, with reſpect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of juſtice, were ſtill obſerved in the end of the fourth century [x]. He was the firſt who employed *Roman* knights in quality of ſecretaries, and committed to them the care of his domeſtic affairs, other emperors having employed

His laws.

in ſuch offices only their freedmen [y]. *Gothofredus* ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of a new juriſprudence, eſpecially by his *perpetual edict*, which he ſtyles the fountain of all laws in force among the *Romans*, at leaſt till the publication of the *code* by *Theodoſius* the younger [z]. *Spartian* mentions ſome of the laws publiſhed by *Adrian*, namely, that the children of proſcribed perſons ſhould enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers eſtates; that if any one found a treaſure in his own grounds, it ſhould be intirely his; if in thoſe of another, the owner of the ground ſhould have a moiety of it; if in any public place, it ſhould be equally ſhared with the exchequer: that ſuch as had ſquandered away their eſtates, ſhould be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and baniſhed the city: that men and women ſhould uſe ſeparate and diſtinct baths: that if a maſter ſhould be found killed in his houſe, not all his ſlaves ſhould be put to death; nay, that thoſe only ſhould be put to the queſtion, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that maſters ſhould no longer have power of life and death over their ſlaves, but that ſuch ſlaves as deſerved to be capitally puniſhed, ſhould be tried and condemned by the magiſtrates [a]. *Porphyrius* in-

[t] Vide Salmas. ibid [u] Voss. epiſt. additæ ad Pearſon. Ignatiana, p. 231 [w] Victor. epit. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Spart. p. 11. [z] Gothofred. cod. Theodoſ. prol. p. 283. [a] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 52.

form

forms us, upon the authority of *Pallas*, who wrote before his time, that *Adrian* publiſhed an edict prohibiting all human ſacrifices, which were ſtill offered in ſeveral provinces of the empire [b]. However, this execrable cuſtom was afterwards revived, and obtained in *Africa*, where children continued to be immolated to *Saturn* till the time of the proconſul *Tiberius*, who cauſed the inhuman prieſts of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Thoſe who executed the ſentence of the proconſul were ſtill living in the beginning of the third century, as we read in *Tertullian* [c]; whence it is manifeſt, that *Tiberius* did not, as ſome have imagined, govern *Africa* in *Adrian*'s time. It appears, from the antient writers, that human ſacrifices were, notwithſtanding *Adrian*'s prohibition, immolated to *Diana* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and even in *Rome*, during the ſolemn myſteries, till the time of *Conſtantine*, or rather of *Gratian*, who utterly aboliſhed that execrable practice [d]. The *Romans* had on their eſtates what they called manufacturies, or work-houſes, where they kept great numbers of people, eſpecially ſlaves, at work. Theſe houſes were like ſo many priſons, whither maſters ſent ſuch of their ſlaves as had diſobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being liſted, or puniſhed for crimes they had committed, fled to theſe work-houſes, and were there kept concealed. Beſides, the owners of theſe manufacturies were thought to ſeize paſſengers and ſtrangers, whether ſlaves or freedmen, to ſhut them up in theſe houſes, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. *Adrian* therefore, to obviate ſuch inconveniencies and diſorders, put down all the work-houſes, except thoſe which belonged to the emperor or to the public [e]. *Onuphrius* [f] ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have made a new diviſion of the provinces of the empire, and is therein followed by the learned *Pietro Giannone* in his excellent hiſtory of the kingdom of *Naples* [g]; but the antients only tell us, that *Adrian* divided all *Italy* into four diſtricts, which were by his appointment governed by four conſulars, that is, ſenators who had been conſuls [h]. The diviſion of the provinces, which *Onuphrius* aſcribes to *Adrian*, was by him copied from *Feſtus*, who wrote in the time of *Valentinian* I. and none of the antients ſpeak of any charge made in the provinces by *Adrian*, except that which we have juſt now mentioned.

He forbids human ſacrifices.

He aboliſhes all private work-houſes.

[b] PORPHYR. apud. Euſeb. in tricenal. Conſtantin. c. 16. [c] TERTULL. ap. c. 9. [d] LACT. inſt. l. i. c. 21. EUSEB. ibid. PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 217. TATIAN. p. 164. [e] Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 49. [f] ONUPH. de rep. Rom. comment. [g] GIANN. hiſt. civil. l. i. c. 5. p. 25. [h] SPART. p. 11.

tioned. That which *Onuphrius* ſuppoſes to be *Trajan*'s, ought, in our opinion, to be rather aſcribed to *Dioclesian*, who divided the empire, as we read in *Lactantius* [i], into innumerable provinces, in order to multiply offices and officers, and by that means keep the people in awe and terror. *Aulus Gellius* tells us [k], that in *Adrian*'s time, a woman of known modeſty and an unblemiſhed character, was brought to bed eleven months after her huſband's death. The legitimacy of the child being queſtioned by the heirs of the deceaſed, the cauſe was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many unexceptionable witneſſes concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention conſulted the books of the antient philoſophers and phyſicians, declared by a ſpecial decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception, *Aulus Gellius* aſſures us, that he himſelf had read this decree. In *Adrian*'s time a violent perſecution was raiſed againſt the chriſtians, which *Sulpicius Verus* accounts the fourth perſecution; but it is not generally reckoned ſo by the fathers of the church, ſince no new edicts were iſſued againſt the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion, but only the laws ſtill in force put in execution, *Adrian* being prompted by his ſuperſtition (for he was initiated in all the idolatrous ceremonies of the *Greeks*), to countenance the perſecutors of thoſe who were declared enemies to all ſuperſtition [l]. But after the perſecution had raged for ſome time with great violence, *Adrian* himſelf put a ſtop to it, being, upon the peruſal of the apologies preſented to him by *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides*, fully convinced of the innocence of the chriſtians, and the purity of their morals [m]; nay, he was even thought, if *Lampridius* is to be credited [n], to have had a deſign of cauſing our Saviour to be acknowledged as God, and to erect temples to his honour; but was diverted from it by ſome perſons, who, conſulting the oracles, had received this anſwer, That if he ſuffered the God of the chriſtians to have temples, thoſe of the other gods would be ſoon abandoned. Under *Adrian* flouriſhed many perſons eminent in moſt branches of literature, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

Adrian's edict in favour of a woman brought to bed eleven months after her huſband's death.

Adrian firſt ſuffers the chriſtians to be perſecuted, and then puts a ſtop to the perſecution.

The

[i] Lact. de perſ. p. 6. [k] Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 16. [l] Sulp. Sever. l ii. c. 45. Hier. ep. 84. Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. Tertull. apol. c. 5. [m] Euseb l. iv. c. 3. Hier. de vir. illuſtr. c. 19. &c. [n] Lamprid. in vit. Alexandr.

(D) *Adrian* himſelf ought to be ranked amongſt the writers who flouriſhed at this time; for he publiſhed ſeveral works both in proſe and verſe upon various ſubjects; and among the reſt, a *Greek* poem intitled the *Alexandriad*, of which we find the ſeventh book quoted by

THE emperor *Titus Antoninus* derived his origin, on the father's ſide, from the city of *Nemauſus*, now *Niſme*, in *Languedoc* [o]. His Antoninus *ſurnamed the pious*

[o] JUL. CAP. in Antonin. cum. not. Salmaſi Pariſ. 1620.

by ſome of the antients (61). *Spartian* ſpeaks of certain books compoſed by him, and publiſhed under the title of *Catacriani*: wherein he pretended to imitate *Antimachus*, whom he preferred to *Homer*. Theſe, ſays the above-mentioned writer, were very obſcure pieces (62); and truly, from the title, they appear to have been ſuch as *Spartian* deſcribes them. *Froben* printed in 1551, a dialogue between *Adrian* and *Epictetus*, wherein the emperor propoſes ſeveral queſtions, which are anſwered by the philoſopher (63). Some of his *Greek* and *Latin* verſes have reached our times, beſides thoſe which we read in his life by *Spartian* (64), who ſpeaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily cried up by the beſt writers of thoſe times (65). *Photius*, who had peruſed his declamations, commends both his ſtyle and thoughts (66). We find the firſt book of his diſcourſes quoted by the antients, and the quotation relates to ſome remarks on the *Latin* grammar (67). Beſides his military inſtitutions, ſome writers aſcribe to him a treatiſe concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and firſt diſcovered in the reign of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, about the latter end of the fifth century, and publiſhed with ſome additions by *Mauricius*, or *Urbicus*, then conſul (68). In the year 1664, was printed at *Upſal* in *Sweden*, a treatiſe on the military art and ſtratagems, aſcribed to *Mauricius*, but that piece was done long after the time of *Mauricius* the conſul, ſince mention is there made of the *French*, *Turks*, *Sclavonians*, &c. (69). *Adrian* was, according to *Dion Caſſius* and *Spartian*, ſo fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in ſeveral books, but cauſed them to be publiſhed under the names of ſuch of his freedmen as were perſons of learning (70). Among theſe was *Phlegon*, a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, who wrote a treatiſe on the *long-lived*, and another on *wonderful things*. Some fragments of theſe works are ſtill extant (71); and from a paſſage in the former it appears, that he had not put the laſt hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, the 156th of the chriſtian æra. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Phlegon* a deſcription of *Sicily*, three books of *Faſti*, an account of the famous places in *Rome*, and their names, and ſixteen books of the olympiads, to the 229th, begun in the

(61) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *Dio. l.* lxix. *p.* 788. (62) *Spart. in Adr.* (63) *Geſner. epit. p.* 2. (64) *Voſſ. ibid.* (65) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p* 51. *Et Salmaſ. in Spart.* (66) *Phot.* c. 100. (67) *Vide Salmaſ. ibid. Et Aul. Gell. l.* x. *c.* 13. (68) *Voſſ. epiſt. additæ ad Pearſ. Ignatiana.* (69) *Maur. tactic. p.* 253, 364, 384. (70) *Dio. p.* 793. *Spart. p.* 6. (71) *Phot. p.* 256. *Suid. p.* 1071 *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

His anceſtors are ſaid by *Aurelius Victor* to have lived at *Lanuvium*, or rather *Lavinium* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; perhaps

year 137, of the chriſtian æra. This piece contained an account of the moſt remarkable things that in each olympiad had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th olympiad, which has been conveyed to us by *Photius*, that work ſeems to have been exceeding well digeſted: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up ſeveral obſcure paſſages in hiſtory. *Photius* finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all thoſe who gained prizes in the *Olympic* games, and inſerting in his work all ſorts of oracles. He likewiſe cenſures his ſtyle, as not quite pure and altogether *Attic*. In *Photius*'s time only the five firſt books were extant which ended with the 177th olympiad, but the author had carried his hiſtory down to *Adrian*'s time. It was addreſſed to one *Alcibiades*, belonging to that prince's life-guard (72). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkneſs which happened at our Saviour's death (73): He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, concerning which *Photius* quotes a long paſſage out of his fourteenth book (74). He is frequently quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer. *Suidas* tells us, that *Phlegon* made an epitome of his ſixteen books of the olympiads, which epitome conſiſted of eight books; and that he likewiſe abridged the hiſtory of the victors in the *Olympic* games; and adds, that he publiſhed other works, which he does not mention (75). *Phlegon*, in his book of *wonderful things*, deſcribes a *hippocentaur*, taken on a mountain of *Arabia*, and ſent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, *Adrian*, while he was in *Egypt*. The monſter died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to *Rome*, and there placed in the imperial palace; where thoſe may ſee it, concludes *Phlegon*, who queſtion the truth of my relation (76). St. *Jerom* tells us, that *Antony*, the famous anchoret, was met in the deſert by a hippocentaur, who ſpoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (77). *Phlegon* relates another hiſtory no leſs ſurpriſing of a young woman, who about ſix months after her death appeared again, walked, converſed, eat, and drank, as ſhe had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to ſee her, and, accordingly, had that ſatisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curioſity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her ſecond life; which words ſhe had ſcarce uttered, when ſhe fell dead at their feet. Such a ſurpriſing event, being divulged in an inſtant, drew vaſt crouds to the place from all quarters. *Phlegon* haſtened thither with the reſt, and ſaw the body of the deceaſed laid out upon a bed; but not ſatisfied with that ſight, I cauſed the burying-place of the family to be opened, ſays he, when I obſerved

(72) *Photius*, c. 97. (73) *Hier. chron. p.* 158. *Orig. in Matthæum. p.* 438. (74) *Phot. p.* 167. (75) *Suid. p.* 1071. (76) *Phleg. mir. c.* 34. (77) *Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit.*

the

haps they ſettled there, after having removed from *Niſme*. The *Aurelian* family, which was the preſent emperor's is thought

the bed, on which the young woman had been laid ſix months before, empty. He relates the moſt minute circumſtances of this wonderful event, names the perſons who were preſent, &c. (78).

Favorinus, well known by the writings of *Aulus Gellius*, who was his diſciple, and by thoſe of *Philoſtratus*, was a native of *Arles* in *Provence*, and from his birth an eunuch, by profeſſion a philoſopher and ſophiſt, and well ſkilled both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He ſtudied under *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, and, beſides *Aulus Gellius*, had for his diſciple the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the antients (79); but his ſtyle ſeemed to ſome, deſtitute of the gravity becoming a philoſopher (80). He was for a long time *Adrian*'s chief favourite; but that prince growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the reſt of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him perſons of no merit; which the *Athenians* no ſooner underſtood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a ſtatue, which they had erected to him. When *Favorinus* was informed of the affront, *Socrates*, ſaid he, without the leaſt emotion, *would have been glad to have come off ſo cheap* (81). *Suidas* obſerves, that he and *Plutarch* ſtrove who ſhould write moſt books. They lived in great friendſhip, and *Plutarch* even inſcribed one of his works to *Favorinus* (82), who died, it ſeems, about the latter end of the reign of *Antoninus* (83). *Galen* mentions one *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, who imitating the ſtyle of *Favorinus*, whoſe diſciple he was, uſed daily to declaim in public upon what ſubject ſoever was propoſed to him (86). *Dionyſius* of *Miletus* was likewiſe a philoſopher of great note, highly favoured by *Adrian*, raiſed to the equeſtrian order, and appointed governor of ſome province, but in the end diſgraced. He ſtudied under *Iſæus*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Trajan*. *Philoſtratus* clears him from a charge brought againſt him, namely, that of being addicted to the ſtudy of magic (87). *Heliodorus* likewiſe felt the effects of *Adrian*'s inconſtancy; for the emperor, being in the end diſguſted with him, wrote ſome moſt virulent letters againſt him (88). One of the ſame name, perhaps the ſame perſon, was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, for ſome time ſecretary to *Adrian* (89).

Of all the philoſophers who flouriſhed in thoſe times, *Epictetus* is by far the moſt renowned: *Aulus Gellius* calls him the greateſt man the ſect of the ſtoics had ever produced (90). He is ſuppoſed

(78) *Phleg. mir. c.* 1. *p* 13, 14. (79) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Suid. p.* 1022. *Philoſtr. vit. ſoph. p.* 493. (80) *Lucian. in vit. Demonactis, p.* 549. (81) *Philoſ. ibid. Dio. p.* 719. (82) *Jonſ. l* iii. *c.* 7. *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (83) *Jonſ. ibid.* (86) *Galen. prog. com. p.* 455. (87) *Philoſt. ibid. p.* 522, &c. (88) *Spart. p.* 7. (89) *Dio. l.* lxix. *p.* 789. (90) *Aul. Gell. l.* i. *c.* 2.

thought to have been very antient, but was not diſtinguiſhed very early with preferments in *Rome*. His grandfather *Titus Aurelius*

to have been a native of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, was for ſome time a ſlave, and belonged to *Epaphroditus*, whom *Suidas* calls one of *Nero*'s life-guard (91). This is, without all doubt, *Nero*'s celebrated freedman, to whom *Joſephus* inſcribed moſt of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, as we have related in that prince's reign. *C. Iſus*, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of *Epictetus*, that while his maſter was one day ſqueezing his leg very hard in order to torment him, *Epictetus* ſaid to him very calmly, *You'll break my leg*; which happening accordingly, *Did not I tell you*, ſaid he, ſmiling, *that you would break my leg* (92)? *Epictetus* was, as is ſuppoſed, ſet at liberty but remained always very poor (93). Being obliged by *Domitian*'s edict, baniſhing all philoſophers, to quit *Rome* in 94, he retired to *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, whence he returned upon that prince's death, and lived at *Rome* till the time of *M. Aurelius*, ſays *Suidas* (94), by whom, as well as by his predeceſſor, he was, according to *Themiſtius*, held in great eſteem and veneration (95). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of theſe writers, ſince *M. Aurelius* uſed to look upon it as a great happineſs, not that he had learnt any thing of, or converſed with, *Epictetus*, but that he had read his writings (96). *Epictetus* reduced all his philoſophy to two points only, *viz. to ſuffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleaſures with moderation*; which he expreſſed with theſe two celebrated words, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου; that is, *ſuffer and abſtain* (97). He was againſt the celibacy of the philoſophers, but nevertheleſs ſeems to have obſerved it himſelf (98). He publiſhed ſeveral works, none of which, except his *enchiridion*, or *manual*, has reached us (99). But *Arrian*, his diſciple, publiſhed a great work, which he pretends to conſiſt intirely of what he had heard him ſay, and ſet down, as far as he could remember, in *Arrian*'s own terms, (100).

Arrian, a native of *Nicomedia*, was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly ſtyled *the ſecond* Xenophon. He was preferred at *Rome* to the higheſt poſts of honour, even to the conſulſhip (1); whence moſt writers take him to be the *Flavius Arrianus*, who, while he was governor of *Cappadocia*, repulſed the *Alani*, as we have related above. He lived at *Rome* under *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius* (2). *Themiſtius* tells us, that *Trajan* forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a miniſter in ſtate affairs (3).

(91) *Suid. p.* 996. (92) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* vii. (93) *Aul. Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 18. & *l.* xv. *c.* 11. (94) *Suid. p.* 996. (95) *Themiſt. orat.* 5. (96) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (97) *Aul. Gell. l.* xvii. *c.* 19. (98) *Lucian. in vit. Demonax. p.* 555. (99) *Suid. p.* 996. (100) *Arrian. Epic. p.* 1. (1) *Phot. c.* 58. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (3) *Themiſt. orat.* 17.

He

Aurelius Fulvus, or *Fulvius*, was the first conſul, of the *Aurelian* family. His father *Aurelius Fulvus* was likewiſe honoured with

His extraction and preferments.

He publiſhed in eight books the familiar diſcourſes of *Epictetus*: but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inſcribed to one *L. Gellius*. He publiſhed twelve books more, containing the ſpeeches of *Epictetus* (5). and wrote his life. *Photius* quotes ſeveral other books compoſed by him, *viz.* the hiſtory of *Bithynia*, his native country, the hiſtory of the *Alani*, and that of the *Parthians*, in ſeventeen books, which he brought down to the war which *Trajan* waged with them (6). He deſcribed the expeditions of *Alexander the Great* in ſeven books, which are ſtill extant, and is thought by *Photius* to have excelled all who wrote on the ſame ſubject (7). He publiſhed, in ten books, the lives of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*; and gave in one book, ſays *Photius*, an account of *India* (8). This account of *India* is now reckoned the eighth book of the hiſtory of *Alexander* (9). Beſides theſe works mentioned by *Photius*, *Lucian* aſcribes to him the life of a famous robber, named *Telebous* (10). We have already mentioned his deſcription of the coaſts of the *Euxine Sea*; but that of the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, tho' commonly aſcribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flouriſhed before *Adrian*, and was contemporary with *Pliny* the elder (11). Beſides the works of *Arrian* already mentioned, we have ſtill his *tactica*, whereof the beginning has been long ſince loſt: to his *tactica* are commonly added, his inſtructions concerning the march of the army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bæotia*, where he was born in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 50. of the chriſtian æra He ſtudied under *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian* philoſopher; in the reign of *Nero*, and in that of *Domitian* taught at *Rome*, where, amongſt his other diſciples, he had the famous *Arulenus Ruſticus*, who was put to death by *Domitian* in 90 (12). We are told, that he was preceptor to *Trajan*; which we can hardly believe, ſince that prince was as old as *Plutarch* (13), and had from his youth been brought up in the camp. *Suidas* writes, that *Trajan* diſtinguiſhed him with conſular honours (15), meaning, no doubt, the conſular ornaments, and ordered the magiſtrates of *Illyricum* to adviſe with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at *Rome* till the death of *Trajan*, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (16). He had ſeveral children, one of whom, by name *Lamprias* publiſhed a catalogue of his father's hiſtorical

(4) *Phot. c.* 58. (5) *Idem, c.* 58. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem, p.* 91. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (10) *Lucian. in vit. Alex. Præſt.* (11) *Vide Salmaſ. in Solin. Et Voſſ hiſt. Græc. l* ii. *c.* 7. (12) *Ruald. vit. Plut.* (13) *Idem, p.* 29. (14) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (15) *Suid. p.* 546. (16) *Ruald. c.* 25.

pieces,

with that dignity, and univerſally eſteemed on account of his extraordinary accompliſhments and integrity. *Arrias Antoni-*

nus,

pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (17). The philoſopher *Sextus*, one of the preceptors of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, was nephew to *Plutarch* (18). *Plutarch* publiſhed a great many works, which are to every one well known, being tranſlated into all the modern languages. His ſtyle is not quite pure and *Attic*. Among the works commonly aſcribed to him, ſome are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been loſt, as appears from the citations of *Gellius*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoret*, and others. *Marcus* and *Caninius Celer*, two celebrated ſophiſts, flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and publiſhed ſome declamations (19). *Polemon*, another famous ſophiſt, in great favour with *Adrian*, was a native of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*, which ſome place in *Caria*, others in *Phrygia*; but ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Smyrna*, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was ſeveral times ſent by that city in quality of embaſſador to the emperor *Adrian*, of whom he obtained great ſums for the inhabitants, though that prince was more addicted, ſays *Philoſtratus* (20), to the *Epheſians* than *Smyrneans*. As *Adrian* ſhewed an extraordinary kindneſs for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and ſoon appeared with a train and equipage ill ſuiting his profeſſion; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. *Antoninus* treated him with great reſpect, though he had juſt occaſion to complain of his ruſticity, or rather inſolence. *Herodes Atticus* having heard him declaim, ſent him a conſiderable ſum, which, however, he refuſed as too ſmall; ſo that *Herodes*, to content him, was obliged to ſend him one much larger, which he condeſcended to accept. The king of *Boſporus*, who was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, coming to *Smyrna* to ſee that city, and the learned men there, ſhewed a great deſire of conferring with *Polemon*: but the proud and ſelf-intereſted philoſopher would neither viſit him, nor be viſited by him, till the king had ſent him a preſent of ten talents, and then he deigned to admit him into his houſe (21). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to *Laodicea*, his native city, and there, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, placing himſelf among his dead anceſtors, ordered the tomb to be ſhut up, that the ſun, as he ſaid, might never ſee him ſilenced (22). He left no writings beſides declamations. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (23), *Ptolemæus Chennus*, *Zenobius*, *Cephalio*, and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. *Ptolemæus* wrote ſeveral books, and, among the reſt, one intituled *the ſurpriſing hiſtory* (24). *Zenobius* taught at *Rome* under *Adrian*, and tranſlated the hiſtory of *Salluſt* into *Greek*. He likewiſe made a collection of proverbs, which is ſtill extant (25). He

(17) *Idem*, *c.* 6 (18) *Idem*, *c.* 5. *Et. Suid. p.* 729. (19) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 24. (20) *Idem*, *ſoph.* 25. (21) *Idem ibid.* (22) *Idem ibid. Et Suid. p.* 554. (23) *Idem*, *p.* 646, 1126, 1417 (24) *Phot. c.* 190. (25) *Voſſ. c.* 11.

is

nus, his grandfather on the mother's ſide, was twice conſul, and eſteemed one of the greateſt and moſt virtuous men in *Rome*.

is ſometimes called *Zenodotus*. *Cephaleo*, being baniſhed his own country, retired into *Sicily*, where he publiſhed in the reign of *Adrian* a hiſtory, beginning with *Ninus*, and ending with *Alexander* (26). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, deſcended from the famous hiſtorian of that name, was a ſophiſt, and is commonly ſtyled *Dionyſius* the *Atticiſt*, and the *muſician*, becauſe he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of muſic, and publiſhed ſeveral works upon that ſubject, and one among the reſt divided into thirty-ſix books, and containing an account of the moſt famous poets, and players upon inſtruments (27).

Heremius Philo, born in the city of *Byblus* in *Phœnicia*, wrote one book on *Adrian*'s reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent perſons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one *Ælius Severus Athenæus*. *Origen* quotes a paſſage out of *Heremius Philo* concerning the *Jews*, for whom, it ſeems, he had no great kindneſs (29). *Philo* tranſlated into *Greek* the hiſtory of *Phœnicia* written by *Sanconiatho*, in his native language, about the time of the *Trojan* war (30). The preface, and ſome paſſages of this tranſlation have been conveyed to us by *Euſebius* (31). *Philo* himſelf wrote the hiſtory of *Phœnicia*, which is quoted by *Euſebius* (32) and *Stephanus* of *Byzantium* (33). *Hermippus* of *Berytus*, or of that neighbourhood, was one of *Philo*'s diſciples, and highly eſteemed by *Adrian*, though the ſon of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by *Tertullian* and others (34). The book of *legiſlators*, quoted by *Origen* (35), is generally aſcribed to another *Hermippus*, a native of *Smyrna*, who flouriſhed long before *Adrian*'s time. *Paulus* of *Tyre*, contemporary with *Philo*, publiſhed a treatiſe of *rhetoric*. He obtained of *Adrian* the title of *metropolis* for the city of *Tyre* (36). *Leander Nicanor* of *Alexandria*, the ſon of *Hermias*, publiſhed ſeveral grammatical and hiſtorical pieces (37). *Diogenianus*, a native of *Heraclea*, publiſhed ſeveral writings of grammar and geography, which *Heſychius* made uſe of in compiling his *lexicon* (38). His collection of antient proverbs is ſtill extant. Under *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (39), *Jaſon* of *Argos*, who compriſed in four books the hiſtory of *Greece*, to the death of *Alexander*. *Ælian*, author of the *tactica*, lived at this time; for he addreſſed his work to *Adrian*. Another writer of the ſame name flouriſhed about a hundred years after; whence it is no eaſy taſk to determine, which of theſe two was the author of the *hiſtory of animals*, of the *hiſtoria varia*,

(26) *Suid. il id. Phot. c.* 68. (27) *Suid. p.* 743. *Voſſ. c.* 12. *Jonſ. l.* iii *c.* 8. (28) *Suid. p.* 1065. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (29) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i. *p.* 13. (30) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* i. *c* 1. (31) *Euſeb. præp. l.* i. *c.* 9. (32) *Idem ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (33) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 16. (34) *Tertull. de anim. c.* 46. *Voſſ. ibid. Orig. in Celſ. Suid. p.* 1043. (35) *Orig. ibid.* (36) *Suid. p.* 495. (37) *Suid. p.* 229. *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (38) *Suid. p.* 737. (39) *Voſſ. ibid.*

Rome [p]. He married *Boionia Procilla*, deſcended from an illuſtrious family; and had by her *Arria Fadilla*, the mother of *Antoninus*,

[p] Idem ibid. p. 17.

varia, and of other pieces which are by the antients aſcribed to an *Elian*, but long ſince loſt.

Under *Adrian* flouriſhed the two *Latin* hiſtorians *Suetonius* and *Florus*. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus* was the ſon of *Suetonius Lenis*, or *Lætus*, a *Roman* knight, who, at the battle of *Bebriacum*, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in the foregoing part of this volume. The hiſtorian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of *Nero* (40). *Pliny* the younger had a great kindneſs for him, kept him conſtantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (41). We may therefore ſuppoſe him to be the *Tranquillus*, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cauſe, without being under any apprehenſion from a dream, which ſeemed to threaten him with bad ſucceſs (42). In another letter (43), he ſeems very anxious about purchaſing for him a little place of retirement near *Rome*, proper for a man of ſtudy and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publiſh his writings, ſince they were finiſhed (44); and aſks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occaſion (45). He obtained for him the poſt of a tribune; which *Suetonius* begged him to confer upon *Cæſennius Silvanus*, his kinſman: this generous action is greatly cried up by *Pliny*. *Suetonius* married, but had no children. However, *Pliny*, from *Bithynia*, wrote to *Trajan*, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which thoſe enjoyed who had three children (46). The emperor ſeldom granted ſuch favours, but nevertheleſs could not help complying with the requeſt of *Pliny* (47). *Suetonius* was afterwards ſecretary to *Adrian*, but diſcharged on account of his diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina* (48). *Suidas* ſtyles him a *Latin* grammarian, and aſcribes to him ſeveral grammatical works; adding, that he likewiſe wrote a book upon the ſports of the *Greeks*, two upon the ſhows of the *Romans*, two upon the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms, one of the life of *Cicero*, a catalogue of illuſtrious *Romans*, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (49). He wrote likewiſe in three books the hiſtory of the kings, which *Paulinus* abridged in verſe (50). His book concerning the inſtitution of offices, quoted by *Priſcian*, is probably the ſame with that of the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms. He wrote, according to the ſame *Priſcian*, eight books *of the prætors*.

(40) *Suet. vit. Oth. & Dom.* (41) *Plin. l* x. *ep.* 200. (42) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 18. (43) *Idem ibid. ep* 24. (44) *Idem, l.* v. *ep.* 11. (45) *Idem, l.* x. *ep* 34. (46) *Idem, l.* x. *ep.* 100. (47) *Idem ibid. ep.* 101. (48) *Spart. p.* 6. (49) *Suid. p.* 934. (50) *Auſ. ep.* 19.

A book

Antoninus, who, after the death of her husband *Aurelius Fulvus*, married *Julius Lupus*, and had by him a daughter named *Julia*

A book likewise intitled *de rebus variis*, is by some ascribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly esteemed both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Tertullian* quotes his book of the *Roman* shows (51), and St. *Jerom* that of illustrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (52): perhaps the lives of illustrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly ascribed to *Suetonius*, were part of that work. The life of *Pliny* the elder is thought not to have been done by *Suetonius*, but by a much more modern writer (53). *Vopiscus*, speaking of his history of the twelve *Cæsars*, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Trogus* (54) His writings are no less lewd and infamous, says St. *Jerom*, as quoted by *Vossius* (55), than were the lives of the emperors, whose history he writes. And truly, both he and *Lampridius* have mixed too much lewdness, as well as meanness, in their writings; whence they are justly censured by *Rualdus*, as teaching their readers to be vicious (56).

Florus is thought to have been a native of *Spain*, and of the family of the *Seneca's*; that his family-name was *L. Annæus Seneca*, and that being adopted by one *Florus*, he took the name of *L. Julius Florus*. We read of one *Julius Florus*, who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* with great applause (57). *Spartian*, in the life of *Adrian*, quotes some verses composed by a poet named *Florus*, whom most writers take to be the epitomizer of the *Roman* history; for that epitome was written in the reign of *Trajan*, and seems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly esteemed by the learned, who nevertheless find fault with the author for not observing with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of *Livy*; for with him the author often disagrees. Whether the summaries prefixed to each book of *Livy*'s history were done by *Florus*, is uncertain (58). The poet *Florus* used, it seems, to frequent taverns and eating-houses, which was looked upon in those days as highly unbecoming persons of a liberal education. Hence *Florus* having written to *Adrian* the following verses;

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

That is, *I desire not to be* Cæsar, *to ramble among the* Britons, *and to endure the frosts of* Scythia: *Adrian* answered thus:

(51) *Tertull spec. c.* 5. (52) *Hier. vir. illus. præf.* (53) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 31. (54) *Vopisc. in Firm.* (55) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 31. (56) *Rualdus in vit. Plut. c.* 28. (57) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (58) *Voss. ibid.*

Julia Fadilla. This daughter died before the emperor; but left a ſon named *Mummius Quadratus* [q]. *T. Antoninus* was born at *Lavinium*, on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 86, *Domitian* being then conſul the twelfth time, with *Cornelius Dolabella.* He is ſtyled by *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus*; but from ſeveral antient inſcriptions it appears, that, inſtead of *Fulvius*, we ought to read *Fulvus* [r]. As from his infancy he behaved himſelf in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their eſtates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country and country-diverſions, but nevertheleſs did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and univerſal applauſe. He was conſul in 120, afterwards one of the four conſulars appointed by *Adrian* to govern *Italy*, and then ſent into *Aſia* with proconſular authority; where, by the mildneſs of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the eſteem and affections of perſons of all ranks. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Adrian* appointed him one of his council, and tranſacted nothing without his advice [s]. He married *Annia Galeria*, the ſiſter of *Marcus Aurelius*'s father, and had by her two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt of the daughters was married to *Lamia Syllanus*, but died ſoon after: ſhe was probably named *Aurelia Fadilla*; for we find one of that name called in an ancient inſcription the daughter of the emperor *T. Antoninus* [t]. The other, named *Annia Fauſtina*, was married to *M. Aurelius*, her couſin-

His iſſue.

[q] Idem, p. 25. [r] Vide Salmas. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47.
[s] Dio. l. lxx. p. 800. Jul. Cap. p. 17. [t] Vide Mabill. analect. c. iv. p. 500.

Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Culices pati rotundos.

That is, *I deſire not to be* Florus, *to ramble among the taverns and eating houſes, and to be ſtung with gnats* (59). *Aulus Gellius* mentions one *Terentius Scaurus*, a celebrated grammarian, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*; and highly commends *T. Caſtricius*, whoſe diſciple he himſelf had been (60); but neither of them ſeems to have left any works behind them. *Scaurus* had been preceptor to *Adrian*; his ſon was preceptor to *L. Verus*, and his grandſon, or rather great-grandſon, to *Alexander Severus* (61).

(59) *Spart. p.* 8. (60) *Aul. Gell. l.* xi. *c.* 15. & 13.
(61) *Vide Caſaub. in vit. L. Ver. p.* 35.

german-

german [u]. The two ſons, *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus*, muſt have died very young; for no mention is made of them in hiſtory.

Antoninus is celebrated by all the antients as one of the beſt princes that every ſwayed a ſceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meaneſt of the people: to no one was ever admittance denied to his palace or preſence, eſpecially when they came to complain of his officers, miniſters, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oſtentation. His table ſays his hiſtorian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanneſs. He never courted the favour of the people, but ſeemed rather to deſpiſe popular applauſe, which had been the idol of moſt of his predeceſſors. He never flattered others, nor ſuffered any one to flatter him. He obſerved with great exactneſs, but without the leaſt affectation, the *Roman* laws and ceremonies. He offered in perſon, as high pontiff, the ſacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior prieſts; and never failed to aſſiſt, unleſs prevented by ſome indiſpoſition, at all public acts of religion, ſhewing always a profound reſpect for the deity [w]. It appears from an inſcription of the year 143, the fifth of his reign, that the ſenate erected a monument to his honour, in conſideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies [x]. As he never admitted any to his friendſhip with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a moſt conſtant friend, hearkened to no calumnies againſt them, nor entertained any fears or jealouſies, as *Adrian* had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and diſcharged them with ignominy. He was naturally of a ſweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, which he ſhewed even to the moſt vicious and wicked, chuſing rather to deprive them of the means of doing miſchief, than to puniſh them according to their deſerts. During his long reign of twenty-three years, he is ſaid never to have done any thing that ſavoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any perſon whatſoever juſt motive of offence [y]. When he arrived in *Aſia*, with the character of proconſul, he choſe to lodge the firſt night in the houſe of *Polemon* the celebrated ſophiſt, which was the beſt and largeſt in *Smyrna*. But the proud and unmannerly ſophiſt, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconſul in his houſe, inſtead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made ſuch complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleaſed to

His character.

His religion, conſtancy in friendſhip, &c.

His clemency and mildneſs.

[u] JUL. CAP. p. 18—23. [w] Idem ibid. PAUS. l. viii. [x] REIN. inſcript. p. 308. [y] JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 18. DIO. ibid.

ſtyle it, that *Antoninus*, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the houſe at that time of night, and ſeek for a lodging elſewhere. However, when *Antoninus* was raiſed to the empire, *Polemon* did not fail to come to *Rome* to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a moſt obliging manner, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace; but at the ſame time put him in mind of what had paſſed in *Smyrna*, by ordering his domeſtics to take care that no one turned him out of his apartment [z]. A co-median complaining to the emperor, that *Polemon* had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, *Antoninus* anſwered, He drove me out of my lodgings at mid-night, and nevertheleſs I made no complaints [a]. As *M. Aurelius* was weeping for the death of one of his preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the moſt part void of humanity, repreſented to him, that it was beneath a prince to ſhew ſo much tenderneſs and concern; but *Antoninus* checked them with the following remarkable words; *Pray let him to weep, and give him leave to be a man; for neither philoſophy nor the imperial dignity ought to extinguiſh in us the ſentiments of nature* [b]. The emperor going one day to ſee the fine houſe of *Valerius Omulus*, and admiring there, amongſt other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he aſked him where he had purchaſed them? But *Omulus*, inſtead of being pleaſed to ſee the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his houſe, returned him this rude anſwer, *In other peoples houſes you muſt learn to be deaf and dumb* [c]. Thus *Omulus*, who was a man of a ſatirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and ſeveral other occaſions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himſelf to puniſh any perſon for bare words, however free and diſobliging. Having ſent for *Apollonius*, the celebrated ſtoic, who reſided at *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to inſtruct *M. Aurelius* in the principles of that ſect, the philoſopher flew to *Rome*, attended by a great number of diſciples, all *Argonauts*, ſays *Lucian* [d], gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival, *Antoninus* invited *Apollonius* to court, in order to deliver his diſciple to him. The haughty pedant anſwered with great inſolence, that the maſter was not to come to the diſciple, but the diſciple to the maſter; which words being related to *Antoninus*, *Does* Apollonius *then*, ſaid he, ſmiling, *think it a more troubleſome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from* Chalcis *to* Rome? However, he ordered *M. Aurelius* to wait upon him [e].

Diſſembles affronts.

[z] Philos. ſoph. 25. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Jul. Cap. ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Lucian. in vit. Demonact. p. 552. [e] Jul. Cap. p. 23.

T. Antoninus

T. Antoninus was adopted by *Adrian*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*. Some authors write, that *Adrian* was induced to prefer him to so many other great men, by the particular respect and tender regard which *Antoninus* shewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepid, he used constantly to conduct to the senate, attending him like a slave: *Adrian* seeing him one day leading and supporting the old man, was so pleased with that sight, that he adopted him for that very reason[f]. But *Adrian* could not by this alone be prompted to confer so great an honour upon one, who had given so many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He chose him, therefore, because he judged him to be, of all the great men in *Rome*, the best qualified for the sovereign power[g]. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138, and at the same time invested with the proconsular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of *Cæsar*, now peculiar to the presumptive heir of the empire, and distinguished, as we conjecture from some ancient coins, with the title of emperor[h], which had hitherto been given to none but the sovereign. We are told, that his succession to the empire was presaged long before by many omens. While he governed part of *Italy* in quality of proconsul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was administering justice, *May the gods prosper your undertakings, O* Augustus! Upon his arrival in *Asia*, the priests of the city of *Tralles* in *Lydia* received him not with the usual salutation, *Ave, proconsul! Hail, proconsul!* but styled him emperor. At *Cyzicus*, a crown belonging to the statue of one of the gods was found upon that of *Antoninus*, &c.[i] *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus* upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Annius Verus*, the son of his wife's brother, and *L. Commodus*, the son of *L. Verus Cæsar*, which he did accordingly before the death of *Adrian*, probably the same day on which he himself was adopted[k]. The next day *Antoninus* returned the emperor thanks in the senate for the honour he had conferred upon him, distributed large sums among the soldiery and populace, employing on this occasion his own, and not the public, money; and besides, paid what *Adrian* had promised them. All the cities of the empire used, on such occasions, to present the adopted prince with sums of money instead of crowns, which were thence called *aurum coronarium*. These sums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of *Italy*, and a moiety to all the rest. He even contributed out of his private fortune

What prompted Adrian *to adopt him.*

His future grandeur presaged.

His generosity.

[f] Idem, p. 17. [g] Dio. l. lxix. p. 796, 797. [h] Goltz. p. 70. [i] Jul. Cap. p. 8. [k] Spart. in Adr. p. 12. Jul. Cap. p. 16. Dio. p. 797.

a great

a great deal towards the works which *Adrian* was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, ſo long as he lived, with as much reſpect and ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt of his ſubjects, except when he attempted to murder himſelf, or others [l]. *Adrian* dying at *Baiæ*, on the tenth of *July*, he prevailed upon the ſenate, much againſt their will, to confer ſuch honours upon him as had been decreed to the beſt of emperors, and continued all thoſe in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to ſome writers, on account of this tender and filial reſpect for the memory of his father, that the ſenate decreed him the glorious ſurname of *Pius*. Others think, that they diſtinguiſhed him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of *Adrian* in his ſickneſs, or becauſe he ſaved many whom *Adrian* had commanded to be murdered, or finally, on account of the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, and the extraordinary reſpect he ſhewed on all occaſions for religion and all religious perſons [m]. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of *Pius* in ſeveral medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in hiſtory [n]. *Pauſanias* thinks he deſerved not only this title, but that likewiſe which was given to *Cyrus*, viz. *the father of mankind*, in conſideration of the paternal care he ſeemed to have of all men [o]. *Commodus*, and the emperors who ſucceeded him, aſſumed the ſame title; which ſerved only to render their wickedneſs the more remarkable [p]. This year, *Antoninus* was likewiſe honoured with the title of *Auguſtus* and of *high pontiff*, and his wife *Fauſtina* with that of *Auguſta*. He refuſed many other honours which the ſenate offered him, and among the reſt the title of *the father of his country* [q]; which, however, he accepted the following year [r]. We are told, that *Antoninus*, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconſul of *Africa* to conſult the goddeſs *Cæleſtis*, who was worſhipped at *Carthage*, about his ſucceſſors and the ſtate of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obſcure and unintelligible, repeated the name of *Antoninus* eight times; whence it was concluded, that *Antoninus* ſhould reign eight years. But as he reigned near twenty-three, another conſtruction was long after put upon the oracle, *viz.* that eight emperors ſhould reign bearing the name of *Antoninus*; which interpretation we ſhall examine in the reign of the emperor *Opilius Macrinus*.

He cauſes Adrian *to be ranked among the gods.*

Why honoured with the title of Pius.

Honours conferred upon him by the ſenate.

[l] Jul. Cap. p. 18. [m] Idem. p. 17. Paus. l. viii. p. 275. Dio. l. lxx. p. 799 [n] Spanh l. viii p. 714. [o] Paus. l. viii. p. 275. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio. l. lxx. p. 799. Jul. Cap. p. 18. [r] Goltz. p 71.

We

WE know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almoſt quite at a loſs as to the order of them, with reſpect to what we know. *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life and inſcribed it to the emperor *Dioclesian*, is but a very indifferent hiſtorian, and greatly confuſed and perplexed in his accounts. What *Dion Caſſius* wrote of *Antoninus* has been loſt eight hundred years ſince, and conſequently before *Xiphilin* undertook the epitomiſing of that author; ſo that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, after his acceſſion to the empire, in the ſame manner as he had lived while he was yet a private perſon; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the leaſt motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would ſuffer none but ſlaves to wait upon him, ſhewing on all occaſions the greateſt reſpect imaginable for the equeſtrian and ſenatorial orders. He never tranſacted any buſineſs of conſequence without the advice of the ſenate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he deſired to ſee paid to them by other emperors, while he was a ſenator. He frequently gave an Account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the conſulſhip, or other employments, either for himſelf or his children, he appeared like a private perſon among the other candidates; which ſhews, that he allowed the people, according to their antient right, to chuſe the magiſtrates. *M. Aurelius* owns, that *Antoninus* convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private life even in a court. He moderated moſt of the impoſts and tributes, and ſtrictly injoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any ſeverity or oppreſſion, ſaying, that he choſe rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppreſſed people. He was no ſooner raiſed to the empire, than he diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his private eſtate in favour of the indigent citizens; and the empreſs *Fauſtina* repining at his generoſity, he told her; That a prince ought to have no private intereſt, no private property, and nothing in view, but the public welfare. He choſe for governors of provinces ſuch only as were perſons of known integrity, and is ſaid never to have preferred an undeſerving man to any employment whatſoever. Hence ſome continued in their poſts during the whole time of his reign; for he was not for removing ſuch as diſcharged their office to the ſatisfaction of the people, unleſs they themſelves deſired it, as did *Orfitus* governor of *Rome*, and ſome others. *Gavius Maximus* was for the ſpace of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards;

His extraordinary reſpect for the ſenatorial and equeſtrian orders.

He leſſens the tributes.

Places only men of merit.

[s] JUL. CAP. in Macrino. [t] JUL. CAP. p. 20—50.

and

and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal eſtate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largeſſes; but was very ſparing of the public money: whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. He deprived ſeveral uſeleſs perſons of the penſions which had been ſettled upon them by *Adrian*, ſaying, he could not bear to ſee the ſtate devoured by thoſe who were no-ways ſerviceable to it, but lived in idleneſs upon the labours of others. Among thoſe whom he thus treated, was *Meſomedes*, a lyric poet, whom *Adrian* had rewarded with a yearly penſion, on account of ſome verſes in praiſe of his beloved *Antinous*. Tho' he was thus ſparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily inſtances of an unbounded generoſity. He would accept of no legacies from ſuch as had children, and ordered the eſtates of thoſe who had been condemned for extortion, to be reſtored to their children, after the perſons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully ſatisfied. Under no prince fewer eſtates were confiſcated than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the leaſt misfortune that happened to any city or province, to leſſen their tribute and taxes [u]. Many obtained the privileges of *Roman* citizens for themſelves, and not for their children, who, in that caſe, remained *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of an ancient hiſtorian, and conſequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers eſtates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceaſed had no *Roman* citizen amongſt his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, *Antoninus* utterly aboliſhed [w]. He beſtowed great privileges and ſalaries, in all the provinces of the empire, upon ſuch men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whoſe parents were indigent; ſupplied all ſenators and magiſtrates with large ſums to defray the expences of their neceſſary journies, and ſpent conſiderable ſums in ſhows and ſpectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, tho' he himſelf had an utter averſion to ſuch diverſions. Tho' he was no-ways addicted to building, yet he raiſed a great number of ſtately edifices at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood. He cauſed a port to be made at *Caieta*, now *Gaeta*; repaired that of *Terracina*; finiſhed *Adrian*'s magnificent mauſoleum; built a ſtately palace at *Lorium* in *Hetruria*, about ten miles from *Rome*, in which place he had been educated; and contributed large ſums towards the repairing of ſeveral an-

Takes care of the public revenues.

Inſtances of his equity.

Favours men of learning.

His public works.

[u] Pausan. l. viii. p. 273.

[w] Jul. Cap. p. 17——20. Pausan. l. viii. p. 273.

tient

tient buildings in *Greece*, *Ionia*, *Syria*, and *Africa*. The village of *Pallantium* in *Arcadia* was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, becauſe *Evander* was ſuppoſed to have built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where *Rome* ſtood [x]. He promiſed, in the beginning of his reign, to ſpill the blood of no ſenator; which promiſe he obſerved ſo religiouſly, that one being convicted of parricide, he contented himſelf with baniſhing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a deſert iſland. *Attilius Tatianus* and *Priſcianus* being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himſelf, and the former was only baniſhed. Of his ſon *Antoninus* took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would ſuffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, anſwering the ſenate, when they preſſed him to it, I do not care the world ſhould know by how many perſons I am hated. He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to ſay, that he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies. By this means he gained the affections, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewiſe of the declared enemies of *Rome*, who entertained ſuch an opinion of his equity, juſtice and moderation, that in their diſputes they choſe him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no *Roman* emperor was ever more eſteemed and revered by all foreign nations than *Antoninus*. The king of the *Parthians*, having raiſed a formidable army and invaded *Armenia*, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and diſbanded his troops upon the receipt of a letter from *Antoninus*. The kings of *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and *India*, ſent embaſſadors to him, courting his friendſhip, and deſiring his alliance. *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia* came in perſon to wait upon him at *Rome*, and ſhewed a far greater reſpect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for *Adrian*. The *Lazi*, the *Armenians*, the *Quadi*, and ſeveral other nations, readily received ſuch princes as he was pleaſed to appoint over them, tho' they were not then ſubject to the empire [y]. *Antoninus* is by ſome hiſtorians compared, by others even preferred, to *Numa*, on account of the tranquility which *Rome* enjoyed during the greateſt part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worſhip of the gods and to religion. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that he was by perſons of all ranks revered to ſuch a degree, that neither the people nor ſoldiery could, for the ſpace of a hundred years and upwards,

Promiſes to put no ſenator to death, and obſerves his promiſe.

Is eſteemed even by the enemies of Rome.

And reverenced by all ranks of men.

[x] JUL. CAP. p. 20. BIRAG. p. 194. SPART l. ix. p 831, 832.
[y] SPART. in Geta, p. 90.

look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of *Antoninus*; which was therefore aſſumed by all his ſucceſſors during a whole century: nay, *Severus* appointed, that the name of *Antoninus* ſhould be peculiar to the emperors, like that of *Auguſtus* [z]; ſo great was the veneration he had for *Antoninus!* That great name was indeed profaned and diſhonoured by *Antoninus Caracalla*; but nevertheleſs reſpected to ſuch a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor *Macrinus* obliged his ſon *Diadumenus* to aſſume it, fearing the ſoldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unleſs diſtinguiſhed by that ſtill venerable name [a].

Adrian died, as we have related above, on the 10th of *July* 138, *Camerinus* and *Niger* being conſuls. Theſe were ſucceeded by the emperor *Antoninus*, the ſecond time conſul, and *Caius Bruttius Præſens*. This year *Antoninus* gave his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* in marriage to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæſar*, and at the requeſt of the ſenate, tho' this year only quæſtor, named for the conſulate of the year enſuing; which he diſcharged with him, as appears from an antient inſcription on a monument raiſed to the honour of *M. Aurelius* by the two captains of the prætorian guards, *Petronius Mamertinus* and *Gavius Maximus*, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards [b]. In another inſcription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, *Antoninus* is ſtyled the benefactor and preſerver of the city of *Mopſueſtia*, for having maintained the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges [c]. From a third inſcription we learn, that *Antoninus* ended this year an aqueduct, which had been begun by *Adrian* at *New Athens* in the iſland of *Delos* [d]. The next conſuls were *M. Peducæus Siloga* and *T. Hoenius Severus* [e], during whoſe adminiſtration one *Celſus* revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occaſion the empreſs *Fauſtina* was greatly diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which the good-natured emperor ſhewed to his enemies [f]. Soon after *Fauſtina* died, and was, notwithſtanding the diſſolute life ſhe had led, at the requeſt of *Antoninus*, honoured with divine worſhip, prieſts, temples, ſtatues of gold and ſilver, &c. Games were inſtituted to her honour, and her ſtatue was, by *Antoninus*'s order, carried amongſt thoſe of the other gods at the *Circenſian* ſports. The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her diſorders concealed from the multitude [g]. The following year, *L. Cuſpius Rufinus* and *L. Statius Quadratus* being conſuls, *Antoninus* inſtituted ſo-

Marries his daughter Fauſtina *to* M. Aurelius.

The empreſs Fauſtina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.*

[a] Idem in Diad. [b] Grut. p. 258. [c] Onuph. p 225.
[d] Idem, p. 224. [e] Cuspin. p. 353. Onuph. in faſt. p. 225.
[f] Coſſ. vit. per. Vulcat. p. 43. [g] Jul. Cap. p. 18.

lemn

lemn ſports at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*, which were ſtyled *Pia* and *Pialia*, and were to be celebrated the ſecond year of each olympiad [h]. The next conſuls were *C. Bellicius Torquatus* and *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes*. The latter, who is greatly cried up by *Aulus Gellius* [i] and *Philoſtratus* [k], was a native of *Athens*, and the moſt eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making ſpeeches off-hand; but not having ſucceeded as he expected in one which he made while he was yet a youth before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himſelf in the *Danube*. He inſtructed *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, and was greatly eſteemed by *Antoninus*, who appointed him governor of the free cities of *Aſia*. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, and 176 of the chriſtian æra, and left behind him many ſpeeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times. In the following conſulſhip of *Lollianus Avitus* and *Claudius Maximus*, the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted; but were ſoon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus* governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country, ſubdued the moſt northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* [l]. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured, as appears from ſome antient medals, with the title of *Britannicus* [m]. The next year *Antoninus* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having for his collegue *M. Aurelius Cæſar*, the ſecond time conſul, and gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus* his adopted ſon, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December* of the preceding year. He imitated therein *Auguſtus*, who had taken upon him the conſular dignity when he gave the manly robe to his adopted children *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*. The ſame year *Antoninus* conſecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and on that occaſion diſtributed conſiderable ſums among the populace [n]. In the next conſulſhip of *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in *Germany* and *Dacia*; but were ſoon compoſed by the governors of thoſe provinces. The *Alani* likewiſe, attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, were driven back into their own country with no ſmall loſs [o]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls *Largus* and *Meſſalinus*, the emperor inveſted *M. Aurelius* with the tribunitial and proconſular power. By *Fauſtina*, the daughter of *Antoninus*, he had already a daughter named *Lucilla*, who was afterwards married

Athens, and the moſt eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making ſpeeches off-hand; but not having ſucceeded as he expected in one which he made while he was yet a youth before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himſelf in the *Danube*. *to the conſulſhip.*

The Brigantes revolt, and are reduced.

[h] Idem, p. 13. PAGI, p. 211. [i] AUL. GEL. l. ix. c. 2. [k] PHILOST. ſoph. xxvii. [l] Vide ALFORD. annal. Britan. ad ann. 142. USSER. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. [m] Vide CASAUB. in Spart. p. 50. [n] JUL. CAP. p. 36. [o] Idem, p 19.

Shews a great eſteem for M. Aurelius.

to *L. Verus.* The emperor on all occaſions ſhewed a particular eſteem for *M. Aurelius*, conſulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and ſuffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the ſovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious inſinuations of thoſe who attempted to eſtrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wiſhed for his death [p]. As the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not beſtowing upon him either the title of *Cæſar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, inveſt him with any power whatſoever; which was a plain indication, that he diſliked him, and not without reaſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and only ſuffered him, becauſe he had been obliged by *Adrian* to adopt him [q]. This year, being by the *Romans* reckoned the nine hundredth of their city, the ſecular games were celebrated by *Antoninus* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence [r]. In the conſulate of *Torquatus* and *Julianus*, the *Moors* took up arms, upon what provocation we know not, but were utterly defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt diſtant parts of *Libya* beyond mount *Atlas* [s]. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the firſt *Servius Scipio Orfitus* and *Q. Nonius Priſcus* were conſuls; in the ſecond *Glabrio Gallicanus* and *Vetus*; and in the third *Quintilius Condianus* and *Quintilius Maximus*.

But none for L. Verus.

The two brothers Quintilii.

The two latter were brothers, and are mightily cried up by the antients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occaſions, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, as if they had not been two, but one perſon: whence they are known in hiſtory by the name of the *Quintilii*. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were conſuls together; wrote to the emperor, received anſwers, judged cauſes, publiſhed books in common, and were in the end unjuſtly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor *Commodus*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign [t]. They were natives of *Troas*, and highly eſteemed by *M. Aurelius*, under whom they governed *Greece* in 173, and *Pannonia* in 178. They publiſhed a treatiſe on agriculture, whereof ſome fragments have reached our times [u].

[p] Idem, p. 24. [q] Idem in Ver. p. 36. [r] Aur. Vict. & Noris. epiſt. conſ. [s] Pausan. l. viii. p. 273. [t] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 814. Casaub. in Spart. p. 94. Philost. ſophiſt. xxvii. [u] Vide Casaub. in Spart p. 94.

The

THE following year, the fifteenth of *Antoninus*'s reign, *Sextus Junius Glabrio* and *C. Omullus Verianus* being conſuls, that eminent champion of the chriſtian religion, *Juſtin* the martyr, publiſhed his firſt apology, and preſented it to the emperor, to his adopted ſons, and to the ſenate. As *Antoninus* was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, he was ſo far moved by it, and by the informations which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Aſia* in favour of the diſtreſſed chriſtians, which he concluded with theſe words; *If any one for the future ſhall moleſt the chriſtians, and accuſe them merely on account of their religion, let the perſon who is arraigned be diſcharged, though he is found to be a chriſtian, and the accuſer be puniſhed according to the rigour of the law* [w]. At the ſame time the emperor wrote in behalf of the chriſtians to the *Athenians*, *Theſſalonians*, *Lariſſeans* in *Theſſaly*, and to all the *Greeks* [x]. Theſe letters put a ſtop to the perſecution; which however broke out anew, and raged with great violence under *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus*'s ſucceſſor, as we ſhall relate hereafter. The following year, when *C. Bruttius Præſens* and *A. Junius Rufinus* were conſuls, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which conſumed part of the city, and a famine, which ſwept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithſtanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the moſt diſtant provinces. The ſame year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great ſquare at *Carthage*, were in great part conſumed by accidental fire; but ſoon reſtored by *Antoninus* to their former condition [y]. This year *L. Verus* diſcharged the office of quæſtor, and exhibited on that occaſion public ſhows, at which he preſided, ſitting between *Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. The following year he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, and had for his collegue *T. Sextius*, or, as he is called by others, *Sextilius Lateranus*. *C. Julius Severus* and *M. Rufinus Sabinianus* diſcharged that office next, and were ſucceeded by *M. Ceionius Silvanus* and *C. Serius Augurinus*, during whoſe conſulſhip the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with ſeveral others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but ſoon reſtored to their former luſtre, *Antoninus* contributing thereunto immenſe ſums, and making good the loſſes which the inhabitants had ſuſtained [z]. The four following years are quite barren of events. The conſuls,

Antoninus *favourable to the chriſtians.*

Several calamities.

[w] EUSEB. l. iv. c. 26. JUST. apol. p. 100. Chron. Alex. p. 608, 610. [x] EUSEB. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13. [y] JUL. CAP. p. 20. VICT. epit. [z] JUL. CAP. p. 21.

ſuls were *Barbarus* and *Regulus*; *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos*; *Plautius Quintillus* and *M. Statius Priſcus*; *Appius Annius Bradua* and *T. Vibius Bradus*. The two latter were ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius Cæſar* the third time, and *L. Verus* the ſecond time, conſul. During their adminiſtration, the emperor was ſeized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-ſeats, which in a few days put an end to his life on the ſeventh of *March*, after he had lived ſeventy-three years, five months, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix days. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their preſence confirmed his adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and recommended to him the empire, without taking the leaſt notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to the room of *M. Aurelius*. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was *equanimity*. He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſtics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no leſs lamented by all the ſubjects of the empire, than if he had been ſnatched from them in the bloom of his youth [a]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and his body depoſited in the pompous mauſoleum of his predeceſſor *Adrian*; on which occaſion two funeral orations were pronounced; one by *M. Aurelius*, and another by *L. Verus*. He was by the ſenate ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual ſports, inſtituted, *&c.* [b]. *Gordianus*, who aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus* at *Carthage*, in the year 237, wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intituled *Antoniniades*, deſcribing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus* and his ſucceſſor *M. Aurelius*, named likewiſe *Antoninus* [c]; but that work has not reached our times. Some ſpeeches were publiſhed under the name of *Antoninus*, which *Marius Maximus* maintained to be his, though they were commonly thought to have been written by others [d]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (E).

Is taken ill and dies.

He is univerſally lamented.

M. Aurelius

[a] Idem, p. 22. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem in Gord. [d] Idem in Anton. p. 21.

(E) Theſe were *Juſtin*, *Julius Paulus*, *Appian*, *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Calviſius Taurus*, *Apollonius*, *Ptolemy* the aſtrologer, *Fronto*, *Telephus*, and *Claudius Maximus*. *Juſtin* is thought to have inſcribed his abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius* to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. That writer, in an antient manuſcript, is ſtyled *M. Fu-*

nianus

M. Aurelius is by all the antients reckoned the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and his reign commonly ſtyled *The golden age*; for he made good the ſaying which he had borrowed of *Plato*, and had often in his mouth, *viz.* That ſtates would be

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus *ſurnamed* The Philoſopher.

nianus Juſtinus. His work was known to St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, and *Oroſius*, who often copies him. Some have confounded *Juſtin* the hiſtorian with *Juſtin* the martyr, who flouriſhed about the ſame time; but never publiſhed any work in the *Latin* tongue, not even the apologies which he wrote at *Rome*, and preſented to the emperor. *Trogus Pompeius*, whoſe hiſtory *Juſtin* abridged, is ranked among the beſt hiſtorians of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and put upon the level with *Livy*, *Salluſt*, and *Tacitus* (61). *Julius Paulus* publiſhed ſeveral poetical pieces, and is commended by *Aulus Gellius*, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in *Gellius*'s time; but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus* (62). *Appian*, who wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in *Greek*, was a native of *Alexandria*, pleaded ſome time at *Rome*, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private eſtates and revenues (63). He lived in the reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and was writing in the year 900 of *Rome*, the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign (64). His *Roman* hiſtory is, properly ſpeaking, a ſeparate and diſtinct hiſtory of all the nations ſubject to *Rome*, from the earlieſt times to the reign of *Auguſtus*, tho' he ſometimes carries it down to the time of *Adrian* (65). He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Adrian*, as happening in his time (66). His hiſtory of the wars of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and of *Hannibal* and *Mithridates*, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote ſeven, have reached us; and beſides, ſome fragments of ſeveral other hiſtories copied by *M. Valois* from the collections of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the wars of *Judæa*, and of that which *Trajan* waged with the *Dacians* (67). *Photius* admires the elegance of his ſtyle, but chiefly commends him as an unbiaſſed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed moſtly at truth (68). He borrowed many things of *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, whom he often copies (69). *Scaliger* is of opinion, that many things unworthy of ſo great an hiſtorian have been, by the ignorant tranſcribers, inſerted into his hiſtory of *Syria*. His plan, which was to write the hiſtory of *Rome*, and all the provinces of the empire, was much admired by *Evagrius* (70). *Callinicus Sutorius* was a native of *Petra* in *Arabia*; but ſpent moſt part of his life at *Athens*. He wrote the hiſtory of

(61) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 19, & 23. (62) *Aul. Gell. l.* i. *c.* 22. *l* v. *c.* 4. *l.* xvi. *c.* 10. *l.* xix. *c.* 7. *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 52. (63) *Appian. in Syr. Suid. p.* 353. (64) *Appian. p.* 7. (65) *Idem, p.* 4. *Evagr. l.* vi. *c.* 24. (66) *Appian. in Syr. p.* 83. (67) *Idem ibid. p.* 10. *Phot. c.* 57. (68) *Phot. ibid.* (69) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13. (70) *Evag. l.* vi. *c.* 24.

Alexandria

be happy, when princes were philoſophers [e]. He was of the *Annian* family, which ſome writers derive from *Numa Pompilius.*

[e] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 815. Jul. Cap. in M Aur. p. 33.

Alexandria in ten books, quoted by St. *Jerom* (71), and publiſhed ſeveral other pieces on various ſubjects (72). Some fragments in *Greek* by one *Callinicus*, publiſhed by *Leo Allatius*, are aſcribed by *Voſſius* to *Callinicus Sutorius* (73). But *Jonſſius* ſuppoſes *Callinicus Sutorius* to have flouriſhed in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, to whom, and not to *Galen* the celebrated phyſician, he inſcribed, in his opinion, one of his works (74). *Calviſius Taurus* is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who went to hear him while he inſtructed the *Athenian* youth in the principles of the *Platonic* philoſophy (75). He was a native of *Tyre*, according to *Philoſtratus*; but, according to *Suidas* (76), and *Euſebius* (77), of *Berytus*. He publiſhed ſeveral works, one among the reſt ſhewing the difference between the doctrine of *Plato* and that of *Ariſtotle*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes a treatiſe written by him on anger, and the firſt book of his comments upon *Plato*'s *Gergias* (78). The ſame writer commends him on account of his abſtinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (79). *Telephus*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, was born in *Pergamus*, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of *Homer*, another on the perfect agreement between that poet and *Plato*; the lives of ſuch poets as had written comedies or tragedies; inſtructions on the choice of books; a deſcription of *Pergamus*, with the hiſtory of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and cuſtoms of *Athens*; and a collection of epithets (80). *Claudius Maximus* was by birth a *Tyrian*, and one of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors, whom he inſtructed in the principles of the *Stoics*. He publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical pieces, and diſcourſes on the *Platonic* philoſophy, which have reached our times, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was conſul in the year 144, the ſeventh of *Antoninus*'s reign, and afterwards proconſul of *Africa* (81). We have already mentioned *Apollonius* the ſtoic, who was another of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raiſed to the empire. Moſt writers aſcribe to him a work mentioned by *Photius*, wherein the author gives an account of illuſtrious women, of ſuch eſpecially as had applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy (82). *Ptolemy*, the celebrated aſtrologer and geographer, flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. He made his laſt aſtronomical obſervation on a *Wedneſday*, the ſecond of *February* in the year 141, the fourth of *Antoninus*'s reign; but never-

(71) *Hier. in Dan.* (72) *Suid. p.* 1360. (73) *Voſſ. ibid.* (74) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (75) *Aul. Gel. l.* xviii. *c.* 10. (76) *Suid. p.* 871. (77) *Euſeb. in chron.* (78) *Aul. Gel. l.* i. *c.* 26. *l.* vi *c.* 14. (79) *Idem l.* xvii. *c.* 8. (80) *Suid. p.* 897. (81) *Vide P. Pagi. p.* 144. (82) *Jonſ. l* iii. *c.* 9. *Phot. p.* 161. *Spanh. p.* 53.

theleſs

lius. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ*, a city of *Bætica* in *Spain*, was the firſt ſenator of the *Annian* family, and afterwards created prætor. His ſon, who bore the ſame name, was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of *Rome*, and honoured twice with the conſulſhip. He had three chil- *His extraction, preferments.*

theleſs *Suidas* ſuppoſes him to have lived to the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the antients; but we are told, that ſome of the manuſcript copies of that work are very different from the printed copies (83). *Suidas* writes, that he was born in *Alexandria*; but *Voſſius* maintains, that he was a native of *Peluſium*, and ſuppoſed to have been an *Alexandrian*, becauſe he made his aſtronomical obſervations in that city (84). *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him (85). He left ſome letters and ſome grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name *Cæſellius Vindex* (86). Some of his obſervations upon *Terence* have reached our times (87) *M. Cornelius Fronto* is cried up by the antients, as one of the beſt orators of his age, and by ſome put upon the level with *Cicero*. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that he never viſited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his inſtructions (88). In *Adrian*'s time he paſſed for the moſt eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by *Antoninus* to teach *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the *Latin* eloquence. *M. Aurelius* valued him above all his preceptors, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in *Rome*, and honoured him with the conſular dignity (89). St. *Jerom* ſtyles him an illuſtrious orator (90); and *Sidonius* ſpeaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and leſs flouriſhed, than that of the antient orators (91). He publiſhed ſeveral harangues, one of which, againſt *Pelops*, was highly eſteemed, and preferred to all the reſt (92). *Soſipater Chariſius* publiſhed ſome letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors who have written on the *Latin* tongue (93). *Sidonius* commends one *Leo*, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the ſtyle of *Fronto*, from whom he was deſcended (94). We read in *Minucius Felix*, that one *Fronto*, a native of *Cirtha* in *Numidia*, publiſhed ſome diſcourſes againſt the chriſtians, which were in great requeſt about the beginning of the third century (95). Theſe diſcourſes are, by ſome able critics, aſcribed to *Fronto* the orator.

(83) *Voſſ hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *Cyp. diſput. append. c.* 16. (84) *Voſſ. ibid.* (85) *Aul. Gel. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *l.* xiii. *c.* 17. *&c.* (86) *Aul. Gel. l.* vi. *c.* 6. *l.* xx. *c.* 6. *l.* xiii *c.* 19. *&c.* (87) *Vide Calviſ. an.* 163. (88) *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (89) *Jul. Cap. in Aurel. p.* 23. (90) *Hier. in chron.* (91) *Sid. l.* i. *epiſt.* 1. *l.* iv. *epiſt* 3. (92) *Sid. l.* viii *ep.* 10. (93) *Vide Caſaub. in Spart. M. Aur.* (94) *Sid. l.* viii. *epiſt.* 3. (95) *Min. Fel. q.* 8.

dren, *Annius Verus*, the father of *M. Aurelius*; *Annius Libo*, who was conſul; and *Annia Galeria Fauſtina*, who was married to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. *Annius Verus* married *Domitia Calvilla*, called alſo *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calviſius Tullus*, who had been twice conſul, and had by her *M. Aurelius* and a daughter named *Annia Cornificia*. *M. Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's ſecond conſulſhip, on the 26th of *April* of the year 121, which was the fourth of *Adrian*'s reign. His firſt name was *Catilius Severus*, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of *Rome*, and twice conſul. Upon the death of his father, who died in his prætorſhip, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annius Verus*, and took his name. The emperor *Adrian* uſed to call him *M. Annius Veriſſimus*, on account of his great ſincerity; and under that name *Juſtin* the martyr addreſſes him in his ſecond apology. When he was adopted by *Antoninus*, he took the names of *M. Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antoninus*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he left the name of *Verus* to *L. Commodus*, his brother by adoption, and took for himſelf that of *Antoninus*; but is generally diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſor, either by the prænomen of *Marcus*, or the ſurname of *Philoſophus*; which was given him by the unanimous conſent of hiſtorians, and not by any public act or decree of the ſenate[f].

His education.

He was from his tender years brought up by the emperor *Adrian*, whom *Dion Caſſius* calls his kinſman[g]. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his ſucceſſor; but choſe in his room, as he was then too young, *T. Antoninus*, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew[h]. *Annius Verus*, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his houſe; but *M. Aurelius* thanks the gods, that he was but a ſhort while under her tuition[i]; for *Adrian*, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up in the palace, employing the greateſt men of that age to inſtruct him in every branch of literature.

His ſtudies and learning.

He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under the celebrated ſophiſt *Apollonius Sextus* of *Chæronea*, *Plutarch*'s nephew, *Junius Ruſticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *Cinſia Catullus*, and *Claudius Severus*; to that of eloquence under *Herodes Atticus* and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and to the ſtudy of the law under *L. Voluſius Metianus*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Mecianus*,

[f] Dio. l. lxix. p. 797. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. Justin. apol. ii. Grut. p. 300. [g] Dio. ibid. [h] Jul. Cap. p. 23. Eutrop. [i] M. Aur. de ſcip. l. i. c. 14.

the

the moſt learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is ſaid to have excelled in all theſe branches of learning, and to have been one of the greateſt orators, philoſophers, and civilians, of his time. He delighted chiefly in the ſtudy of philoſophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different ſects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himſelf among the philoſophers, wore their habit, and practiſed all their auſterities, lying on the ground, faſting, and abſtaining from ſeveral meats. He ſhewed, even after he was emperor, great reſpect to thoſe who had inſtructed him, eſpecially to *Junius Ruſticus*, of whom we have ſpoken in our notes; tranſacted nothing without his advice (for he was a perſon well verſed in the arts both of peace and war); ſaluted him always before the captains of the guards; raiſed him twice to the conſulſhip; and, after his death, prevailed upon the ſenate to erect him a ſtatue. He ſhewed no leſs gratitude and veneration towards his other maſters, ſetting up in his cloſet their images in gold, viſiting frequently their ſepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers. His great application to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the auſterities he practiſed, impaired his health to ſuch a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, though naturally of a robuſt conſtitution [k]. To ſtrengthen his ſtomach, greatly weakened by faſting when he was but a youth, he uſed to take every day ſome treacle, which was made up for him by one of his phyſicians, named *Demetrius*, and, after his death, by the celebrated *Galen* [l]. As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithſtanding his bad health, almoſt to the age of ſixty, and performed great things, applying himſelf to the diſpatch of buſineſs with more care and aſſiduity, than any of his predeceſſors had done. He had an utter averſion to all ſorts of ſhows, ſports, and diverſions, being naturally grave and ſerious; but nevertheleſs appeared at them ſometimes, tho' very ſeldom, that he might not ſeem to condemn thoſe who frequented them. He uſed, while he was emperor, to read, write, or talk to his miniſters about public affairs, during the whole time of the ſports, for which he was often rallied by the populace, but deſpiſed their railleries [m]. When he was but ſixteen, he made over his paternal eſtate to his ſiſter, ſaying, that his grandfather's eſtate was enough for him. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, as we have related above, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Aurelius*, at that time eighteen years old, and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the

His reſpect to his preceptors.

Practiſes the auſterities of the philoſophers.

His averſion to ſhows, and all diverſions.

[k] JUL. CAP. ibid. M. ANTON. l. i. c. 3. [l] GALEN. prog. p. 460. de antidot. c 2. & lib. de ther. p. 457. [m] JUL. CAP. p. 23.

ſeventh or eighth year of his age, but already *Adrian*'s grandſon by adoption, being the ſon of *L. Ælius Cæſar*. Theſe adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the ſame day that *Antoninus* was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138. *M. Aurelius* was ſo far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneaſineſs and concern, telling thoſe who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. *Adrian* at the ſame time appointed him quæſtor for the enſuing year, though he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the diſcharge of that dignity [n]. The ſame prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of *L. Verus Cæſar*, named, as is commonly believed, *Fabia*; and appointed, that *Antoninus* ſhould give his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* to young *Lucius*. But upon the death of *Adrian*, *Antoninus* propoſed a match between his daughter, and *M. Aurelius*, who agreed to it, married her ſome years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 147, the ninth of *Antoninus*'s reign, named *Lucilla*, who was married to *L. Verus* in 164, and afterwards to *Pompeianus*. He had ſeveral other daughters by her, of whom three were ſtill alive in the year 193, and one was put to death by *Caracalla* in 212. *Annia Fauſtina* brought him likewiſe ſeveral ſons, *viz.* *Commodus*, who was afterwards emperor, *Antoninus Geminus*, *Severus*, or rather *Verus*, ſtyled on ſome medals *Annius Verus*, *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Ælius Aurelius*. *Commodus* and *Antoninus Geminus* were twins, born on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt* of the year 161, the firſt of their father's reign [o]. In the year 139, *Antoninus* named *M. Aurelius* conſul for the enſuing year, declared him *Cæſar*, lodged him in the palace of *Tiberius*, and took him in a manner for his partner in the empire. *M. Aurelius*, without being in the leaſt elated with theſe extraordinary honours, purſued his former courſe of life, viſited his friends, as if he had been a private perſon, frequented the ſchools of the philoſophers, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* and *Latin* eloquence, *&c.* In the beginning of the year 147, *Antoninus* inveſted him with the proconſular and tribunitial power, and thenceforth tranſacted nothing without his advice, which he generally followed, as he entertained a high opinion of his integrity, penetration, and extraordinary accompliſhments [p].

His iſſue by Fauſtina, *the daughter of* Antoninus.

[n] Jul. Cap. p. 24. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. & in L. Ver. p. 39. Herodian. l. i. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. Grut. p. 252. Pagi, p. 180. [p] Jul. Cap. p. 25. Aristid. orat. ix. p. 107.

Antoninus

Antoninus having declared, a little before he died, *M. Aurelius* his ſucceſſor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the preſence of the chief officers of the court, the ſenate, as ſoon as he expired, obliged *M Aurelius*, ſays the author of his life, to accept the ſovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without ſo much as mentioning *L. Verus*, who was likewiſe the ſon of *Antoninus* by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footſteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *T. Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius* [q]. *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never inveſted him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of *Cæſar*. However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*, and his partner in the ſovereign power; ſo that *Rome* ſaw herſelf then for the firſt time governed by two ſovereigns at once. As they were at the ſame time conſuls, this year, the 161ſt of the chriſtian æra, is diſtinguiſhed in the *Faſti* and inſcriptions by the conſulate of the two *Auguſti*. This action of *Marcus Aurelius* is cried up by *Ariſtides* as the greateſt, and the moſt heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in hiſtory of any prince [r]. In raiſing *Lucius* to the empire, he gave him the name of *Verus*; ſo that he was thenceforth named *Lucius Verus*, inſtead of *Lucius Commodus*: he added that of *Antoninus*, which he aſſumed himſelf; whence he is ſtyled in moſt antient inſcriptions *M. Aurelius Antoninus* [s]. The two emperors went together from the ſenate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promiſed the ſoldiers a bounty of twenty thouſand ſeſterces, *M. Aurelius* ſpeaking for both. They performed afterwards with great pomp the funeral of their deceaſed father, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and inſtituted a new college of prieſts, called *Aureliani*, (from the name of his family) or *Aurelian* prieſts. They both governed with great mildneſs and unity, *Lucius* behaving himſelf rather as *Aurelius*'s lieutenant than his partner in the ſovereignty. Their adminiſtration was ſuch, that no one had occaſion to regret the loſs of *Antoninus*, whoſe meaſures were purſued by both princes. That their union might be the more laſting, *M. Aurelius* betrothed his daughter *Lucilla* to *L. Verus*, and on that occaſion both princes added a great number of children to thoſe who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence [*]. But the tranquility and happineſs, which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under the two ſovereigns, was ſoon interrupted by a

He takes L. Verus for his partner in the ſovereignty.

They both govern with great mildneſs and unanimity.

[q] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 25 & in Ver. p. 36. [r] ARISTID. orat. 16. p. 421. [s] Vide GOLTZ p 34. [*] JUL CAP. p. 25.

dreadful

Many calamities happen in the beginning of their reign.

dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when *Ruſticus* and *Aquilinus* were conſuls, overturned many private houſes and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in ſeveral provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of inſects, that deſtroyed what the flood had ſpared, and occaſioned a famine in *Rome*. Theſe calamities were in great meaſure allayed by the care and preſence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, ſupplied the diſtreſſed city with corn, and make good the loſſes ſuſtained by particulars [t]. At the ſame time, the *Parthian* war broke out, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. Againſt the latter was diſpatched *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Aufidius Victorinus* againſt the *Catti*: but it was thought proper, that *L. Verus* ſhould march in perſon againſt the *Parthians*, while *M. Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, where his preſence was judged neceſſary. The good emperor was not diſpleaſed to have ſuch a ſpecious pretence of removing his collegue from *Rome*, hoping that a warlike life would give him a diſtaſte to the idle amuſements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly diſappointed, as we ſhall ſee anon [u]. What ſucceſs attended *Agricola* and *Victorinus*, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with theſe nations is, that *Didius Julianus*, who reigned after *Pertinax*, is ſaid to have overcome the *Chauci*, and likewiſe the *Catti*, who had made inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The war in *Britain* muſt have likewiſe laſted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the *Marcomanni* broke out [w].

The Parthians *declare war.*

As for the *Parthians*, they had at this time for their king *Vologeſes*, probably the ſon of *Coſrhoes*, who reigned in the times of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. *Antoninus* had refuſed to reſtore to him the golden throne, which had been ſeized by *Adrian*. This perhaps occaſioned the war; for before *Antoninus* died, the *Parthian* had made vaſt preparations, and ſoon after his death appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army [x]. Great

Diſturbances in Armenia

diſturbances, of which we find but a very confuſed account in the antients, happened likewiſe at this time in *Armenia*, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented by the king of *Parthians*. *Sohemus*, king of *Armenia*, was driven from the throne, and the king of the *Henechii*, a people dwelling between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, was killed by a petty prince, named *Tiridates*,

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem in Ver p 37. [w] Spart. in Julian. p 60. [x] Arist. orat. ix. p. 119 Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 25.

who

who was afterwards taken priſoner by the *Romans*, and by *M. Aurelius* confined to *Britain* [y]. *Severinus*, a native of *Gaul* and governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of ſeveral legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians* near a place called *Elegia*, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a ſingle perſon of the whole army eſcaped the general ſlaughter. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes this victory to *Vologeſes*; but he obtained it by *Oſrhoes*, or, as *Lucian* calls him, *Othryades*, who commanded the army, and was in all likelihood ſome prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, on whom *Vologeſes* deſigned to beſtow the crown of *Armenia* [z]. *Vologeſes*, elated with this victory, entered *Syria* at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewiſe invaded, after having put to flight *Attidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. Againſt ſo formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors ſhould march in perſon; and accordingly *L. Verus* ſet out from *Rome* this year for *Syria*. *M. Aurelius* accompanied him as far as *Capua*, whence he was ſcarce returned to *Rome*, when news was brought him, that his collegue had been ſeized at *Canoſa* with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned by the debaucheries and diſorders to which he had abandoned himſelf on the road: for the luxurious prince, inſtead of purſuing his march with all poſſible expedition, and haſtening to ſave *Syria*, which was over-run by the *Parthians*, and ready to revolt from *Rome*, ſtopt in all the cities through which he paſſed, ſpending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himſelf into the moſt infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illneſs, *M. Aurelius* cauſed vows and ſacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a ſecond journey to ſee him. When he began to recover, *M. Aurelius* returned to *Rome*, and *L. Verus* ſoon after purſued his journey, paſſing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Aſia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*. As he ſtopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diverſion, he arrived, when the year was already far ſpent, in *Syria*; and chuſing *Antioch* for the place of his reſidence, abandoned himſelf there to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war. Theſe were *Statius Priſcus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, *Martius Verus*, *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, all perſons of great experience, and generally eſteemed the beſt commanders of that age. As for the emperor *Verus*, he was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that tho' the war laſted four years, he never once appeared

Vologeſes *king of the* Parthians *invades* Syria.

L. Verus *goes into the eaſt.*

His debaucheries on the road.

He abandons himſelf to all manner of pleaſures, and ſuffers his lieutenants to carry on the war.

[y] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 802. [z] Lucian. pſeud. p. 485. & hiſt. p. 347. Dio. p. 802.

peared at the head of his army, which conſiſted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdneſs at *Antioch*, *Daphne*, and *Laodicea*, while his officers were ſignalizing themſelves in the field [a]. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris* [b]; that the *Romans* beſieged *Edeſſa* in the province of *Oſrhoene*, and gained many ſignal victories [c]; that *Oſrhoes* was once forced to ſave himſelf by ſwiming croſs the *Tigris* [d]; that the *Parthians* received a dreadful overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*, a little below *Zeugma* [e]; and that in the end, *Oſrhoes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops, having loſt his army, was obliged to conceal himſelf in a cave [f]. *Lucian*, who wrote about this time, is not aſhamed to tell us, that in the above-mentioned battle three hundred and ſeventy thouſand of the enemy were killed; and that the *Romans* loſt only two men, and had but nine wounded [g].

The Parthians *overthrown.*

While *L. Verus* wallowed in all ſorts of pleaſures at *Antioch*, *M. Aurelius* made it his whole ſtudy to reform, by his example and ſeveral wholſome laws, the manners of the *Romans*, to redreſs abuſes, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than ſeverity, the vicious. The people enjoyed under his mild adminiſtration all the bleſſings of liberty, and were truly no leſs free than their anceſtors had been in the beſt times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the ſenate than *Antoninus* himſelf had ever done, referring to them the deciſion of ſuch cauſes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice, to which he readily ſubmitted, ſaying, It was more reaſonable for him to follow the advice of ſo many wiſe men, than for ſo many wiſe men to follow his. He never failed attending the ſenate, delivering his opinion there like a private ſenator. He adminiſtered juſtice in perſon with great aſſiduity and impartiality; heard with patience ſuch as complained of his miniſters, and endeavoured, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, to diſmiſs no one from his preſence diſſatisfied. He ſuffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the perſon accuſed could alledge in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheleſs puniſhed ſuch as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmoſt rigour. However, we have innumerable inſtances of

Rome *happy under* M. Aurelius.

His clemency and good-nature.

[a] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p 26. & in Ver. p. 37. Philost. ſoph. xxvii. Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 802 [b] Lucian hiſt. p. 362. [c] Idem, p. 358. [d] Idem, p. 356. [e] Idem, p. 361. [f] Idem, p. 356. [g] Idem, hiſt. p. 357.

his

his clemency, and very few of his ſeverity. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that he obliged the inhabitants of *Nicea* to ſend yearly to *Rome* a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name *Hipparchus*, a man of great learning and extraordinary accompliſhments [h]. They continued to pay this tribute to the time of *Conſtantine*, by whom it was remitted.

THE following year, *L. Ælianus*, or *Lælianus*, and *Paſtor*, being conſuls, *Statius Priſcus* made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, and a place called *The new city*, which ſoon became, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, the firſt city of *Armenia*. *Priſcus* being ſoon after ſent againſt the *Parthians*, *Martius Verus* took upon him the command of the troops in *Armenia*; and partly by force, partly by his wiſe conduct and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the *Armenians* to ſubmit to the *Romans*, and to reſtore *Sohemus* to the throne, who, being driven out by *Vologeſes*, had reſided ſome time at *Rome*, and had been there created ſenator, and honoured with the conſulſhip [i]. On ſeveral medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of *Armenia* by *Verus*; who, in ſome inſcriptions, is ſaid to have given a king to *Armenia* [k]. Tho' he had no ſhare, as we have related above, in that conqueſt; yet the ſenate diſtinguiſhed both him and *M. Aurelius* with the title of *Armeniacus*, and both aſſumed this year that of *imperator* [l], no doubt, for the reduction of *Armenia*. The following year, when *Macrinius* and *Celſus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius* ſent his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom ſhe had been for ſome time betrothed. She was attended by her ſiſter *Cornificia*, by *Civica Pompeianus*, uncle to *L. Verus* by the father, and by many other perſons of diſtinction. *M. Aurelius* would have willingly accompanied her in perſon into the eaſt, but parted with her at *Brunduſium*, and returned to *Rome*, that he might not ſeem to aſſume to himſelf the glory of finiſhing the *Parthian* war [m]. The next year, the fourth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, *Gavius Orfitus* and *L. Arrius Pudens* being conſuls, *Vologeſes*, having attacked the *Romans* at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by *Caſſius*; who, purſuing the advantages of his victory, advanced to *Cteſiphon*, took that city, and laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in aſhes. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Edeſſa*, of *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends; but nevertheleſs *Caſſius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand ſouls, to be inhumanly

Artaxata *taken by the* Romans.

Armenia *reduced.*

M. Aurelius *marries his daughter* Lucilla *to* L. Verus.

The Parthians *utterly defeated by* Caſſius, *who takes moſt of their cities*, &c.

[h] AUR. VICT. in Conſtant. ARISTID. orat. ix. DIO. p. 804. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 26. [i] DIO. ibid. [k] Occo. p. 302, 303. [l] Occ. ibid. [m] JUL. CAP. p. 26.

maſſacred, and the city to be utterly demoliſhed. Some writers aſcribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of *Caſſius*, who thus retaliated upon the *Parthians* the dreadful ſlaughters which the *Romans* had in former times ſuffered from them. On his return he loſt great numbers of his men, who died of diſtempers, or periſhed for want of proviſions [n]. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate beſtowed on *L. Verus*, tho' he had never ſtirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *The conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Medes, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions and medals of this and the following year [o]. Of this war the antients give us no farther account; but from *Rufus Feſtus* [p] and *Dion Caſſius* [q] it appears, that towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, the provinces of *Oſrhoene* and *Adiabene*, with the city of *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, were ſubject to the *Romans*. Many *Greek* hiſtorians immediately publiſhed accounts of this war; but were guilty, it ſeems, of conſiderable miſtakes; which prompted *Lucian* to compoſe his treatiſe on the manner of writing hiſtory [r]. The war being ended, *Lucius Verus* appointed kings over the foreign nations which had ſubmitted to *Rome*, and left the ſenators who had attended him governors of the *Roman* provinces. *M. Aurelius* had ſent *Annius Libo* his couſin-german into *Syria* to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while *L. Verus* reſided there; but he dying ſuddenly, *L. Verus*, upon his leaving *Syria*, appointed *Cæſonius Vectilianus* governor of that province in his room. *Libo* was ſaid to have been poiſoned by *Verus*, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But *Aurelius* gave no credit to that report; nay, at the requeſt of *Verus*, he ſuffered *Agaclytes*, one of his collegue's freedmen, to marry *Libo*'s widow, and even aſſiſted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-ways pleaſed with the marriage [s].

The death of Annius Libo.

L. Verus *returns to* Rome *and triumphs with* M. Aurelius.

The next year, *Q. Servilius Pudens* and *L. Fuſidius Pollio* being conſuls, *L. Verus*, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was given by the ſenate to both emperors, and both aſſumed that of *Father of their country*, which *M. Aurelius* had declined till the return of his brother. *L. Verus*, after his triumph, begged, that the title of *Cæſar* might be conferred on the two ſons of *M. Aurelius*, viz. *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of *October* of this year. The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal, we may ſay, to the whole

[n] Dio. p. 802. Lucian: hiſt. p. 358. Ammian. l. xxiii [o] Occo. p. 283. Birag. p. 218, 236. [p] Fest. p. 551. [q] Dio. l. lxxv. p. 848. [r] Lucian de hiſt. p. 347. [s] Dio. p. 811. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 22. & Ver. p. 38.

world;

world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he paſſed; ſo that the infection not only ſpread through *Italy*, but extended to the moſt diſtant countries that were ſubject to, or had any communication with *Rome*, or the *Romans*. We are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that this plague firſt broke out at *Seleucia*, where the ſoldiers, pillaging the temple of *Apollo*, found a little golden coffer under ground, which, upon their opening it, caſt out ſuch a peſtilential air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and ſoon ſpread into moſt parts of the world [t]; but thoſe who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the *Roman* empire, aſſure us, that it began in *Ethiopia*, and was thence carried into *Egypt*, and from *Egypt* into the country of the *Parthians*, where it infected *L. Verus*'s army [u]. Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into *Italy* by the troops which had been employed againſt the *Parthians*, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for ſome years, eſpecially in *Italy* and at *Rome*, where it carried off many thouſands, and among the reſt great numbers of illuſtrious perſons. *M. Aurelius* cauſed ſuch of the common people as died to be buried at his own expence, and enacted on that occaſion ſome laws concerning burials and ſepulchres, which were ſtill in force in *Dioclefian*'s time [w]. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the ſame time, the *Marcomanni*, one of the moſt warlike nations in *Germany*, invaded the empire, having firſt drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*, *viz.* the *Nariſci*, the *Hermonduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Victovales*, *Roxolani*, *Baſternæ*, *Coſtobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Iazyges*, and ſeveral other nations. This war, which by the hiſtorians of thoſe times is called one of the greateſt wars *Rome* ever ſuſtained, was kindled while the flower of the *Roman* troops were yet employed in the eaſt againſt the *Parthians*; but ſuſpended for ſome time by the addreſs of the commanders on the frontiers, that *Rome* might not be at the ſame time engaged in two ſuch dreadful wars. The affairs of the eaſt were no ſooner ſettled, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* acquainted the ſenate, that a war with the *Marcomanni* was inevitable, and of ſuch conſequence, that it required the preſence of both emperors; for *M. Aurelius* did not care to commit the whole management of the war to *Verus*, judging him unfit to carry it on with ſucceſs; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave

A dreadful plague rages in all the provinces of the empire.

And is followed by a famine, by earthquakes, &c.

War with the Marcomanni.

[t] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 251, 253. [u] LUCIAN. de hiſt. p. 355.
[w] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. OROS l. vii. c. 15.

him at *Rome*, where he began to be daily more and more deſpiſed on account of his enormous debaucheries. The ſenate approved his propoſal; ſo that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of ſacrifices, and implored by all ſorts of ceremonies, both foreign and *Roman*, the protection of the gods, left *Rome* about the cloſe of the year, in their military apparel, and haſtened to *Aquileia*, to make the neceſſary preparations there for taking the field early in the ſpring [x].

Both emperors ſet out from Rome.

The next conſuls were the emperor *L. Verus*, the third time, and *M. Quadratus*, nephew to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Early in the ſpring the two emperors took the field, and their approach ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that they repaſſed the *Danube*, and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The *Quadi*, whoſe king was dead, promiſed not to crown the perſon whom they had choſen in his room, without the conſent and approbation of the emperors. Moſt of the nations who had taken arms diſpatched embaſſadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their ſubmiſſions, and aſk pardon for having diſturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon *Verus*, who had left the diverſions of the city much againſt his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *M. Aurelius*, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the barbarians, continued ſome time at *Aquileia*, fortifying that place with new works, and then paſſed, together with *Verus*, the neighbouring *Alps*; provided with great care for the ſafety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, and returned to *Rome* about the end of this year [y]. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Paulus* being conſuls the ſecond time, the war ſeems to have broke out anew; for it appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that both princes took this year, the eighth of their reign, the title of *imperator*; which was never done but on occaſion of ſome victory [z]: and in the chronicle of *Euſebius* we read, that the *Romans* gained this year a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians* [a]. The next year, in the conſulate of *Q. Soſius Priſcus* and *P. Cœlius Apollinaris*, the *Germans*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; inſomuch, that both emperors left *Rome* in the depth of winter, and returned to *Aquileia*, with a deſign to attack the barbarians early in the ſpring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviſeable to leave the place and haſten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the ſame

The Marcomanni *and other* German *nations ſue for peace.*

But renew the war with great vigour.

[x] Idem ibid. p. 28, & 39. [y] Dio. p. 808. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 28. [z] Occo. p. 285, & 309. [a] Euseb. chron. p. 136.

coach,

coach, *L. Verus* was ſeized with an apoplexy near *Altinum*. *M. Aurelius* cauſed him to be immediately taken out of the coach and blooded, by which means he brought him alive to *Altinum*, where he lay three days ſpeechleſs, and then died, after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight, and ſome months [b]. *M. Aurelius* conveyed his body to *Rome*; cauſed it to be interred with extraordinary pomp, by that of his father *L. Cæſar*, in the mauſoleum of *Adrian*; prevailed upon the ſenate, notwithſtanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him prieſts, ſacrifices, &c. and took particular care of all his relations; nay, even of his wicked and debauched freedmen, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name *Eclectus*, who afterwards murdered his ſon *Commodus*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. *L. Verus* was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, paſſing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often ſcouring the ſtreets in the night-time, as *Nero* had formerly done, and committing great diſorders in the public-houſes and ſtews, which he uſed to frequent in diſguiſe, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years ſtay in *Syria*, he was ſo taken up with pleaſures and lewd amours, that he was with much-ado prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the *Euphrates*, whence he haſtened back to *Daphne*, one of the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, a place ſo infamous for all manner of lewdneſs, that *to live after the manner of* Daphne was become a proverb, to expreſs the moſt diſſolute and luxurious way of living, and that all who had any regard to their reputation avoided appearing there. In that place *Verus* abandoned himſelf without reſtraint to all ſorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war againſt the *Parthians* and their allies; which gave occaſion to many ſevere lampoons, the *Antiochians* being greatly addicted to ſatire. But *Verus* preferred his pleaſures to his reputation: he brought with him out of *Syria* a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, &c. and paſſed moſt of his time in their company. Soon after his return to *Rome*, he is ſaid to have ſpent at one entertainment ſix millions of ſeſterces; for he preſented each of the gueſts, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and ſilver plate, great part of which was ſet with jewels, which they had made uſe of during the banquet, and likewiſe with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and at their parting he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules

L. Verus *dies.*

His character.

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

[b] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. & in Ver. p. 39. GALEN. prog. t. iii. p. 459.

richly

richly caparisoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, says the writer of his life, into a tavern; for after he had supped with *M. Aurelius*, he used to withdraw to his own company, and pass the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions and lewd women. He was so fond of a horse named *Celer*, or the *Swift*, that he erected a statue to him in gold, fed him with raisins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of the palace, and, when he died, erected a stately monument to him on the *Vatican*. He suffered his slaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their masters, according to the *Roman* custom, during the feast of *Saturn*, and was intirely governed by them, his freedmen, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the *Clodian* way, and there spent most of his time in revelling with his freedmen, and such women as were infamous for their lewdness. He once invited thither *M. Aurelius*, who complied with his invitation, and staid five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameless conduct; but finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, dissembled his disorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even endeavoured to excuse them. However, it was privately whispered abroad, that *Verus*'s horrible excesses, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the east, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *M. Aurelius*, who was thought to have intimated in his speech to the senate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his collegue, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or restraint; nay, as the best of princes are often maliciously censured, *M. Aurelius* was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a collegue, either by poison, or by ordering his physician *Posidippus* to let him blood unseasonably [c]. *Dion Cassius* seems inclined to believe, that *M. Aurelius* thought it expedient to prevent by that means *Verus* from raising disturbances in the state [d]; for he is said to have formed a conspiracy, with a design to murder *M. Aurelius*, and reign alone [e]. But it is a crime, say other historians, to imagine, that such a prince as *M. Aurelius*, to whom flattery itself has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deserve [f]. Only such fratricides as *Caracalla*, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes, can entertain such thoughts of *Aurelius* [g]. Some charged the empress *Faustina* with his death,

M. Aurelius said by some to have caused him to be murdered.

But cleared from that aspersion by others.

[c] Jul. Cap. p. 28—34. [d] Dio. p. 802. [e] Philost. soph. xxvii. p. 548. [f] Jul. Cap. in Ver. p. 39. [g] Herodian. l. iv p. 645. Aur. Vict.

as

as if ſhe had poiſoned him for having diſcovered to his wife his inceſtuous converſation with her. Others ſaid, that he was poiſoned by his wife *Lucilla*, jealous of the great paſſion he had for his own ſiſter *Fabia*, whoſe power ſhe could not brook [h].

M. Aurelius, now delivered from ſo vicious and troubleſome a partner, made it his whole ſtudy to oblige all with his engaging behaviour and unbounded generoſity. He ſeemed to excel not only his predeceſſors, but even himſelf, governing with ſuch moderation and mildneſs, as can hardly be expreſſed [i]. The neceſſary preparations for the war with the *Marcomanni* in-groſſed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieute-nants gained, it ſeems, ſome advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the enſuing year, while *M. Cor-nelius Cethegus* and *C. Erucius Clarus* were conſuls; for ſoon after the death of *L. Verus*, and before the twenty-fifth of *February* of this year, he took upon him the title of *imperator*, as ap-pears from ſeveral medals and inſcriptions [k]. However, the *Marcomanni* ſoon reſumed their courage, and falling upon *Vin-dex*, captain of the guards, cut both him and moſt of his men in pieces [l]. After this victory, they approached the *Roman* ter-ritories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which laſted many hours, both the *Romans* and barbarians fighting with in-credible courage and reſolution; but at length the *Romans* were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having loſt near twenty thouſand men. The *Marcomanni* purſued the fugitives to the very walls of *Aquileia*; which city they had taken, had not the *Roman* generals rallied their men with great ſkill and conduct. The barbarians entered *Italy* itſelf, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſta-tions [m]. The news of this fatal overthrow filled *Rome* with terror and conſternation. As the plague, which ſtill raged in moſt provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, ſlaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of *Dalmatia* and *Dar-dania*, were admitted into the army. Beſides, *M. Aurelius* prevailed upon ſome mercenary *Germans* to ſerve againſt their countrymen. Thus a conſiderable army was ſoon raiſed; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of ſo dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himſelf to burden his people with new taxes, expoſed to public ſale the furniture of the palace, the gold and ſilver plate, all the valuable pictures and ſtatues be-longing to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroi-

M. Aurelius prepares for the war againſt the Marcomanni.

The Romans *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

[h] JUL. CAP. [i] Idem, p. 29. EUTROP. [k] BIRAG. p. 221.
[l] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 803. [m] Idem ibid. & LUCIAN. pſeud p 493

dered

M. Aurelius *sells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.*

dered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which *Adrian* had purchaſed during his long progreſs through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called *Adrian's cabinet.* The ſale laſted two months, and produced ſuch an immenſe ſum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when proviſions were very dear, with an extraordinary largeſs; to defray the charges of a five years expenſive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had ſold, allowing, however, the buyers full liberty to keep their purchaſes, or return them and take their money again [n]. When he was upon the point of ſetting out from *Rome*, he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *L. Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the ſon of a private *Roman* knight, but a perſon of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wiſdom and integrity, which *M. Aurelius* ever preferred to wealth and nobility [o]. *Julian*, ſurnamed the apoſtate, blames *M. Aurelius* for having left the empire to his ſon *Commodus*, and not to *Pompeianus*, who was every way qualified for it; whereas *Commodus* was altogether unfit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt [p]. However, neither *Lucilla* herſelf nor her mother *Fauſtina* were pleaſed with the match. *Lucilla* retained the title of *Auguſta*, and all the badges of ſovereignty [q]. Before the emperor left *Rome*, his ſon *Annius Verus Cæſar* died at *Paleſtrina*, in the ſeventh year of his age. *M. Aurelius* loved him with all the tenderneſs of a father; but nevertheleſs bore his death with great firmneſs, comforting the empreſs *Fauſtina*, and the phyſicians, who are ſaid to have occaſioned his death by opening unſeaſonably a ſwelling under his ear [r]. The emperor ſet out at length for *Germany*, whither he ſhewed a great deſire of carrying *Galen* with him; but that celebrated phyſician chuſing to ſtay at *Rome*, the good-natured prince would not preſs him to leave it. He left likewiſe at *Rome* his ſon *Commodus*, under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but *Galen*, in caſe his ſon ſhould be taken ill during his abſence [s].

Annius Verus, *the emperor's ſecond ſon, dies.*

The barbarians over-run ſeveral provinces of the empire.

The antients compare this war to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars; but at the ſame time, give us a very ſuccinct and confuſed account of it. The barbarians, ſay they, laid waſte ſeveral provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themſelves maſters of *Pannonia*, and held it for ſome time. The *Caſtobochi* over-ran

[n] Jul. Cap in Aur. p. 29. Eutrop. & Birag. p. 221. [o] Lamprid. in Comm. p. 48. Herodian. l. i. p. 464. [p] Julian. Cæs. p 13. [q] Jul. Cap. p. 31. Herodian l. i. p. 427. [r] Jul. Cap. p. 31. [s] Galen. prog 459. & 461.

Greece,

Greece, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a famous city of *Phocis* in *Achaia*; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devaſtations [t]. However, they were at length overcome by *M. Aurelius*, who, during this bloody and deſtructive war, gave innumerable inſtances of an extraordinary prudence and intrepidity, chuſing rather to prolong the war and tire out the enemy, than expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, ſignalized themſelves in a very eminent manner [u]. The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were conſtrained to abandon *Pannonia* and retire beyond the *Danube*. The emperor purſued them, and, coming up with them as they were paſſing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The *Iazyges* were twice defeated, firſt in *Pannonia*, and the ſecond time as they were croſſing the *Danube* on the ice. A *Roman* ſoldier, who was upon guard during the night near the *Danube*, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by the barbarians, crying on the other ſide in an affecting manner, threw himſelf, armed as he was, into the river, croſſed it, reſcued his fellow-ſoldier, and returned with him to his poſt [w]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that the *Roman* ſoldiers having demanded of the emperor a largeſs after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour and obtained a complete victory, he refuſed it, telling them, That he could not inrich them, without impoveriſhing their parents and relations; and adding, as they ſeemed diſſatisfied with this anſwer, That their complaints gave him no uneaſineſs or concern, ſince he was well appriſed, that the gods alone diſpoſed of empires [x]. *Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, deſiring to have *Pertinax* joined in the commiſſion with him, *M. Aurelius* readily complied with his requeſt, tho' he had, not long before, upon ſome complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* was attended with great ſucceſs in his new commiſſion, which induced the emperor to admit him into the ſenate. Being ſoon after convinced, that the complaints brought againſt him were quite groundleſs, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, whence he drove the *Germans*, who had broke into that province, and was on that account, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, raiſed by the emperor to the

M. Aurelius *carries on the war in perſon with great ſucceſs.*

His firmneſs and intrepidity.

Pertinax *created a ſenator.*

[t] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 425. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x. p. 352. [u] JUL. CAP. p. 31. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 117. [w] DIO. l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. AUR. VICT. p. 31. [x] DIO. p. 803.

conſular dignity [y]. The emperor, during his firſt expedition againſt the *Marcomanni*, reſided for the moſt part at *Carnuntum*, a city of *Upper Pannonia* upon the *Danube*, which ſome take to be the preſent village of St. *Perronel* in *Auſtria* [z].

Diſturbances in Egypt.

Before the war with the *Marcomanni* was ended, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and ſhepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, and committing dreadful diſorders. Being headed by one *Iſidorus*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, they killed a *Roman* centurion and ſome ſoldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the *Egyptians* joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the *Roman* troops in a pitched battle; over-ran the whole country, and would have made themſelves maſters of *Alexandria* itſelf, had not *Caſſius*, whom *M. Aurelius* had appointed governor of *Syria*, marched againſt them. *Caſſius* was reckoned the beſt commander of his age, and had ſignalized himſelf both in the *Parthian* and *German* wars.

Which are ſuppreſſed by Caſſius.

However, he did not think it adviſeable to engage ſo bold and deſperate an enemy; but having found means to ſow diviſions among them, as he was a man of great craft and addreſs, he obliged them at laſt to ſubmit and lay down their arms [a]. *Caſſius*, having thus quelled the diſturbances in *Egypt*, marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which ſeems to have laſted ſome time, any farther mention is made in hiſtory.

Spain *invaded by the* Moors, *who are driven out.*

At the ſame time, the *Moors* over-ran almoſt all *Spain*, ravaging that country with fire and ſword; but were in the end driven out by the emperor's lieutenants. *Severus*, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæſtor of the province of *Bætica* [b]. There were likewiſe ſome diſturbances in the country of the *Sequani*, now the *Franche Comté*; but theſe the emperor compoſed with his authority and ſeaſonable ſeverity [c]. The next conſuls were *Herennianus* and *Severus*, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his requeſt, was by *M. Aurelius* admitted into the ſenate [d]. During their adminiſtration, a great diſpute ariſing between *Herodes Atticus* and the city of *Athens*, the emperor ſeemed inclined to favour the latter; which ſo provoked *Herodes* who was a man of a violent and fiery temper, that when the cauſe was to be decided by the emperor then reſiding at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Pannonia*, inſtead of pleading with his

[y] Idem, p. 810. Jul. Cap. in Pertin. p. 54. [z] Dio. ibid. Baudrand. p. 165. [a] Dio. p. 803. Vulcat. Gallican. in vit. Caſſ. [b] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 31. & Spart. in Sever. [c] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. [d] Onuph. in faſt. p. 231. Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 108.

uſual

uſual eloquence, tranſported with rage, he launched into bitter and ſcurrilous invectives againſt the emperor, telling him amongſt other things, that he ſuffered himſelf, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman and an infant only three years old; for the empreſs *Fauſtina* and her young daughter, inſtructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the *Athenians*. When he had done railing againſt the emperor, *Baſſæus*, captain of the guards, told him, That his inſolent behaviour might perhaps coſt him his life. But *Herodes*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern or remorſe, anſwered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear, and immediately withdrew. As for the emperor he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addreſſing the *Athenian* deputies, *You may alledge your reaſons*, ſaid he, *tho'* Herodes *has not been pleaſed to alledge his.* He heard them with great attention, and could not help ſhedding tears, when they deſcribed the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of *Herodes* and his freedmen, who had uſurped a kind of ſovereignty over the city, and oppreſſed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn *Herodes*, but only his freedmen; and the puniſhment which he inflicted upon them was very ſmall, ſays our hiſtorian, and no-ways anſwerable to their crimes [e]; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named *Alcimedon*, the whole, thinking him ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flaſh of lightning after their arrival at *Sirmium*. Some time after, *Herodes* wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately ſent him an anſwer, filled with the moſt tender and ſincere expreſſions of friendſhip, condeſcending, in a manner, to beg his pardon for having condemned perſons belonging to him [f]. *Baſſæus*, captain of the guards, whom we have mentioned above, is by *Dion Caſſius* ſtyled *M. Rufus Baſæus*. He was, according to that writer, a common peaſant; but being forced into the ſervice, gave ſuch proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite deſtitute of learning, and ſpoke ſo broad that he could hardly be underſtood [g]. The following year, when *Maximus* and *Orſitus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius* gained, it ſeems, conſiderable advantages over the *Germans*; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in *Germany*, and on ſome he is ſtyled *Germanicus*; which title was given to his ſon *Commodus* this

The emperor bears patiently the reproaches of Herodes Atticus.

[e] Dio. ibid. Philost. ſoph. xxvii. p. 558—561. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Dio p. 803. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717.

very year, on the fifteenth of *October* [h]. The next conſuls were *M. Aurelius Severus*, the ſecond time, and *T. Claudius Pompeianus*, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity.

M Aurelius in great danger of being cut off with his whole army by the Marcomanni.

But the enſuing year, when *Gallus* and *Flaccus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius*, by an event altogether miraculous, eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the *Danube*, in the country of the *Quadi*, where *M. Aurelius* was this year making war, and near the river *Gran*, which riſing from the mountains of *North Hungary* falls into the *Danube* over-againſt the antient city of *Strigonium*, to which the *Gran* gives its name [i]. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's ſlingers and archers, who, from the oppoſite banks of the *Gran*, galled the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviſeable to paſs the river and diſlodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great ſlaughter on both ſides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them before-hand, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a diſadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite deſtitute of water. The *Romans* cloſing their ranks, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed the enemy, who thereupon, giving over the attack, ſeized the avenues, and blocked them up on all ſides, hoping to reduce by thirſt thoſe whom they could not overcome by force of arms. The *Romans*, finding themſelves thus ſhut up among barren mountains, quite ſpent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppreſſed with heat, and tormented with an inſufferable drought, attempted to open themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, they found themſelves obliged to keep under arms, expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and oppreſſed with a violent thirſt, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both ſoldiers and officers began to abandon themſelves to deſpair, while the emperor, more affected with the miſeries of the ſoldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inſpire them with courage, and raiſe their drooping ſpirits; but as they ſaw no poſſible means of eſcaping the preſent danger, his words were to no purpoſe, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing ſeen but marks of the utmoſt deſpair. In this diſtreſs, when they expected every moment either to be cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who ſurrounded them, clouds ap-

[h] Birag. p. 223, 225. Lamprid. in Comm. p. 50. [i] Onuph. in faſt. p. 232. Tertul. apol. c. 5. Dio. l. lxxi. p. 805. Baudr. p. 330.

peared

peared all on a ſudden gathering in the air; the ſky was overcaſt, and to their inexpreſſible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting ſoldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers, up to heaven, as they are repreſented on the famous column of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this poſture the barbarians fell upon them; ſo that they were obliged at the ſame time to drink and fight; for they were ſo oppreſſed with drought, that ſuch of them as were wounded drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their helmets. As they were more eager to quench their thirſt than to repulſe the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculouſly ſuccoured by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which diſcharged itſelf upon the barbarians, as they advanced againſt them. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time fire and water deſcending from heaven; water to refreſh the *Romans*, and fire to deſtroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the *Romans*, or what fell was immediately extinguiſhed; and the rain which fell upon the barbarians was ſo far from overcoming the flames which conſumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus deſtitute of water in the midſt of a heavy ſhower, were obliged either to wound themſelves, in order to extinguiſh with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourſe to the *Romans*, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of *M. Aurelius*, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner [k]. Thus *Dion Caſſius* relates this memorable event, ſo much celebrated by *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Themiſtius* in his oration before *Theodoſius*, St. *Jerom*, *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, the poet *Claudian*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*. It was engraved on the famous column of *Antoninus*, with the other exploits of *M. Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war, and on another which *Themiſtius* tells us he had ſeen [l]. The truth of this miraculous event has been univerſally acknowledged both by the chriſtian and pagan writers, who nevertheleſs diſagree as to the authors of it. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes it to a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, named *Arnuphis*, who attended the emperor in this war [m]; *Suidas* to a magician, by name *Julianus*, who was originally of *Chaldæa*, and wrote ſeveral books of magic [n]. *Julius Capitolinus* [o], *Themiſtius* [p], and the poet *Claudian* [q] pretend, that this miraculous ſhower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above-mentioned column of the *An-*

They are relieved by a miraculous ſhower.

[k] DIO. ibid. p. 805, 806. [l] THEMIST. orat. XV. [m] DIO. ibid. [n] SUID. p. 439. [o] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 32. [p] THEMIST. ibid. [q] CLAUD. in conſ. Honor. 6. p. 183.

tonini

tonitri it is by the pagans aſcribed to their thundering *Jupiter*. But all the chriſtian writers aſſure us, that ſo ſignal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the chriſtian ſoldiers, who ſerved in the *Roman* army. This *Euſebius* aſſerts upon the authority of *Apollinaris* biſhop of *Hierapolis*, which ought to be of great weight, ſince this miraculous deliverance happened in his time [r]. The chriſtians, by whoſe prayers the army was ſaved, belonged to the legion *Melitina*, mentioned by *Dion Caſſius* [s], or, as *Xiphilin* expreſſes it, to the legion that had been raiſed or quartered at *Melitine*; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. *Melitine* was one of the chief cities of *Armenia Minor*, and ſtood on the banks of the *Euphrates*. This legion, which, according to *Xiphilin*, conſiſted intirely of chriſtians, and had been prompted by a viſion, if *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* is to be credited [t], to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by *Titus* had been quartered in the city of *Melitine* in the year 70 [u], and was in *Cappadocia* in the year 230, the ninth of *Alexander Severus*'s reign [w]. The province of *Cappadocia* probably comprehended at that time *Armenia Minor*; ſo that we may ſuppoſe it to have been ſtill at *Melitine*; for there we find it placed in a *notitia imperii*, or ſtate of the empire, publiſhed many years after the death of *Severus*. The twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of the *thundering* [x]; and *Apollinaris*, as quoted by *Euſebius* [y], tells us, that the legion *Melitina* was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The ſame thing we read in *Xiphilin*, and in *Onuphrius*, who maintains, that till the time of *M. Aurelius* no mention is made of the thundering legion [z]. But from an antient inſcription it appears, that the twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by that ſurname even in *Trajan*'s time [a]. Of this legion, which ſtill ſubſiſted in the time of *Euſebius* [b], were the forty martyrs of *Sebaſte*, ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers of the primitive times [c]. But what moſt of all confirms the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himſelf wrote to the ſenate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occaſion [d]. *Tertullian* aſſures us, that in his letter he aſcribed, tho' in a

The legion Melitina.

[r] Euseb. l. v. c. 5. [s] Dio. p. 806. [t] Greg. Nyss. orat. 2. de quadraginta. martyr. [u] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Dio. l. lv p. 565. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Euseb. l. v c. 5. [z] Onuph. in fail. p. 233 [a] Vide Baron. ad ann. 176. & Euseb chron. p. 233. [b] Euseb. ibid. [c] Greg. Nyss. de quadrag martyr. [d] Dio. l. lxxi p 855.

doubtful

doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the chriſtians; *Having obtained rain*, ſays he, as quoted by *Tertullian*, *perhaps by the prayers of the chriſtians.* He expreſſed himſelf to the ſenate with great caution and circumſpection, as the reader may obſerve; but of his being in his own mind fully convinced, that his ſafety was owing to the chriſtians, he gave ſoon after a very ſtrong proof, by enacting, that ſuch as ſhould thenceforth accuſe a chriſtian on account of his religion, ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour, that is, as *Euſebius* underſtands it, with death [e]. As *Tertullian* quotes the emperor's letter in writing againſt the pagans, we cannot doubt but he had ſeen it, nor call in queſtion what he ſays of it. *Euſebius* quotes ſome paſſages of it out of *Tertullian*, and ſpeaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was ſaid to have been. But St. *Jerom*, in tranſlating that paſſage of *Euſebius*, poſitively affirms, that it was ſtill extant. *Oroſius* and *Xiphilin* only ſay, that it was thought to be extant in their times [f]; whence it is manifeſt they had not ſeen it. A letter aſcribed to *M. Aurelius* concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the chriſtians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in *Greek* to the apologies of *Juſtin* the martyr, and is to be found in *Latin* in *Onuphrius* [g] and *Baronius* [h], tranſlated, as they tell us, from the *Greek* text, which was itſelf a tranſlation from the original *Latin*. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithſtanding their judgment, it is by the beſt critics, rejected as ſpurious, to whoſe opinion we readily ſubſcribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed the reign of *M. Aurelius* [i]. After ſo glorious a victory, *M. Aurelius* was proclaimed emperor the ſeventh time, and the empreſs *Fauſtina* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *mater caſtrorum*, or *the mother of armies* [k]. This memorable victory was gained by the *Romans* in the year of the *Chriſtian* æra 174, the fourteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, many were taken priſoners, and the reſt put to flight and diſperſed.

M. Aurelius acknowledges himſelf indebted to the chriſtians for his deliverance.

Marcus Aurelius could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave *Germany*, and return to *Rome*, being deſirous to reduce the countries of the *Marcomanni* and the *Sarmatians* to *Roman* provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, but becauſe he found by experience, that he could not rely upon their fidelity. This he would have com-

[e] EUSEB. l. iii. c. 5. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. [f] OROS. l. vii. c. 7. DIO. p. 806. [g] ONUPH. faſt. p. 234. [h] BARON. ad ann. 176. [i] Vide P. PAGI, p. 171. & SCALIG. in chron. Euſeb. p. 223. [k] DIO. p. 806.

paſſed,

paſſed, had he not been interrupted in the midſt of his conqueſts by the revolt of *Caſſius*, which we ſhall relate anon. He continued in *Germany* great part of the following year, when *Piſo* and *Julianus* were conſuls; and having placed twenty thouſand men in the countries of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, harraſſed theſe two nations to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to abandon their native ſoil and ſettle elſewhere. But *M. Aurelius*, having received timely notice of their deſign, prevented them from putting it in execution; ſo that their fields being laid waſte, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end conſtrained by famine to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor and ſue for peace. The *Quadi* ſent with their embaſſadors all the *Roman* deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not for the future traffic within the *Roman* dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube*. But this peace was ſhort-lived; for the *Quadi*, inſtead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the *Iazyges*, who were ſtill in arms, and drew over the *Marcomanni*. At the ſame time, they drove out *Furtius*, their king, for diſapproving their meaſures, and, of their own authority, appointed one *Ariogeſes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* reſented to ſuch a degree, that though the *Quadi* promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand *Roman* captives, upon condition, that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to *Ariogeſes* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the propoſal, but on the contrary proſcribed the new prince and ſet a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadi*, being joined by the *Marcomanni*, the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, the *Nariſci*, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, attacked the *Romans*, but were, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate, diſpute, put to the rout and utterly defeated. *Ariogeſes* himſelf was taken priſoner and brought to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding his late menaces and reſentment, generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining the captive to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt* [1]. After this victory, moſt nations in *Germany* ſent deputies to ſue for peace, offering to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the emperor ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. The *Quadi* ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*. The *Marcomanni*, after ſo many loſſes, ſubmitted and obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. *Zantiches*, king of the *Iazyges*, came in perſon to wait on *M. Aurelius*, attended by all

The Marcomanni *and* Quadi *ſue for peace.*

They receive a great overthrow.

The Marcomanni *and other nations obtain a peace.*

[1] Dio. p. 868. & in excerpt. Val p. 717.

the

the great men of the nation, and was by him received into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the *Danube* than the *Marcomanni*. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thouſand priſoners during this war, whom they ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Beſides, they ſupplied *M. Aurelius* with a body of eighty thouſand horſemen, of whom he immediately ſent five thouſand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Nariſci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon ſuch terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops againſt *Caſſius*, whoſe revolt was likely to bring dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already raiſed the courage of the barbarians.

Avidius Caſſius *revolts*.

Avidius Caſſius, whom we have frequently mentioned in deſcribing the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, was, as ſome authors write, deſcended by the mother from the antient family of the *Caſſii*. His father, by name *Avidius Severus*, raiſed himſelf, according to the author of his life [m], from the degree of a centurion to the firſt employments in the ſtate; and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly favoured by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, but died before the revolt of his ſon. Such is the account which *Vulcatius Gallicanus* gives us of his extraction. But another hiſtorian writes, that *Caſſius* himſelf owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous *Caſſius*, who killed *Cæſar* the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of *Cyrrhum* in *Syria*, and the ſon of one *Heliodorus*, who had the good fortune to raiſe himſelf by his eloquence to the government of *Egypt* [n]. One of *Adrian*'s ſecretaries was named *Heliodorus*, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of *Caſſius* [o]. He was remarkable for maintaining diſcipline among the troops; but his ſeverity, according to *Vulcatius*, favoured of cruelty; for if any ſoldier was found to take but the leaſt thing by violence from the people of the provinces, he cauſed him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact was committed: ſome he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into ſome river or into the ſea. He uſed to puniſh deſerters with cutting off their hands and legs, ſaying, that the ſight of a criminal living in miſery, made a deeper impreſſion than his being put to death at one blow. As he had been attended with wonderful ſucceſs againſt the *Parthians*, *M. Au-*

His extraction.

His ſeverity towards the ſoldiers.

[m] VULCAT. GALLICAN in Caſſio. [n] DIO l. lxxi. p. 810. ARISTID. orat. 26. [o] VALES. in excerpt. Dionis, p. 103.

relius, in his first war with the *Marcomanni*, sent him against the *Sarmatians* their confederates. As he was encamped near the *Danube*, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence, that the enemy lay carelesly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack them, killed three thousand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected some great reward from *Cassius*, for having with a handful of men killed such a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But *Cassius*, looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be attended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but *Cassius*, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, *Kill me, and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.* This intrepidity allayed their fury; and no one daring to utter a single word of complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to learn and observe the military laws, knowing they served under a general who could not, by any fears or menaces, be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or suffer them to pass unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the *Sarmatians*, that despairing to conquer a people thus observant of military discipline and the rules of war, they immediately sent embassadors to the emperor to beg peace for a hundred years [p].

A signal instance of it.

After the first *Marcomannic* war, he was by *M. Aurelius* appointed governor of *Syria*, the emperor judging him the best qualified of any in the empire, to restore the antient discipline intirely neglected by the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor

Appointed governor of Syria.

[p] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 46.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of *Syria*, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have "given to *Avidius Cassius* the command of the legions in *Syria*, "which *Cæsonius Vectilianus* found, as he informs me, dissolved "in luxury, and abandoned to all sorts of pleasures. He is, you "know, a strict observer of the antient discipline, without which "the soldiers can never be kept to their duty. You remember the "old verse,

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virilis.

"And truly the strict observance of the antient discipline is the "chief support of the empire. Take care that sufficient provisions be

Nor was he miſtaken in his judgment; for in a few months the moſt diſſolute were reclaimed from their pleaſures and luxurious manner of living, the antient diſcipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. *Caſſius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, ordered all the ſoldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours, publiſhed a proclamation forbidding them, on pain of being caſhiered, to appear at *Daphne*, every ſeventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages, and frequently obliged them to perform their exerciſes all in a body, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing that wreſtlers and gladiators ſhould be continually exerciſed, and not ſoldiers, whoſe labours are leſſened in proportion as they become accuſtomed to them [q]. As for *Caſſius*'s other qualities, the author of his life repreſents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were allayed with no leſs vices, inſomuch, that he was by ſome called a ſecond *Catiline*. But to us that writer ſeems to contradict himſelf in the character he draws of *Caſſius*; for in one place he paints him not only as ſevere, but cruel and inhuman, towards his ſoldiers; and in another tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being ſtyled a *ſecond Catiline*, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elſewhere, *viz.* that had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation [r]. *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a perſon equal to, and in every reſpect worthy of, the ſovereign power [s]. He always abhorred an abſolute and monarchical government, and is by ſome thought to have had nothing elſe in view, when he revolted, but to reſtore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the

He reſtores the military diſcipline among the troops.

Is an enemy to monarchy.

[q] Idem, p. 47. [r] Idem, p. 41—45. [s] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 810.

" be got ready for the legions, which, if I am not deceived in " *Avidius Caſſius*, will not be miſapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following anſwer: " You could not prefer, " to the command of the legions in *Syria*, a man better qualified for " that important truſt than *Avidius Caſſius*: for only an officer of " his ſeverity can reclaim them from their voluptuous manner of " living, and put them out of conceit with the pleaſures of the " effeminate *Greeks*, to which they have intirely abandoned them- " ſelves. He will ſhake their flowers off of their heads, and teach " them their duty. The neceſſary proviſions for the legions are " already laid up; and nothing can be wanting, ſo long as they " have ſuch an excellent commander as *Avidius Caſſius* (14).

(14) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Caſſ.*

reign of *Antoninus Pius* with a design of deposing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great interest at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour, the accusation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a suspicious and disaffected person. When he commanded in the *Parthian* war under *L. Verus*, that prince, suspecting him, and indeed not without reason, wrote the following letter concerning him to *M. Aurelius*, his partner in the empire.

L. Verus's letter concerning him.

" *Avidius Cassius* seems to me to aspire at the empire, as it is " well known he did in the reign of our father *Antoninus* " *Pius*. I therefore advise you to keep a watchful eye over " him. He censures and condemns all our actions, grows " exceeding rich, and speaks of us both with the utmost con- " tempt, calling you a doating philosopher, and me a luxu- " rious fool. Consider what is to be done: I bear no hatred " to the man, but would have you to reflect, that by invest- " ing such a person with power, and trusting him with the " command of the troops, by whom he is greatly beloved, " you may injure both yourself and your children." Nothing can give us a greater idea of the virtue, truly heroic, of this excellent prince, than his answer to this letter, which was couched in the following terms: " I have perused your letter,

M. Aurelius's answer.

" in which you betray greater fear and uneasiness than becomes " an emperor, or is consistent with the equity of our reign. " If the empire is allotted by heaven to *Avidius Cassius*, it " will not be in our power to cut him off. You know the " saying of your grandfather *Adrian*, that *no man cuts off his* " *successor*. If *Cassius* is not destined to the empire, he will " fall of himself, without our cruelty, into the fatal snare. Besides, we cannot in justice treat a person as a criminal, who " is accused by none, and is, as you write, beloved by the " army, and consequently a man of merit and a good com- " mander. In cases of treason, even when the crime is " proved, the world is apt to think the sufferer injured; " which made your grandfather *Adrian* complain of the hard " fate of emperors, who are never thought to have been in " danger till they are killed. I chuse to name *Adrian* rather " than *Domitian*, who was the first author of this saying, be- " cause a thing, however well said, has not its due weight and " authority, when it comes from a tyrant. Let therefore *Avi-* " *dius Cassius* pursue his own measures; he is an excellent offi- " cer, and a man of great courage, and useful to the state. As " for my children, to whose safety you would have me to sa- " crifice him, if he deserves to be more beloved than they, if " his life promises greater advantages to the state than theirs, let

Avidius

" *Avidius Caſſius* live, let the children of *M. Aurelius* periſh [t]" The good-natured emperor took no farther notice of what *Verus* had wrote to him; for, upon the return of *Caſſius* from the eaſt, where he had performed great exploits, he put him at the head of an army, which he ſent againſt the *Sarmatians*, and afterwards appointed him governor of *Syria*, as we have related above. In the mean time, the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, renewing the war with great vigour, *Caſſius* laid hold of that opportunity to ſeize the empire. Some authors write, that the empreſs *Fauſtina*, being well appriſed, that her ſon *Commodus* was no-ways qualified for the ſovereign power, and fearing that ſome one might ſeize it, who would deſtroy her and her little children, ſolicited *Caſſius* to declare himſelf emperor as ſoon as he ſhould hear the news of *M. Aurelius*'s death, and promiſed in that caſe to marry him. They add, that a report being ſpread of the emperor's death, *Caſſius* immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in his room, and that, tho' the rumour proved afterwards falſe, he found himſelf too far engaged to recede. Others clear *Fauſtina* from being any ways privy to the deſign of *Caſſius* (G), and tell us, that the report of the emperor's death was ſpread abroad by *Caſſius* himſelf, in order to induce the governors of the eaſtern provinces to join him, *M. Aurelius* being greatly beloved, and his ſon no leſs hated [u]. Be that as it will, he ſoon became maſter of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itſelf, *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The

He aſſumes the title of emperor.

And is joined by moſt of the eaſtern nations.

[t] Idem, p. 40, 41. [u] VULCAT. GALL. in Caſſ. p. 42, 43.

(G) *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to clear the empreſs from this charge, produces two letters written by her to *M. Aurelius* on occaſion of this revolt. In one ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: " My mother *Fauſtina*, " in the time of the defection of *Celſus*, adviſed your father *Antoni-* " *nus Pius* to ſhew his kindneſs in the firſt place to his own family, " and next to others. And truly it is incumbent upon every good " prince to take care of his wife and children. Your ſon *Commodus* " is yet very young, and your ſon-in-law *Pompeianus* is ſtricken in " years and a ſtranger. Do not therefore ſpare men, who, had they " conquered, would neither have ſpared you, nor your wife and " children. You will hear from *Cæcilius*, whom I ſhall ſend to you, " what reports have been ſpread of you by the wife of *Caſſius*, by " his ſon, and his ſon-in-law, &c." In the other letter ſhe preſſes him to purſue *Caſſius* and his accomplices with the utmoſt ſeverity, if he loves her and his children, aſſuring him, that if he neglects to oppreſs them, they will not fail to oppreſs him (15).

(15) *Idem ibid.*

troops

troops in *Bithynia* were likewiſe inclined to ſide with him, but reſtrained by *Clodius Albinus*, their commander, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations eſpouſed his cauſe, but none with more zeal than the *Jews* [w].

Martius Verus, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the firſt who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. *M. Aurelius* concealed it for ſome time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the ſoldiers with it in a very judicious and modeſt ſpeech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Caſſius* made him for the kindneſs he ever had, and ſhould ever have, for him, notwithſtanding his revolt, as he hoped to ſhew as ſoon as he had brought him to a ſenſe of his duty. Neither did *Caſſius* on his ſide utter any injurious reflections againſt *M. Aurelius*, but only charged him with neglecting the moſt important affairs of the ſtate to attend the ſtudy of philoſophy, and with ſuffering, thro' an exceſs of goodneſs, many diſorders, which it was incumbent upon him as emperor to correct [x]. In the mean while, *M. Aurelius* having terminated the war with the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, as the time approached for his ſon *Commodus* to put on the manly robe, he ſent for him from *Rome* and gave him it, with the uſual ceremonies, on the ſeventh of *July*, ordering on that occaſion conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the *Roman* people [y]. At *Rome* the ſenate were no ſooner informed of the revolt of *Caſſius*, than they declared him a public enemy and confiſcated his eſtate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predeceſſors had done, but into the public treaſury.

M. Aurelius *marches againſt him.*

At length *M. Aurelius* left *Germany* and ſet out for *Illyricum*, with a deſign to purſue his march thence into the eaſt and meet *Caſſius*, declaring, that he was ready to reſign the empire to him, if the gods ſhould judge it expedient for the public good, that *Caſſius* ſhould reign, and not *M. Aurelius*: For it is not, added he, any private intereſt or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo ſo many labours, to expoſe myſelf to ſo many dangers.

Caſſius *is killed*;

He was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caſſius* had been killed by a centurion named *Antonius*, and another officer of a ſtill inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men [z]. *Dion Caſſius* gives us but a confuſed account of his death; and *Vulcatius Gallicanus* promiſes to inform us how he was killed,

[w] Idem ibid. Dio in excerpt Val. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81. [x] Jul. Capit. ibid. p. 32. Dio. l. lxxi p. 809, 812. [y] Lampridi. in Commod. p. 45. & Jul. Capit. in Aur. p. 32. [z] Dio. p. 812.

and

and where he was overcome, but is not ſo good as his word. However, from what he writes, it is plain, that a battle or encounter happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by *Martius Verus*; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore ſent him before him into *Syria*, giving him the government of that province, inſtead of the government of *Cappadocia*. We are told, that a great many letters, written to *Caſſius* by his friends and correſpondents, falling into *Verus*'s hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, ſaying, he did not doubt but that would pleaſe *M. Aurelius*; and if it did not, that he choſe, however, to ſave many lives at the expence of one [a]. Others write, that theſe letters were brought to *M. Aurelius*, who ordered them, ſealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his preſence [b]. With *Caſſius* was killed his captain of the guards, and ſoon after his ſon *Metianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Egypt*, to ſecure that important province. No other perſon of diſtinction, at leaſt of the ſenatorial order, periſhed on account of his rebellion; nay, theſe were put to death without the emperor's knowledge and againſt his will; for he was greatly concerned that the blood of any ſenator ſhould have been ſhed during his reign: hence, when the head of *Caſſius* was brought to him, he expreſſed great ſorrow, turned his eyes away, and cauſed it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of ſhewing his mercy. The reign of *Caſſius*, or rather his dream, as *Dion Caſſius* ſtyles it, laſted but three months and ſix days [c]. *M. Aurelius* himſelf would neither try, impriſon, nor condemn, any ſenator concerned in the conſpiracy; but referred the whole to the ſenate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges. In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed *Pompeianus*, his ſon-in-law, conſul for the enſuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigour, againſt thoſe whom they were to try:

And his head brought to the emperor, who is concerned for his death.

His letter to the ſenate.

" As for what concerns the defection of *Caſſius*, I beg and " conjure you, conſcript fathers, to have a tender regard to " your characters and to mine: let no one ſenator be put to " death; let the blood of no perſon of diſtinction be ſpilt; let " ſuch as have been already baniſhed return, nay, and enjoy " their eſtates. I wiſh I could raiſe from the dead thoſe who " periſhed in the firſt heat of the war. Revenge is never com- " mendable in an emperor; it ill becomes him in his own " cauſe, let it be never ſo juſt. You will therefore pardon the

[a] Dio p 813. [b] Dio. in excerpt. VAL.: [c] Dio. p. 813. VULCAT. GALL in Caſſ. p 43. NORIS. ep conſ. p. 115.

" children,

" children of *Avidius Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law, and his wife.
" But why do I ſay, *pardon*, when they have committed no
" crime? Let them live in ſafety and enjoy their paternal eſtate,
" with all their father's plate and furniture. Let them have
" full liberty to live where they pleaſe, that they may be ſo
" many inſtances of your clemency and of mine. I further
" beg and deſire, that all the ſenators and *Roman* knights in
" general, who have been privy to this rebellion, be by your
" authority exempted from death, proſcription, infamy, in
" ſhort, from all kind of puniſhment. Allow it to be ſaid to
" your honour and mine, that in this rebellion ſuch only pe-
" riſhed as were killed in the hurry of the war" [d]. The ſe-
nate not only complied with his requeſt, but returned him thanks for the regard he had ſhewn even to the moſt undeſerving members of their body. As for the children of *Caſſius*, the emperor took them under his protection, forbidding any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and ſeverely puniſhing ſuch as did. *Vulcatius* tells us, that he even raiſed the ſons of *Caſſius* and *Druncianus* or *Druentianus*, who had married one of his daughters, by name *Alexandra*, to great preferments, which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well appriſed, that *Caſſius*'s wife, children, and ſon-in-law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into diſcredit with the people and ſoldiery. Of the many perſons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and ſome officers of greater diſtinction baniſhed. Among the latter was *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of *Egypt*, who was confined to an iſland; but the emperor would not ſuffer his eſtate to be confiſcated. An impoſtor, who pretended to be inſpired by the gods, and was ſaid to have foretold the revolt of *Caſſius*, was baniſhed to the iſland of *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. All the accomplices of *Calviſius* were pardoned, as were likewiſe the cities that had declared for *Caſſius*. The empreſs *Fauſtina*, in a letter which ſhe wrote to her huſband on occaſion of this revolt [e], preſſed him to purſue the accomplices of *Caſſius* with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the emperor hearkening only to the impulſe of his own good-nature, returned her the following anſwer: " I have read your letter, my dear
" *Fauſtina*, wherein you adviſe me to treat the accomplices of
" *Caſſius* with the utmoſt ſeverity, which you think they well
" deſerve. This I look upon as a pledge of the love you bear
" to your huſband and children. But give me leave, my dear
" *Fauſtina*, to ſpare the children of *Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law,

His kindneſs to the children of Caſſius.

His letter to Fauſtina *on this occaſion.*

[d] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 44. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 33.
[e] See before note G.

" and

" and his wife, and to write to the ſenate in their behalf. No-
" thing can more recommend a *Roman* emperor to the eſteem
" of the world, than clemency. This placed *Cæſar* among
" the gods; this conſecrated *Auguſtus*; this procured to your
" father the title of *Pius*. I am grieved even for the death of
" *Caſſius*, and wiſh it had been in my power to ſave him. Be
" therefore ſatisfied, and don't abandon yourſelf to fear or re-
" venge. *Marcus Antoninus* is protected by the gods" [f]. Some of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the liberty to tell him, that *Caſſius* would not have been ſo generous, had fortune proved favourabe to him, the emperor immediately replied, We have not lived nor ſerved the gods ſo ill, as to think they would favour *Caſſius*: he added, that the misfortunes of ſome of his predeceſſors were intirely owing to their own ill conduct and cruelties, and that no good prince had ever been overcome or ſlain by an uſurper. *Nero*, *Caligula*, and *Domitian*, ſaid he, deſerved the doom that overtook them; neither *Otho* nor *Vitellius* were equal to the empire; the downfal of *Galba* was occaſioned by his avarice, an unpardonable fault in a prince [g]. Thus the rebellion of *Caſſius* ſerved only to give new luſtre to the unparallelled clemency, good-nature, and generoſity of *M. Aurelius*, who could not prevail upon himſelf to take away the lives of thoſe, who had conſpired againſt his and that of his ſon.

THE rebellion being quaſhed at once by the death of *Caſſius*, *M. Aurelius* wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had named *Pompeianus*, his ſon-in-law, conſul againſt the enſuing year; adding, that he would have honoured him long before with that dignity, had he not thought himſelf obliged in juſtice to confer it firſt upon ſeveral perſons of extraordinary merit, and well-deſerving of the republic. The ſenate, in their anſwer to the emperor's obliging letter, begged him to return to *Rome*, and to inveſt his ſon *Commodus* with the tribunitial power [h]. With the latter requeſt he complied, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [i]. But as for the other requeſt, the emperor either did not return to *Rome*, or his ſtay there was very ſhort; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Caſſius*, he went into the eaſt, and that he had begun his march thither even before he received that news [k]: It is not therefore likely, that he interrupted it to return to *Rome*. He had ſent *Pertinax* before him into *Syria* to make head againſt

Commodus *inveſted with the tribunitial power.*

[f] VULCAT. GALL. p. 32. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem in Caſſ. p. 45. [i] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 235. P. PAGI, p. 218. NORIS, de votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. conſul. p. 120. [k] DIO. p. 813. JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 32.

the rebels; but upon the news of the death of *Caſſius*, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of *Illyricum*, in which province he had gained no leſs reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the *Germans* during the *Marcomannic* war; ſo that he was greatly eſteemed and revered both by the *Romans* and foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the *Roman* name [l]. The emperor took with him into the eaſt his ſon *Commodus* and his wife *Fauſtina*, who died ſuddenly in a village called *Halala*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of a looſe and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having ſuch a father as *Antoninus*, ſuch a huſband as *M. Aurelius*, whom ſome did not believe to be father of *Commodus* [m]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that it was queſtioned whether ſhe died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being named among the accomplices of *Caſſius*, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms and revolt [n]. Her chief gallants were *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orfitus*, and *Moderatus*, whom nevertheleſs *Antoninus*, either not giving credit to what was ſaid of the empreſs, or diſſembling her irregular conduct, preferred to ſeveral employments. Her lewdneſs and her intimacy with the abovementioned perſons, eſpecially with *Tertullus*, were ſo publicly known, that a mimic having one day aſked his companion upon the ſtage, in the preſence of the emperor, what was the name of the perſon who was too familiar with his wife? the other repeated the name of *Tullus* three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant *Tertullus*, the firſt ſyllable of his name ſignifying *three times* [o]. Some of the emperor's friends adviſed him to divorce her; but he anſwered, If I divorce her, I muſt return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father. In one place he commends her free and open temper, her ſincerity in friendſhip, and her acquieſcence to his will [p]. He bewailed her, according to the emperor *Julian* [q], after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the moſt unblemiſhed character. He pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, and begged the ſenate to rank her among the gods; for which he is deſervedly expoſed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor [r]. He founded a ſociety of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empreſs's name. The village where ſhe died he made a colony and a city, ſtyling it

The emperor goes into the eaſt. Fauſtina *dies.* *Her character.*

Extraordinary honours paid her by the emperor and the ſenate.

[l] Idem in Pertin. [m] Idem in M. Aur. p. 30. [n] Dio. p. 813. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. [p] M. Antonin. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14. [q] Julian. Cæs. p. 13. [r] Idem ibid. p. 50.

Fauſtinopolis,

Fauſtinopolis, and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards conſecrated to *Heliogabalus*, the moſt lewd and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors. The ſenate, out of flattery and complaiſance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddeſſes a perſon unworthy of a place among women of any modeſty and reputation, but erected ſtatues to her and to *M. Aurelius*, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, ſhould repair to it, and there offer a ſolemn ſacrifice [s]. By this ſcandalous inſtitution, they deſerved that their daughters ſhould all reſemble *Fauſtina* and their ſons *Commodus*. *Fauſtina* being dead, *Fabia*, the ſiſter of *L. Verus*, who had been formerly betrothed to *M. Aurelius*, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he not thinking it adviſeable to ſubject his children to the authority of a ſtep-mother, took, in the room of a lawful wife, the daughter of one of the deceaſed empreſs's domeſtics [t]; for to that purity, which the chriſtian religion requires and commands, even the moſt virtuous among the pagan philoſophers were utter ſtrangers. As the *Syrians*, looking upon *Caſſius* as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law paſſed at this time, enacting, that no one ſhould be ſent with the character of governor into his own country [u].

THE next conſuls were *T. Vitraſius Pollio* and *M. Flavius Aper*, both for the ſecond time [w]. *Claudius Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, and *Clodius Abinus*, who had reſtrained the legions in *Bithynia* from joining *Caſſius*, as we have related above, were likewiſe conſuls this year. *M. Aurelius*, arriving in the eaſt, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had ſided with *Caſſius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having diſtinguiſhed themſelves, above all the reſt, by their zeal for *Caſſius* and their hatred to him. He therefore publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt them, deprived them of all their privileges, ſuppreſſed their public aſſemblies, and took from them their ſhows and ſpectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being ſoon appeaſed, before he left *Syria*, he reſtored them to their former condition, and even condeſcended to viſit their city. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but inriched with ſeveral privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewiſe ſided with *Caſſius*. Having viſited moſt of the chief cities in the eaſt, and given every-where innumerable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, he ſailed from *Smyrna*, where he had ſtaid

The emperor's clemency and goodneſs to the cities that had ſided with Caſſius.

[s] DIO. l. lxxi. p. 813. [t] VULCAT. GALL. p. 34. [u] DIO. ibid. p. 813. [w] IDAT. ONUPH. &c.

ſome time, and had ſeveral conferences with the celebrated ſophiſt *Ariſtides*, and arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. He conferred many favours on the city of *Athens*, and eſtabliſhed there public profeſſors of all ſciences, with handſome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer [x]. From *Athens* he ſailed for *Italy*; and landing at *Brunduſium*, commanded his ſoldiers immediately to reſume, as he did himſelf, the *Roman* gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or ſoldiers, ever appeared in *Italy* in a military habit. He returned to *Rome* with his ſon *Commodus*, whom he named conſul, though at that time but ſixteen, for the enſuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himſelf aſſumed for the eighth time, probably on account of ſome victory gained by *Pertinax*, governor of *Illyricum*, over the *Germans*. At length, on the twenty-third of *December*, both he and his ſon *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph, diſtributing on this occaſion large ſums among the people and ſoldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a-head as he had been years abſent, which, according to *Dion Caſſius*, were eight [y], but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only ſix. At the ſame time, he exhibited moſt pompous and magnificent ſhows, though he took no pleaſure himſelf in ſuch diverſions. The following year, *Aurelius Commodus Cæſar* and *Quintillus* being conſuls, *Commodus* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of *Auguſtus*; on which occaſion *M. Aurelius* remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor or to the treaſury, ever ſince the time in which *Adrian* had forgiven all ſuch debts [z]. The ſame year he preſented the inhabitants of *Smyrna* with large ſums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almoſt utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake, deſcribed at length by *Ariſtides* in one of his orations [a]. As the emperor continued all this year at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example and partly by wholſome laws, ſeveral abuſes. He could not ſuppreſs the combats of gladiators without diſobliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodſhed, he allowed the combatants only blunt ſwords, in the nature of our foils, ſaying, that with them they might equally diſplay their ſkill and dexterity [b]. The next year, when *Orfitus* and *Julianus Rufus* were

He returns to Rome;

Which he enters in triumph with his ſon Commodus.

Inſtances of his generoſity and good-nature.

[x] Dio. p. 814. Philostr. ſoph. xxxvii. Aristid. orat [y] Dio. ibid. Jul. Capr. p. 29. [z] Dio. ibid. Oros. l. vii. c. 15. Euseb. chron. [a] Aristid. orat. 20. [b] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 718.

conſuls,

conſuls, the *Marcomanni* and their confederates renewing the war with great vigour, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. But before he left *Rome*, he married his ſon *Commodus* to *Criſpina*, the daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*; and repairing to the ſenate, deſired leave to take out of the public treaſure the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war, ſaying, that an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in, but that all belonged to the ſenate and people [c]. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, ſince his acceſſion to the empire, no ſenator had been put to death by his orders; that ſuch, as had periſhed in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have ſpared them all, *Caſſius* himſelf not excepted, had it been in his power ſo to do. As he was eminently ſkilled in philoſophy, many perſons of learning earneſtly intreated him to explain to them, before he left *Rome*, the moſt difficult and intricate points of the different ſects of philoſophers, which he did accordingly, ſpending therein three whole days. They ſeemed to apprehend, that by his death this knowledge might have beeen loſt; which ſhews how thoroughly he was verſed in the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers [d]. At length he ſet out from *Rome*, with his ſon *Commodus*, on the fifth of *Auguſt* of the year 178, the eighteenth of his reign [e]. The following year, *Commodus Auguſtus* and *T. Annius Aurelius Verus* being conſuls the ſecond time, *M. Aurelius* gained a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermunduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he and his ſon *Commodus*, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, took the title of *imperator* [f]. All we know of this action is, that the *Roman* army was commanded by *Paternus*, and the *Germans* were utterly defeated [g]; inſomuch, that all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Antoninus* been prevented by death from crowning his conqueſts with the reduction of ſo powerful and extenſive a country. He died the following year, *Præſens* and *Sex. Quintilius Condianus* being conſuls, on the ſeventeenth of *March*, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, nineteen years and ten or eleven days [h]. *Dion Caſſius* poſitively affirms, that he was diſpatched by his phyſicians, deſirous to curry favour with *Commodus*; and adds, that when the tribune came to him

He marches againſt the Marcomanni,

And gains a ſignal victory over them.

His death.

[c] DIO. p. 814. [d] JUL. CAP. in Caſſ. p. 41. [e] SPART. in Comm. p. 50. & DIO. p. 814. [f] DIO. p. 810. BIRAG. p. 227. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 34. [g] DIO. p. 810, & 814. [h] Idem ibid. & THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614.

the

the laſt time for the parole, he bid him go to *Commodus*, and court, not the ſetting, but the riſing, ſun [i]. On the other hand, *Julius Capitolinus* ſeems to aſcribe his death to a contagious diſtemper; for he tells us, that the plague ſtill raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much-ado, prevailed upon his ſon and his friends not to abandon him; which he took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all ſort of nouriſhment. Two days before he died, he recommended his ſon *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to aſſiſt him with their advice. On the ſeventh day of his illneſs, he deſired to ſee his ſon again, but immediately diſmiſſed him, leſt he ſhould be infected with the ſame diſtemper. When he was gone, he compoſed himſelf, as if he deſigned to ſleep, and expired the following night [k]. He died, according to *Tertullian* [l], at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*; according to the two *Victors*, at *Vindobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*. We need not mention the concern of the ſoldiery and *Roman* people, for the loſs of ſo good and ſo great a prince. His body, or rather his aſhes, were conveyed to *Rome*, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. He was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of prieſts appointed to his honour. Whoever had not ſome image or ſtatue of *M. Aurelius* in his houſe, was judged a ſacrilegious perſon, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, in whoſe time, that is, in the reign of *Dioclefian*, he was ſtill worſhipped in moſt families among their domeſtic gods [m]. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His only fault was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, his too great goodneſs; for though he rewarded with great generoſity the good and virtuous, yet he did not reſtrain and puniſh with due ſeverity the vicious and wicked; whence ſome governors of provinces, preſuming upon his good nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. *Julius Capitolinus* blames him for winking at the monſtrous exceſſes of his wife, and for promoting to the ſovereign power *L. Verus*, whom he muſt have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, ſince *Antoninus Pius* had not ſo much as honoured him with the title of *Cæſar*. The emperor *Julian* prefers *M. Aurelius* to *Cæſar*, to *Auguſtus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the ſame time finds fault with him, for bequeathing the empire to his vicious ſon *Commodus*, and not to his ſon-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for ſo great a truſt.

He is ranked among the gods.

His fault.

[i] Dio. p. 814. [k] Jul. Cap. p. 34. [l] Tertul. apol. c. 25. [m] Jul. Cap. p. 34.

truſt [n]. *The meditations* of *M. Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the beſt rules, which human reaſon or philoſophy can ſuggeſt, for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have queſtioned, whether what has been tranſmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abſtract of it, ſeeing it conſiſts of looſe and unconnected ſentences, whereof the ſenſe is not always complete. But the ableſt critics are of opinion, that *M. Aurelius* left the work ſuch as it is at preſent, having compoſed it only for his private uſe [o]. It conſiſts of twelve books, of which the firſt ſeems to have been compoſed in the height of the *Marcomannic* war, while he was encamped on the banks of the *Gran* in the country of the *Quadi* [p]. He ended the ſecond book at *Carnuntum*, of which city we have ſpoken above, where he reſided, according to *Eutropius*, three whole years. He ſeems to have put the laſt hand to this work before the death of *Fauſtina*; for in the ninth book he ſpeaks of her as yet living, and ready to ly-in; that is, before the end of the year 175, the fifteenth of his reign [q]. We muſt not confound this book with another, intitled *horologium principum*, which was publiſhed under the name of *M. Aurelius*, but is thought to have been compoſed by *Antonius Guevara* a *Spaniſh* biſhop [r]. As *M. Aurelius* was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, eſpecially philoſophers, flouriſhed in his reign. *Tatian*, the diſciple of *Juſtin* the martyr, tells us, that the pagan philoſophers were ſo far from practiſing the poverty which they recommended to others, that on the contrary, many of them enjoyed large penſions, receiving of the emperor above ſix hundred pieces of gold a year, without rendering any ſervice to the ſtate, or being commended by any other merit, but that of wearing long beards [s]. But of the writers who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall give a particular account in our notes (H).

His meditations.

[n] JULIAN. Cæs. 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49. [o] Vide Voss. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. [p] M. AUREL. l. i. c. 15. [q] Idem. l. ix. c. 3. [r] Prol. Voss. hiſt. Græc. [s] TATIAN. p. 157.

(H) The moſt celebrated among the philoſophers were, *Creſcentius*, *Celſus*, *Lucian*, *Demonax*, *Alexander* the famous impoſtor, *Sextus* the ſtoic, *Sextus* the empiric, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, &c. *Creſcentius* was a *Cynic* philoſopher, and according to the character which *Tatian* draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs (16). He inveighed with great virulence againſt the chriſtians, whom he charged with impiety and atheiſm, tho' in ſeveral conferences and diſputes, he had been convinced of the truth by *Juſtin* the martyr, who was chiefly at his inſtigation crowned with

(16) *Tatian. p.* 157.

martyrdom

martyrdom (17). We do not know that he left any writings behind him. We find two philoſophers bearing the name of *Celſus*, and both of the ſect of *Epicurus*, mentioned by *Origen* (18). Of theſe one flouriſhed under *Nero*, and the other under *Adrian*, and his immediate ſucceſſors (19). The latter wrote ſeveral books againſt magic, much commended by *Lucian*, who inſcribed to him his hiſtory of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander*, which he undertook at his inſtigation (20). Some diſtinguiſh this writer from the author of the diſcourſes againſt the chriſtians, whom *Origen* confuted; but *Baronius*, and moſt critics, aſcribe to the ſame writer the books againſt magic, and thoſe againſt the chriſtian religion. It is certain, that *Celſus*, whom *Origen* anſwers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of *M. Aurelius:* for he not only ſpeaks of the *Marcioniſts*, who firſt appeared about the year 142, the fifth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but of the followers of *Marcellina*, a woman of the ſect of *Carpocrates*, who came to *Rome* in the year 157, the twentieth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign (21). He probably publiſhed his work againſt the chriſtians during the perſecution of *M. Aurelius*; for he repreſents them as reduced to conceal themſelves through fear of being dragged to execution (22). *Chryſoſtom* mentions one *Celſus*, no doubt the ſame writer, who publiſhed ſome pieces againſt the chriſtian religion before the time of *Porphyrius* of *Batanea* (23). *Celſus* intitled his work againſt the chriſtians, *true diſcourſes*; but *Origen* ſhews, that he aimed at nothing leſs than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon *Origen*'s anſwer to *Celſus*, as the beſt apology for the chriſtian religion that ever was publiſhed (24). *Euſebius* thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, ſaid upon that ſubject (25). *Origen* wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, who was killed in the year 249 (26).

The works of *Lucian* have reached our times, and are deſervedly admired for the elegance and purity of the ſtyle; but filled with impious and atheiſtical ſentiments: whence he had the ſurname of the *Atheiſt*, or the *Blaſphemer* (27). He was a native of *Samoſata* in *Syria*, and of a mean deſcent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded cauſes, and was in his old age regiſter to the governor of *Egypt* (28). *Suidas* writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the chriſtian religion, without ſparing even the author of it; but of ſuch a death no mention is made by any writer who flouriſhed before *Suidas*. Some ſay, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced, the chriſtian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong tranſlation of the word δημηγόρος, in *Suidas*, by *concionator*, and upon *Lucian*'s being better acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the chriſtians than other

(17) *Euſeb. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (18) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i *p.* 8. (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Lucian pſeud. p.* 498. (21) *Orig. in Celſ l.* viii. *p.* 424. & *l.* v. *p.* 272. *Iren. l.* i. *c.* 24. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Chryſ in* 1 *Corinth. hom.* vi. (24) *Vide Du Pin. tom.* 1. *p.* 388, 389. (25) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 36 (26) *Idem ibid.* & *Hier. p.* 433, 434. (27) *Suid. p.* 55. (28) *Lucian. hiſt. p.* 359. & *apol. p.* 262.

pagans.

pagans. He wrote the life of *Soſtrates* of *Bœotia*, a famous philoſopher, who practiſed great auſterities (29); but that work has not reached us. Some have, againſt all reaſon and authority, aſcribed to him the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, which was done by *Philoſtratus* (30). He wrote, according to *Eunapius* (31), the life of the philoſopher *Demonax*, whoſe diſciple he had been. He repreſents him as the greateſt philoſopher of his time; but, after all, he was only a *Cynic*, ſomewhat more poliſhed and civilized than the reſt of his brethren. What we find moſt commendable in him is, that tho' he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well verſed in moſt branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practiſed great auſterities, and would not ſuffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being aſſiſted by others, he choſe rather to die of hunger, than to ſuffer any one to perform the leaſt office about him. He was a native of *Cyprus*; but lived at *Athens*, where he was highly eſteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The *Athenians* intending to eſtabliſh in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought firſt to overturn and utterly demoliſh an altar which they had erected to *Mercy*. The emperor having deſired ſome of his friends to aſk him in his name, what was the beſt method of governing, he anſwered, To ſpeak little, to hear much, and to fall upon no provocation into a paſſion (32). *Lucian*, in his dialogue on friendſhip, ſpeaks of ſeveral wars between the *Scythians*, who dealt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and the other northern barbarians, eſpecially thoſe of *Boſporus*, who were in *Lucian*'s time governed firſt by *Leucanor*, and afterwards by *Eubiotes* his natural brother. *Leucanor* probably ſucceeded *Rhemetalces*, who was king of *Boſporus* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. The ſhips which ſaved *Lucian*, as we ſhall relate anon, were carrying the embaſſadors of *Eupator*, king of the ſame country, to *Pontus*, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the *Romans*, or to receive that which the *Romans* annually paid to them; for the words ἐπὶ κομιδῇ are capable of both ſenſes. *Eubiotes*, in his war againſt the *Scythians*, led with him all the *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of *Lucian* (32); that is, as we ſuppoſe, the inhabitants of the *Greek* cities on the *Cherſoneſus*, which confirms the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that the kings of *Boſporus* were maſters of that country. The account which *Lucian* gives us of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander* is very diverting. He was a native of *Abonitichos*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. *Lucian*, however, who was not eaſily deceived, looked upon him as an impoſtor, ridiculed his miracles, and expoſed him in all companies; which ſo provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to ſtir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Abonitichos*, againſt him. *Alexander*, nevertheleſs, ſome time after, pretended to be reconciled to him,

(29) *Idem, in vit. Demonac. p.* 546. (30) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (31) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p.* 546—555. (32) *Idem, toxar. p.* 631—638.

and even offered him a ſhip to convey him to *Amaſtris* in *Pontus*, whither his affairs called him. *Lucian* accepted the offer; but was not a little ſurpriſed, when, at a great diſtance from land, he obſerved the pilot burſting all at once into tears, and making various ſigns to the mariners. *Lucian* imagined the veſſel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received poſitive orders from *Alexander* to throw him into the ſea; but could not prevail upon himſelf, after having lived ſo long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a deſert and barren iſland, where he muſt have ſoon periſhed, had he not been ſaved by the veſſels of the king of *Boſporus*, which happened to ſail by. He was for proſecuting *Alexander* before the governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; but that magiſtrate diſſuaded him from it, telling him, that he could not condemn *Alexander*, without incurring the diſpleaſure of *Rutilianus*, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impoſtor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus *Lucian* had no other means left of being revenged on *Alexander*, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publiſh till the impoſtor's death, which ſeems to have happened in the reign of *M. Aurelius*.

Sextus was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, by ſect a *Stoic*, and had been preceptor to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. Moſt writers ſuppoſe him to have been nephew to *Plutarch*. *M. Aurelius* went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules, relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (33). *Apuleius* glories in being deſcended from him by his mother (34). At the ſame time flouriſhed another philoſopher bearing the ſame name, but a native of *Libya*, and by ſect a *Pyrrhonian* (35). He is ſtyled by *Galen* and *Diogenes Laertius* the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (36). *Suidas* confounds him with the other *Sextus*, and the other with *Sextus Condianus*, who was conſul in 180. There are ſtill extant four hundred and thirty ſentences of a philoſopher named *Sextus* or *Xyſtus*, which were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Ruſinus* of *Aquileia*, under the name of St. *Sixtus*, pope and martyr (37). St. *Auſtin* was for ſome time deceived by them (38). But St. *Jerom*, in ſeveral places of his works, aſcribes them to ſome philoſopher of the ſect of *Pythagoras* (39). About this time *Numenes* is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, whoſe writings are often quoted by *Euſebius* and *Theodoretus* againſt the pagans. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes him for this famous ſaying, *that* Plato *was but* Moſes *ſpeaking* Greek (40). He was, according to *Suidas* (41), a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*. He ſhews, that *Plato* copied from *Moſes* what he wrote concerning God and the forming

(33) *M. Ant. l.* i. *c.* 6. (34) *Apul. meta. l.* i. *p.* 103. (35) *Ruald. vit Plutarch. c.* 5. (36) *Vide Jonſ. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (37) *Bib. patr. p.* 565. (38) *Aug. retract. l.* ii. *c.* 42. (39) *Hier. ad Cre. c.* 2. *in Ezech.* xviii. *&c.* (40) *Clem. ſtrom.* 1. (41) *Suid. p.* 242.

of

of the univerſe (42). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; which goddeſſes are ſaid to have appeared to him in the attire of common proſtitutes, to reproach him by that means with the ſtate to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practiſed in the celebration of their myſteries; which is not much to their honour. He publiſhed ſeveral works, which are frequently quoted by *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoretus* and *Heſychius*; but none of them have reached us (43). He ſeems to have joined together the tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*: whence he is by ſome ranked amongſt the followers of *Plato*; by others among the *Pythagoreans* (44). *Crones*, *Ariſtocles*, *Antiochus*, *Alexander*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, and *Phrynicus*, were all contempories with *Numenes*. *Crones* was one of his diſciples, and wrote a treatiſe on the generation of things, which we find quoted by *Origen* and *Plotinus* (45). *Ariſtocles* was a native of *Pergamus* and firſt a *Peripatetic* philoſopher; but afterwards he abandoned the ſtudy of philoſophy, and applied himſelf to that of eloquence under the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applauſe he expected (46). *Antiochus* was a native of *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and one of the diſciples of *Dionyſius* the *Mileſian*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Adrian*. *Philoſtratus* ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeſervedly; for he is ſaid to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have ſpent his whole eſtate in purchaſing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (47). *Alexander* was likewiſe by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and is greatly commended by *Philoſtratus*. He was born in *Seleucia*, compriſed at that time in *Cilicia*; but afterwards raiſed to the metropolis of *Iſauria*. His mother, tho' married, was thought to have had him by a criminal converſation with *Apollonius Tyanæus* (48), whoſe chaſtity has, by ſome writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the diſciples of *Favorinus*, *Adrian*'s great favourite, and afterwards ſecretary for the *Greek* tongue to *M. Aurelius*. *Hermogenes*, a native of *Tarſus*, gained ſuch reputation among the ſophiſts, when he was but fifteen years old, that *M. Aurelius* went in perſon to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with preſents; but as he ſurpaſſed moſt men when he was but a child, ſo when he attained to man's eſtate, he deſerved to be ranked among children, ſays *Philoſtratus* (49). However, he lived to a great age, deſpiſed by thoſe who had once admired him (50). *Ariſtides*, one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of his time, was a native of *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*. He is highly commended, on account of his eloquence, by *Phrynicus* his contemporary (51), by *Philoſtratus* (52), and generally by all the antients; but if he excelled, as he is ſaid to have done, all the other ſophiſts, ſeveral of his orations, which have reached our times (53),

(42) *Idem ibid.* (43) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 10. (44) *Idem ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid.* (46) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* xxix. (47) *Idem. ſoph.* xxxi. (48) *Idem ibid.* (49) *Idem ibid.* (50) *Dio. l.* lxxi *p.* 802. (51) *Phot. c.* 158. (52) *Philoſ. ſoph.* xxxv. (53) *Vide Phot. c.* 246, *&c.*

convince us that we have no reaſon to regret the loſs of their works. He was ſubject to various infirmities and conſtantly indiſpoſed. We read in his journal, which he intitles *ſacred diſcourſes*, many things relating to maladies and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of *Æſculapius* in his dreams (54). Notwithſtanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of *Commodus*.

Lucius, or, as he is ſtyled by others, *Saturantius Apuleius*, was a native of *Madaura*, a *Roman* colony, on the borders of *Numidia* and *Getulia*, the ſon of one of the chief men of that city, and of *Salvia*, one of the deſcendants of *Plutarch* (55). He paſſed his childhood partly in *Greece* (for his mother was originally of *Theſſaly*), and partly at *Carthage*, where he learnt, without the aſſiſtance of an inſtructor, the *Latin*; but not without much labour, as he himſelf owns. From *Carthage* he went to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and muſic, and thoroughly informed himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers; but embraced that of *Plato*, which, however, did not prevent him from ſtudying magic with great application. He is even ſaid to have been ſo well ſkilled in that art, as to work ſeveral miracles, which the pagans oppoſed to thoſe of our Saviour (56). Theſe miracles, however, are not well atteſted; and *Apuleius* himſelf, being accuſed as a magician before *Claudius Maximus* proconſul of *Africa*, endeavoured to clear himſelf from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent diſcourſe, which has reached our times (57). He is thought to have ſtudied that art in *Theſſaly*, where it was in great requeſt (58). St. *Auſtin* (which to us ſeems very ſtrange) doubts whether what *Apuleius* writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an aſs, was true or fabulous (59). The pagans themſelves looked upon his metamorphoſes as only fit to amuſe children (60). He wrote with great elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, but his ſtyle is ſomewhat affected: he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the moſt eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accompliſhments, ever raiſed him to any dignity in the empire, tho' he was far from deſpiſing honours, as appears from the manner in which he ſpeaks of a ſtatue erected to him at *Oea*, a city of the province of *Tripolitana*, where he married a woman named *Pudentilla*; and of the office of pontiff conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beaſts. Several pieces of *Apuleius* are ſtill extant, and ſome fragments of others, which have been long ſince loſt. Of the former ſome are but a bare tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*, or of other antient writers (61). He is often quoted by the antients, as appears from the collection of

(54) *Philoſt. ibid. Suid. p.* 426. (55) *Apul. met. l.* ii. *p.* 115. *& prol. p.* 29. (56) *Hier. pſ.* lxxx. *Lact. l.* v. *c* 3. *Aug. epiſt.* cxxxvi. (57) *Apul apol.* (58) *Vit. apul. p.* 15. (59) *Aug. civit. Dei. l.* xviii. *c.* 18. (60) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *Macrob. in ſom. Scipion. l.* i. *c.* 2. (61) *Apul. prol.*

ſuch

ſuch quotations prefixed to his works, but eſpecially by St. *Auſtin*, who takes great pains to confute his falſe theology (62).

Amongſt the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, thoſe of chief note are *Polyænus*, a *Macedonian*, who inſcribed to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the eight books of ſtratagems publiſhed by *Caſaubon* (63). He left other works (and among the reſt a deſcription of the city of *Thebes*), which have been long ſince loſt (64). *Amyntianus* wrote, and addreſſed to *M. Aurelius*, the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, which was not much admired. He likewiſe publiſhed the life of *Domitian*, and the lives of ſome other *Latin* and *Greek* princes (65); but none of his works have reached our times. Thoſe of *Damophilus* have undergone the ſame fate: He was a philoſopher and ſophiſt, brought up, as *Suidas* informs us (66), by *Julianus*, who was conſul in the year 175, the fifteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor *Julian*, who ſuppoſes him to have been a native of *Bithynia*. Some of his works he inſcribed to *Lollius Maximus* (67). The hiſtory of *Greece*, written by *Pauſanias*, in ten books, has reached us. The author deſcribes with great care and exactneſs the ſituation and antiquities of each city, and all the curioſities which in his time were to be ſeen in a country once ſo famous; but ſome critics find fault with him for interweaving his hiſtory with ſo many fables, which, however, are of great uſe for the right underſtanding of the antient writers (68). It appears from the quotations of *Stephanus* the geographer, that he deſcribed after the ſame manner *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He beſtows mighty encomiums upon *Antoninus Pius*, and mentions his wars with the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (69). He relates nothing poſterior to the reign of *M. Aurelius*; whence we may conclude, that he either died or ended his work under that prince. *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of one *Pauſanias* a ſophiſt, a native of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and diſciple of *Herodes Atticus*. Of this *Pauſanias* he obſerves, that he ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Rome*; that in ſpeaking he changed all the quantities, and did not diſtinguiſh the letters that had a like ſound; which, however, was common to all the *Cappadocians* (70). *Philoſtratus* aſcribes to him only ſome declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from the hiſtorian of that name, tho' *Voſſius* and *Sylburgius* take the author of the hiſtory and of the declamations to be one and the ſame writer (71); for we cannot think, that *Philoſtratus* would have paſſed over in ſilence ſo great and important a work, had the ſophiſt been the author of it. *Suidas* ſpeaks of another *Pauſanias*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country; but we muſt diſtinguiſh him too from the author of the hiſtory of *Greece*, who

(62) *Aug. civ. Dei. l.* viii. *c.* 14. (63) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (64) *Suid. p.* 559. (65) *Phot. c.* 131. (66) *Suid. p.* 640. (67) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 11. (68) *Voſſ. hiſt Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (69) *Pauſ. l.* viii. *p.* 272. (70) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxix. (71) *Voſſ. ibid.*

rebukes

rebukes the *Lacedæmonians* with great liberty, and whoſe dialect comes nearer the *Ionic* than the *Doric*, which was the dialect of the *Lacedæmonians* (72). In the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius* flouriſhed one *Iamblicus*, by birth a *Babylonian*, and by profeſſion a magician. He publiſhed ſeveral works in *Greek*, and among the reſt one ſtyled *Babylonica* (73), which is ſaid by *Tennulius* to be ſtill preſerved in the famous library of the *Eſcurial* in *Spain* (74). Perhaps it was conſumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many ineſtimable manuſcripts lodged in that famous library. *Leo Allatius* publiſhed a fragment of it. *Voſſius* takes *Iamblicus*'s *Babylonica* to be nothing elſe but the ſilly romance, of which *Photius* has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abſtract. *Suidas* ſeems to inſinuate the ſame thing. *Photius* tells us, that *Iamblicus* was originally a ſlave, and relates ſeveral particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (75). *Theophylus* of *Antioch* has tranſmitted to us a table of the *Roman* emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to the death of *M. Aurelius*, with the years, months, and days, of their reſpective reigns. This table was made by one of *M. Aurelius*'s freedmen, named *Chryſores*, and not *Crator*, as *Voſſius* calls him, led into that miſtake by the text of *Theophylus*, where we read ὃν ὁ μὲν Κρατωρ inſtead of νομικλάτωρ, as it is corrected by *Scaliger* (76). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of *Chryſores*, containing the names and chronology of all thoſe who had ruled in *Rome*, from the foundation of the city to the time of *M. Aurelius*. *Scaliger* has added it to the chronology of *Euſebius*. It is likewiſe to be found in the works of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, free from moſt of the faults which have crept into that of *Theophylus*. *Æmilius Parthenianus* compoſed the hiſtory of all thoſe who attempted to uſurp the ſovereign power. He did not end his hiſtory before the year 175, for he wrote the life of *Avidius Caſſius*. He is quoted by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, who flouriſhed under *Dioclefian*. *Voſſius* ranks him among the *Latin* hiſtorains (77). The grammarian *Proculus*, who inſtructed *M. Aurelius* in the *Latin* grammar, and was on that account raiſed by him to the conſulſhip, publiſhed a work on foreign countries, or, as ſome read it, religions, *de regionibus*, or *religionibus* (78). He was by birth an *African*; but thoroughly verſed in the *Latin* tongue (79). *Hepheſtion* and *Harpocration*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue (80), have both left ſome works behind them. An excellent piece *de re metrica*, which ſeems to be very antient, and bears the name of one *Hepheſtion*, a grammarian of *Alexandria*, has reached our times, and is commonly aſcribed to *Hepheſtion* the preceptor of *L. Verus*. *Suidas* mentions ſeveral other works publiſhed by him (81). Another learned piece is ſtill extant

(72) *Suid. p.* 466. (73) *Phot. c.* 49. (74) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* iv. *p.* 582. & *Samuel. Tennul. in not. ad Iambl. arith. Armeniæ, an.* 1668. (75) *Phot. p.* 241. (76) *Vide Scal. in chron. Euſeb. p.* 396. (77) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. (78) *Tret. Pollio. hiſtor. trigin. tyrannor p.* 195. (79) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 12. (80) *Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver. p.* 35. (81) *Suid. p.* 1209.

on

on the ten orators of *Athens*, done by one *Valerius Harpocration*, ſuppoſed to have been preceptor to *L. Verus* (82). At this time flouriſhed *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*, ſurnamed *Dyſcoles*, who publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times, *viz.* four books on the ſyntax, to which is prefixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intitled, *Some falſe hiſtories*, or rather *wonderful hiſtories* (83). He was father to one *Herodianus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces (84). *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the muſeum of *Alexandria* (85). *Sylburgius* takes him to be the hiſtorian *Herodianus*, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to the reign of *Gordian*; that is, to the year 238 (86). But *Voſſius* ſpeaks of the grammarian and hiſtorian as two different perſons; and truly the hiſtorian might have been born in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, but cannot be ſaid to have flouriſhed under that prince, ſince he was ſtill writing fifty-eight years after his death (87). *Artemidorus*, author of ſeveral books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under *Antoninus Pius* and *M. Aurelius*; for he is quoted by *Lucian*; and he himſelf tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the liſts in the combats, that were exhibited by *Antoninus Pius* at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*. He was a native of *Epheſus*, and in his other works ſtyled himſelf *Artemidorus* the *Epheſian*; but in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the ſurname of *Daldianus*, from *Daldis*, a ſmall city of *Lydia*, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the iſſue of ſeveral dreams. Of theſe books he inſcribed the three firſt to one *Caſſius Maximus*, a *Phœnician*, who, it ſeems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his ſon, named likewiſe *Artemidorus* (88). Beſides theſe books, he wrote ſome others, according to *Suidas* (89), who ſtyles him a philoſopher, on the manner of foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the ſubject, and were very numerous; he ſpent many years in travelling thro' all the provinces, and viſiting all the cities, of the empire; he conferred with all thoſe who pretended to any knowledge in divination (90); and the fruit of ſo many labours, journies, inquiries, conferences, *&c.* was a work the moſt uſeleſs and trifling that ever was publiſhed, as is owned by thoſe who have been at the pains of illuſtrating it with notes (91). The ſame author wrote ſome books on phyſic (92). *Marcellus* of *Ida* in *Pamphylia* wrote, in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, forty-two books in hexameter verſe on

(82) *Idem*, *p.* 441. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (84) *Suid. p.* 379. (85) *Ammian. l.* xxii. *p.* 235. (86) *In Herodian. prol.* (87) *Voſſ ibid. l.* i. *c.* 1. (88) *Artemidor. l.* i. *c.* 28 *l.* iii. *c.* 67. (89) *Suid. p.* 442. (90) *Idem*, *p.* 3. (91) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 22. (92) *Artemidor. prol. p.* 4.

phyſic,

phyſic, and is quoted by St. *Jerom* (93). *Marullus*, a *Latin* poet, wrote ſome ſatires in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, not ſparing that prince, nor his predeceſſor *Antoninus Pius*; but he patiently bore his railleries (94). *Apuleius* ſpeaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon *Alexander the Great* (95). This is probably the writer, whom he calls elſewhere (96) *Carvinus Clemens*, and who was quæſtor. *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius*, muſt have flouriſhed about this time; for he was diſciple to *Titus Caſtricius*, to *Favorinus*, to *Herodes Atticus*, and to *Cornelius Fronto*, who all lived under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* (97). *Cornelius Fronto* had been conſul when *Aulus Gellius* was yet a youth (98). He beſtows great encomiums on the celebrated philoſopher and apoſtate *Peregrinus*; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life-time; for he publicly burnt himſelf at the ſports of the two hundred and thirty-ſixth olympiad: whence we conclude, that *Aulus Gellius* had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165, of the chriſtian æra, the fifth of the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. He ſtudied grammar at *Rome*, and philoſophy at *Athens*, under *Calviſius Taurus*, whence he returned to *Rome*. He left no work behind him, except his *Noctes Atticæ*; for thus he ſtyled the collection of ſeveral memorable and amuſing events, which he compiled for the uſe of his children (99). St. *Auſtin* commends him on account of his eaſy and elegant elocution (100); but moſt critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harſh and improper expreſſions, and, above all, with want of judgment, in chuſing for his collection ſuch events as are for the moſt part of no importance, and only contain ſome grammatical and triſling remarks. *Macrobius*, however, often copies him. The annals of *Gellius* are frequently quoted by the writers of the *Roman* hiſtory; but the author of theſe annals, by name *Cn. Gellius*, lived about the year 620. of *Rome*, and was contemporary with *Cicero* (1).

(93) *Voſſ. ibid.* (94) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 52. (95) *Apul. flor. p.* 344. (96) *Idem, apol. p.* 338. (97) *Aul. Gell. l.* xiii. *c.* 21. (98) *Idem, l.* xix. *c.* 8. (99) *Idem, præfat.* (100) *Aug. civit. Dei, l.* ix. *c.* 4. (1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Macrob. ſaturnal. l.* i. *c.* 16.

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The End of the Fourteenth Volume.

A N

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. XV.

Ἰσορίας ἀρχαίας ἰξίρχισθαι μὴ καταιόει, ἰν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἰμρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἄπιρ ἕτεροι συνῆξαι ἰγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLVI.

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OF
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CHAP. XXII.

The Roman *history, from the death of* M. Aurelius, *to the death of* Alexander, *when the empire was first transferred without the consent of the senate.*

Commodus was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second that succeeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-first of *August* of the year 161, and raised to the empire on the seventeenth of *March* of the year 180. He is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and sometimes *Commodus Antoninus*. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheless proved one of the most lewd, cruel, and wicked, tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; which confirms in some degree the opinion of those, who believed him to be the son of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother *Faustina* was said to have had a criminal conversation[d]. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable instance of his cruelty at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*; where finding the water in which he bathed somewhat too warm, he commanded the person who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he satisfied, till those who were about

Commodus.

His cruelty

[d] Jul. Capit. in M. Aur. p. 30.

him pretended to have put his order in execution [e]. After his ſucceſſion to the empire, he equalled, if he did not ſucceed, in cruelty, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Nero* himſelf, playing, we may ſay, with the blood of his ſubjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he cauſed great numbers to be racked and butchered in his preſence, merely for his diverſion. The antients relate ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty, very odd, and monſtrous: he cauſed one to be thrown to the wild beaſts, for reading the life of *Caligula* written by *Suetonius*, becauſe that tyrant and he had been born on the ſame day [f]. Seeing one day a corpulent man paſs by, he immediately cut him aſunder, partly to try his ſtrength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curioſity, as he himſelf owned, to ſee his intrails drop out at once. He took pleaſure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of ſuch as he met in his rambles through the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the *Monopodii*; and the latter, that they were now become *Luſcinii*, alluding to the words *luſcinia*, a nightingale, and *luſcus*, one-eyed. Some he murdered, becauſe they were negligently dreſſed; others, becauſe they ſeemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great ſkill in ſurgery, eſpecially at letting blood; but ſometimes, inſtead of eaſing by that means thoſe whom he viſited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off by way of diverſion, their ears or noſes. He aſſumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's ſkin, with a huge club in his hand, and ordering ſeveral perſons, tho' not guilty of any crime, to be diſguiſed like monſters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great deſtroyer of monſters. In ſhort, the ſhedding of blood ſeemed to be his chief diverſion [g]. As for his lewdneſs, the author of his life tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himſelf, without reſtraint or ſhame, to all manner of abominations, ſpending whole days and nights in public-houſes amongſt the meaneſt of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common proſtitutes, *&c.* He kept conſtantly three hundred concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own ſiſters, and murdered one of them, by name *Lucina*, after he had forced her to comply with his inceſtuous deſires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and what we cannot help blaming in *Suetonius* and the *auguſtine*

His lewdneſs and debaucheries.

[e] Lamprid. in Commod. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid.

writers.

writers. He took great delight in ſhooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and ſkill in that art, which we ſhould look upon as fabulous, were they not atteſted by all the antients. He excelled all men in ſtrength, and is ſaid to have run an elephant thro' with his ſpear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre a hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the liſts with the common gladiators, having learnt with them in the common ſchool the uſe of their weapons. He is ſaid to have fought in the public amphitheatre ſeven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often ſubſcribed himſelf in his letters, *The conqueror of a thouſand gladiators.* He ſeemed to be more pleaſed with the applauſe of the populace on theſe occaſions, than any of the antient *Roman* captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the people rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be maſſacred upon the ſpot, and the city to be ſet on fire; which barbarous ſentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards with much-ado appeaſed him. Having with his extravagancies ſoon drained and exhauſted his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine; loaded the people with taxes; ſold the governments of the provinces, and other employments; exempted criminals from the puniſhments due to their crimes, upon their paying him a ſum of money, and allowed others to murder whomſoever they pleaſed; ſo that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and maſſacres, every one purchaſing of the emperor the liberty of murdering ſuch as he feared or hated [b]. But to proceed to the hiſtory of his reign according to the order of time.

His ſkill in archery.

He enters the liſts with the common gladiators.

His avarice.

Commodus, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plauſible and popular ſpeech to the ſoldiers, preſented them with the uſual donative. He was for returning immediately to *Rome*, panting after the diverſions of the city; but *Pompeianus*, who had married his ſiſter, repreſenting to him, how dangerous and ſhameful a thing it would be for him, to return before he had ended the war, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to continue ſome time in *Pannonia*, where he is ſaid to have gained ſome advantages over the *Quadi*, which muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince he did not on that ſcore take upon him the title of *imperator*. However, both the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, imagining that he was reſolved

[b] Idem ibid.

to purſue the war, and finding themſelves no longer in a condition to make head againſt his victorious troops, ſent embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month, in one place only, and in the preſence of a *Roman* centurion. And, 4. That they ſhould not make war upon the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, or the *Vandali*, without the conſent of the people of *Rome*. On the other hand, *Commodus* promiſed to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the caſtles and fortreſſes which he held in their country, except ſuch as were within five miles of the *Danube* [i]. With the other *German* nations, which his father had almoſt intirely reduced, he concluded a very diſhonourable peace; nay, of ſome he purchaſed it with very large ſums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he haſtened back to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the ſurname of *Pius*, and with all the marks of diſtinction that had ever been conferred upon the moſt deſerving princes. Having viſited the capitol and other temples, and returned thanks to the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his abſence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty ſecond of *October* [k].

He concludes a peace with the Marcomanni, Quadi, *&c.*

The following year, *Commodus* entered upon his third conſulſhip, having for his collegue one *Birrus*, or *Burrhus*, probably *Antiſtius Burrhus*, who had married his ſiſter [l]. On one medal of this, and on ſeveral of the following year, *Commodus* bears the title of *Felix*, the *Happy*; whence it is manifeſt, that *Lampridius*, whom moſt modern antiquaries follow, was miſtaken when he wrote, that this title was not by the ſenate decreed to him till the death of *Perennis*, which happened five years after; that is, in the year 186 [m]. The next conſuls were *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*, during whoſe adminiſtration *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the fifth time, on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants, *Albinus* and *Niger*, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia* [n]. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by *Commodus*, the fourth time conſul, and *Victorinus* the ſecond

[i] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 817. Herodian. l. i. p. 461. Aur. Vict. [k] Lamprid. ibid. Dio. p. 818. Herod. p. 471. Goltz. p. 81. [l] Vid. Commod. p. 48. Onuph. p. 238. [m] Birag. p. 246. [n] Goltz. p. 81. Birag. ibid. Dio. p. 820.

time

time. During their conſulſhip, the *Caledonians*, having paſſed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, committed dreadful devaſtations, and cut in pieces a *Roman* army, with their general; but were in the end repulſed with great ſlaughter, by *Ulpius Marcellus*, a man of a mean deſcent, but an excellent commander, and a ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline. Of this war the antients give us no particular account, but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of *imperator* the ſixth time, with the ſurname of *Britannicus*; and that *Ulpius Marcellus*, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained ſuch credit and reputation, that *Commodus*, envying him the glory he had acquired, deſigned to put him to death; but in the end ſpared him [o]. This year *Commodus*, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counſellors, began to deſpiſe them, thinking himſelf ſufficiently qualified to govern without ſo many tutors about him, as he expreſſed it. He therefore diſcharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or ſuch as were recommended to him by them. Thus *Peſcennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wreſtler *Narciſſus*; and many others were raiſed to great employments by means of the emperor's freed-men, ſlaves, concubines, &c. whoſe imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the ſenate; which he being well appriſed of, began in his turn to put to death under various pretences, ſome of the moſt eminent members of that illuſtrious body. His ſiſter *Lucilla*, ſeeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great men in *Rome*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to place in his room a perſon whom ſhe favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother and her huſband *Pompeianus*. She had the title of empreſs, and all the honours attending it, being the widow of the emperor *Lucius Verus*; but nevertheleſs was obliged to give place to *Criſpina* the wife of *Commodus*; which her haughty ſpirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conſpiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom ſhe had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other ſenators of diſtinction. It was agreed among the conſpirators, that they ſhould fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphitheatre through a narrow and dark paſſage; and that *Pompeianus* ſhould give him the firſt blow. Accordingly they aſſaulted him in the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* ſhewing

The Caledonians *invade the* Roman *territories; but are repulſed by* Ulpius Marcellus.

Commodus *diſmiſſes his father's friends and counſellors.*

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſiſter Lucilla *and others*

[o] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. Val. p. 725.

him,

Who are all put to death.

him, instead of striking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *This present the senate sends you*, the guards had time to rescue the emperor, and seize the conspirators, who were soon after put to death. The emperor banished his sister to the island of *Capreæ*, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered [p]. *Herodianus* tells us, that one *Quintianus* was to give the first blow; and *Ammianus*, who follows him, adds, that *Quintianus* actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loss of blood, fainted away [q]. But we have chosen to follow such writers as lived nearest to those times. This same year the empress *Crispina* was likewise confined to the island of *Capreæ*, and there murdered, by the emperor's order, for imitating him in his debaucheries [r]. *Quadratus* had a concubine, by name *Marcia*, and a favourite freed-man, named *Eclectus*. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and distinguished her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empresses, except that of having fire or torches carried before her [s]. She is supposed to have been a great friend to the christians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly ascribed the profound tranquillity, which the church enjoyed in the midst of so many cruel executions [t]. One *Letus*, or, as others call him, *Saoterus*, a native of *Nicomedia*, and the emperor's favourite freed-man, was thought to have put him upon the wicked measures which he was pursuing; for he bore a great sway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards caused him to be murdered by one *Cleander*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. The emperor expressed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conspiracy formed against himself; and being informed, that *Tarutinus Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employments, under colour of creating him a senator, and a few days after caused him to be assassinated, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed, pretending that they had both conspired to depose him, and seize the empire for themselves [u]. *Salvius Julianus* was grandson to the famous civilian of that name under *Adrian*, and uncle to *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards emperor. The same year were falsly accused of treason, con-

The captains of the guards cause his father-in-law to be murdered.

Several persons condemned and executed.

[p] Vid. Commod. p. 46. Herod. p. 474. Dio. p. 818. [q] Ammian. l. xxix. [r] Dio. ibid. [s] Herod. l. i. p. 486. [t] Vide Baron. ann. 113. [u] Vit. Commod p. 47. Dio. p. 819.

demned,

demned and executed, *Velius Rufus*, *Egnatius Capito*, and the two *Quintilii*, *Maximus* and *Condianus*, who had been all conſuls. *Sextus Condianus*, the ſon of *Maximus*, who had been conſul in the year 180, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but eſcaped, at leaſt, for ſome time, by cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was dead; but many atteſting that he was ſtill alive, diligent ſearch was made after him. Many perſons, who had never ſeen him, were accuſed of having harboured and concealed him in their houſes, and, upon that charge, either put to death or baniſhed. Of *Sextus* himſelf we find no farther mention in hiſtory. *Emilius Junctus* and *Attilius Severus* were both baniſhed in their conſulſhip, which they held, it ſeems, during the two laſt months of this year, and with them many ſenators and knights of great diſtinction. Under the ſucceeding conſuls, *M. Eggius Marullus* and *Cn. Papirius Ælianus*, was accuſed of aſpiring at the empire, and put to death the emperor's favourite miniſter *Perennis*. He was captain of the prætorian guar s, an excellent commander, and, according to *Dion Caſſius*, a man without reproach [x]. But *Herodianus* and *Lampridius* give him a quite different character, and ſpeak of him as one who abuſed the great authority he had with the emperor, ſticking at no violence, murder, or injuſtice, to fill his own coffers, while *Commodus* was wholly intent upon his pleaſures and diverſions, in which he incouraged him, that he might govern with an abſolute ſway; which he did but for a ſhort while, as we ſhall ſee anon [y]. This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* the ſeventh time, probably on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants in *Britain*; for the diſturbances there were not yet intirely quelled [z]. The next conſuls were *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Acilius Glabrio* the ſecond [a]. This year, while *Commodus* was aſſiſting at the *Capitoline* ſports, inſtituted by *Domitian* in 86, a perſon in the habit of a *Cynic* philoſopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midſt of the theatre; and addreſſing the emperor, told him aloud, That while he minded nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions, he was in danger of loſing both his life and the empire, by the wicked practices of *Perennis* and his children. *Perennis* cauſed the pretended *Cynic* to be immediately ſeized as a madman, who diſturbed the public ſports, and ſoon after ordered him to be

Perennis, the emperor's favourite, miniſter put to death.

His downfall and death diſperſedly reported.

[w] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Comm. p. 47. [x] Dio. p. 821. [y] Herod. l. i. p. 472. Vit. Comm. p. 48 [z] Dio. p. 828. Vit. Comm ibid. [a] Noris. epiſt. conſul p. [illegible].

burnt alive; which gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Not long after, ſome ſoldiers arriving at *Rome* from *Illyricum*, where the ſon of *Perennis* commanded, ſhewed to *Commodus*, in a private audience, ſome medals, on which was engraved the image of the ſon of *Perennis*, as if he had been already emperor; which ſo alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traytor to be immediately put to death [b]. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Caſſius* and *Lampridius* relate his downfal in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in *Britain*, diſſatisfied, either becauſe he had puniſhed them with too great ſeverity on account of ſome ſedition, or becauſe he had removed ſeveral ſenators, and given their poſts in the army to *Roman* knights his creatures, ſent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred; ſays *Dion Caſſius*, (which ſeems altogether incredible), to complain of him; and charge him with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire. They were backed by *Cleander* and the emperor's other freedmen, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite miniſter. Hereupon *Commodus*, naturally timorous, abandoned the traytor to the rage of the provoked ſoldiery, who, after a thouſand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his ſiſter, and his two ſons, underwent the ſame fate. To his eldeſt ſon, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all poſſible expedition to *Rome*, to receive there new marks of the eſteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire ſtranger to what had paſſed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no ſooner entered *Italy*, than he was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers who attended him, purſuant to the private orders they had received from *Rome* [c]. The other brother was probably killed at *Rome* with his father. *Perennis* was ſucceeded in the poſt of prime miniſter by *Cleander*; for the emperor himſelf was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that he could not beſtow one minute on the affairs of the ſtate: he would not even be at the trouble of ſigning his diſpatches; and in ſeveral letters to his friends all he wrote was, *Vale*, *Farewel*. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a ſlave, having been ſold as ſuch in *Rome* by auction, as were in thoſe days moſt ſlaves. He belonged at firſt to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who, favouring him above the reſt of his ſlaves, gave him leave to marry *Demoſtracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the

His wife and children undergo the ſame fate.

Perennis *is ſucceeded by* Cleander.

[b] Herodian. ibid. p. 474, 475. [c] Dio. p. 821. Vit. Commod. p. 48.

children

children he had by her in the palace, preſented him with his liberty and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of *Perennis*, that he might ingroſs all the power to himſelf; which he eaſily compaſſed, and abuſed his authority in a more flagrant manner than *Perennis* had ever done. By him all things were openly ſet to ſale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. *Antiſtius Burrhus*, who had married one of the emperor's ſiſters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his miniſter; but that liberty coſt him his life, *Cleander* having charged him with aſpiring at the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all thoſe who eſpouſed his cauſe, or attempted to defend him. Among theſe was *Ebutianus* captain of the guards, in whoſe room *Cleander* perſuaded the emperor to ſubſtitute himſelf, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only ſix hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and ſeveral others not ſo long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Moſt of theſe officers loſt their lives with their employment, being accuſed of treaſon by *Cleander*, who courted, and at laſt obtained, that important poſt for himſelf[d]. After the death of *Perennis*, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his adminiſtration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to *Pertinax*, whom *Perennis* had baniſhed into *Liguria*, his native country, and kept there for the ſpace of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in *Britain*, which had mutinied, and raiſed great diſturbances in that iſland, neither the *Roman* ſoldiers, nor the *Britons*, being able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*. Upon the arrival of *Pertinax*, the ſoldiers preſſed him to aſſume the ſovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought by degrees the mutinous ſoldiery to a ſenſe of their duty, and reſtored tranquility to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was ſpilt, and *Pertinax* himſelf was left upon the ſpot for dead. As his ſeverity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the ſoldiery, he deſired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his requeſt till three years after*. This year *Commodus*

Who abuſes his authority.

The captains of the guards changed daily and hourly.

The Roman ſoldiers in Britain mutiny

[d] HERODIAN. p. 475. DIO. p. 822. Vit. Com. ibid. * Vit. Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54.

took the title of *imperator* for the eighth and laſt time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which *Clodius Albinus* is ſaid to have gained about this time over the *Friſians* [e].

The war of the deſerters under the conduct of Maternus.

Under the next conſuls, *Criſpinus* and *Ælianus*, a common ſoldier by name, *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the ſame crime, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, the banditti flocking to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, ſtormed the ſtrongeſt cities, and ſtruck the emperor and people of *Rome* with ſuch terror, that troops were raiſed and armies diſpatched againſt him. *Peſcennius Niger* was ſent to make head againſt him in *Gaul*, where he became very intimate with *Severus*, who was then governor of the country of *Lyons*, and wrote a letter to the emperor, commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of *Niger* in purſuing the rebels and deſerters [f]. *Maternus*, finding himſelf reduced to great ſtraights by the brave *Niger*, divided his men into ſeveral ſmall bands, and marched privately with them by different ways into *Italy*, having nothing leſs in view than to murder the emperor, during the ſolemnity which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to ſeize the empire. They all arrived at *Rome* undiſcovered; and ſome of his men had already mixed themſelves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately ſeized and executed, and his death put an end to the diſturbances, which ſome of his followers had begun to raiſe in other provinces [g].

Who is ſeized and executed.

The ſame year broke out the moſt dreadful plague, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, that had been known. It laſted two or three years, and raged with moſt violence in *Rome*, where it frequently carried off two thouſand perſons a day. The emperor to avoid the contagion, retired to *Laurentum*, a city of *Latium*, on the ſea-ſide [h]. The following year *Fuſcianus* and *Salinus* being both conſuls for the ſecond time, the emperor gave out, that he deſigned to paſs over into *Africa*; but having, under that pretence, exacted very conſiderable ſums, and even ſuffered the people to offer up vows for his ſafe return on the fifth of *April*, he ſpent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at *Rome* and in the neighbourhood [i]. About this time, *Severus* was tranſlated from the government of *Pannonia* to that of *Sicily*, whence he returned to *Rome*, to clear himſelf of a crime

[e] Albin. vit. p. 81. [f] Nig. vit. p. 75. [g] Herod. l i. p. 475. Vit. Com. p. 51. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Vit. Com. p. 49.

with

with which he was charged, viz. of conſulting the aſtrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of uſurping the ſovereignty. His cauſe was heard by the captains of the guards, the collegues of *Cleander*; and, as *Commodus* was hated, ſays *Spartian*, *Severus* was cleared, and his accuſer crucified [k]. This year great part of the capitol, a famous library, and ſeveral contiguous buildings, were utterly deſtroyed by lightning [l]. *Euſebius* ſays, it conſumed whole quarters of the city, and in them ſeveral libraries. At the ſame time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by *Cleander*, who having now nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raiſe the price of it, and gain the affections of the ſoldiery and people, by diſtributing it among them [m]. Other writers tell us [n], that *Papirius Dionyſius*, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with proviſions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people riſe againſt *Cleander*. Be that as it will, the populace aſcribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the hated miniſter, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting to death and pardoning, baniſhing and recalling from exile, whom he pleaſed. Several manumitted ſlaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the ſenate; others he made governors of provinces, and raiſed to the firſt employments. But his reign was ſhort-lived; for the following year, in which *Rome* ſaw for the firſt, and indeed for the laſt, time, twenty-five conſuls, all named by *Cleander* and moſt of them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the *Circenſian* games, a troop of children, having at their head a young woman, of an extraordinary ſtature and a fierce aſpect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives and dreadful curſes againſt *Cleander*; which being for ſome time anſwered by the people with other invectives and curſes, the whole multitude roſe all on a ſudden, flew in a tumultuous manner to the palace of *Quintilius*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the emperor was then reſiding with *Cleander*; and, renewing there their curſes and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been ſo grievouſly and tyrannically oppreſſed. Hereupon *Cleander* ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them with great ſlaughter into the city; but there the populace diſcharging ſhowers of ſtones, brick, and tiles, from the tops of the houſes and from the windows,

Severus *accuſed and acquitted.*

Cleander *acts in an arbitrary manner.*

The people riſe againſt him.

The prætorian horſe fall upon them; but are put to flight.

[k] SPART. in Sever. 16. [l] EUSEB. in chron. OROS. l. viii. c. [m] DIO. p. 823. [n] Vit. Com. p. 51.

windows, and the city-guards, who hated *Cleander*, joining the multitude, the prætorian horſe were forced to give way, and ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight. The people purſued them to the palace of *Quintilius*, where the emperor was paſſing his time in the company of ſome lewd women, utterly unappriſed of the tumult, *Cleander* having forbidden thoſe who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, *Marcia*, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had paſſed; and his ſiſter *Fadilla* entering his apartment in a great fright, and with her hair diſhevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was loſt, unleſs he abandoned *Cleander* to the fury of the incenſed populace. Hereupon the emperor, ſtruck with terror and amazement, ſent for *Cleander*, and having cauſed his head to be ſtruck off that inſtant, ſent it to the people; the ſight of which put an end to the combat, which ſtill continued with great ſlaughter. His head and body were by the incenſed populace inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and moſt of his creatures, were at the ſame time maſſacred, and their bodies firſt dragged through the ſtreets, and then thrown into the common ſewer *. *Lampridius* tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked againſt him, for having cauſed *Arrius Antoninus* to be falſly accuſed of treaſon, and put to death, becauſe he had, while proconſul of *Aſia*, condemned one of his creatures, by name *Attalus* °. *Julianus* and *Regillus* were appointed captains of the guards in the room of *Cleander* and his collegues; but the emperor cauſed them both to be ſoon after put to death, though he had ever ſhewn a particular kindneſs and affection for *Julianus*, whom he uſed to ſtyle his father ᵖ. About the cloſe of this year, *Pertinax* was, at his own requeſt, recalled from *Britain*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions, in the room of *Papirius Dionyſius*, who was likewiſe put to death, with all thoſe who had any-ways contributed to the raiſing of the price of corn.

The emperor cauſes his head to be ſtruck off.

The following year, *Commodus* entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having *Petronius Septimianus* for his collegue. The ſeveral conſpiracies, which had been formed againſt himſelf and his miniſters, filling him with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, he abandoned himſelf without controul to bloodſhed and cruelty. He put to death, beſides many others mentioned by *Spartian* and other writers, *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had

Commodus cauſes many illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.

* Dio. l. lxxii. p. 823. Herod. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Comm. p. 48. ° Vit. Comm. ibid. ᵖ Idem, ibid. & Dio. p. 823.

married

married one of his ſiſters; his ſon *Antoninus*; *Annia Fauſtina*, couſin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, and ſix conſulars on one day. He cauſed all thoſe who were any-ways related to *Avidius Caſſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly maſſacred this year, *Dion Caſſius* gives us a particular account of the death of one *Julius Alexander*, a native of *Emeſa* in *Syria*; who being informed, that the emperor had ſent thither a centurion with a band of ſoldiers to murder him, ſurpriſed them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with ſlaughter, he retired on horſeback, with a deſign to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his eſcape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being therefore overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, he firſt killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himſelf [q]. This year *Severus*, who had been one of the twenty-five conſuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, and *Pertinax* was ſent into *Africa* with the character of proconſul. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Bradua* being conſuls, a fire broke out in the night-time, in the celebrated temple of *Peace*, preceded, and, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, produced by a ſmall earthquake; for no thunder was heard [r]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that it began in the adjoining houſes. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to aſhes. That magnificent ſtructure had been raiſed by *Veſpaſian*, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and inriched with all the ſpoils and ornaments of the temple of the *Jews*. The antients ſpeak of it as one of the moſt ſtately buildings in *Rome*. There men of learning uſed to hold their aſſemblies, and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever elſe they had of great value. It was likewiſe made uſe of as a kind of magazine, for the ſpices that were brought by the *Roman* merchants out of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; ſo that many rich perſons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treaſures being conſumed, in one night, with the temple [s]. *Galen* complains, that many of his books were loſt by this misfortune [t]. The fire ſpread with great violence to

The temple of Peace conſumed by fire.

[q] DIO, ibid. [r] HERODIAN. l. i. p. 485. DIO. p 829. [s] DIO. & HEROD. ibid. GALEN. de libris ſuis, p. 363. [t] GALEN. ibid.

other

And the temple of Veſta, *with many other buildings.*

other quarters of the city, and conſumed a great number of ſtately edifices; among the reſt, the temple of *Veſta*. The veſtals fled to the palace with the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been expoſed to public view; but the flames ſeized the palace itſelf, and reduced great part of it to aſhes, before their rage could be ſtaid. However, the public papers and regiſters were with much-ado preſerved. The conflagration laſted ſeveral days, in ſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the people, the ſoldiery, and the emperor himſelf, who, returning on that occaſion from the country, expoſed his own perſon, in order to encourage others to exert themſelves by his example. It ceaſed at length of itſelf, or was extinguiſhed by a ſudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as ſent by the gods [u]. This year, *Pertinax* was preferred from the government of *Africa* to that of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* ſent to govern *Africa* in his room. The next conſuls were *Commodus*, the ſeventh time, and *Helvidius Pertinax*, the ſecond. This year, the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory [w]. *Commodus* being told, that *Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who had the command of ſome other army, aſpired at the empire, appointed *Clodius Albinus*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, governor of *Britain*, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, giving him leave to aſſume the title of *Cæſar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in caſe any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in the empire. *Albinus*, adds the ſame writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be at hand [x].

The emperor's folly and public ſhows.

The account, which *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian* give us, of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the ſhows which he exhibited, and in which he himſelf acted the chief part. Both theſe hiſtorians were preſent; and the former, who aſſiſted at the abovementioned ſhows in quality of ſenator, tells us, that he and the other ſenators chewed the whole time bay-leaves, that by their bitterneſs they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have coſt them their lives. However, he owns, that the addreſs and ſkill which the emperor diſplayed, in ſhooting with the bow, was univerſally admired and applauded; for a panther having ſeized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Com-*

[u] Herod. p. 482. [w] Vit. Nigr. p. 77. [x] Vit. Albin. p. 79.

modus

modus let fly an arrow againſt the beaſt with ſo much ſkill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man received the leaſt hurt [y]. A few days before his death, he changed the names of ſome of the months, calling *Auguſt Commodus*, *September Auguſt*, *October Hercules*, *November Invincibilis*, *December Exuperatorius*, and *January Amazonius*; which laſt title he himſelf aſſumed, becauſe he had firſt fallen in love with *Marcia* upon ſeeing her painted in the dreſs of an *Amazon*. He was likewiſe for changing the name of the city itſelf, and calling it *Colonia Commodiana*, or *The colony of* Commodus. Upon this head he wrote to the ſenate, ſtyling himſelf in the letter, *Imperator Cæſar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus, Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Poteſtatis* XVII. *Imperator* VIII. *Conſul* VII. *Pater Patriæ*, &c. The ſenate readily complied with his deſire, and not only ſtyled *Rome Colonia Commodiana*, but the houſe, in which they aſſembled, *The houſe of* Commodus. They had given him before, by way of deriſion, ſays *Lampridius*, the title of *Pious*, upon his raiſing to the conſulſhip one of his mother's gallants; the title of *Happy*, for having compaſſed the death of *Perennis*; and that of *Hercules*, in conſideration of his extraordinary ſtrength, and his killing many thouſand wild beaſts in the amphitheatre. He had often appeared on the public ſtage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantaſtical dreſſes; but this year he was not aſhamed to enter the liſts with the gladiators, to act, and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not ſatisfied with theſe follies, he reſolved to appear on the firſt day of the enſuing year 193, as conſul, and at the ſame time as gladiator, and, in order to that, to cauſe *Erucius Clarus* and *Soſius Falco*, the two conſuls elect, to be murdered. This deſign he imparted to *Marcia* the night before it was to be put in execution, telling her, that the conſuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in proceſſion, not from the palace, and with the enſigns of the imperial dignity, as was uſual on the firſt of *January*, but from the ſchool of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. *Marcia* threw herſelf at his feet, and conju ed him, with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he expoſed his life, by truſting it to men deſtitute of all honour and probity. But *Commodus*, without giving ear to her remonſtrances, ordered *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and

He changes the names of ſome months.

His vanity

He acts and dances in public quite naked.

He deſigns to appear on the firſt of January *like a conſul and gladiator.*

[y] DIO. p. 484. HEROD. p. 826.

Eclectus,

Eclectus, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himſelf, in the houſe where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. Theſe two officers did likewiſe all that lay in their power to divert him from ſo ſtrange a reſolution; but to no purpoſe: for the emperor, inſtead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great paſſion; and retiring to his chamber, as if he deſigned to repoſe a little, it being then about noon, he ſet down on a piece of paper the names of many illuſtrious ſenators, and other perſons of diſtinction, whom he deſigned to murder, in order to inrich himſelf with their eſtates, and at the head of the fatal liſt the names of *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Eclectus*. Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, a little child, with whom he uſed to amuſe himſelf, entering his bed-chamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but *Marcia* meeting him, ſnatched it out of his hand, imagin ing it to be ſome writing of conſequence. She was greatly ſurpriſed when, upon viewing it, ſhe found herſelf, *Lætus*, and *Eclectus*, doomed with the reſt to deſtruction. She immediately acquainted *Lætus* and *Eclectus* with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon reſolved to be before-hand with the tyrant [a]. Such is the account which *Herodian* gives us of this conſpiracy. But *Dion Caſſius*, who had already related the death of *Domitian* with theſe very circumſtances, tells us only in this place, that *Lætus* and *Eclectus*, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of *Commodus*, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with *Marcia* to diſpatch him. *Julius Capitolinus* writes, that they acquainted *Pertinax* with their deſign, who did not ſtrive to divert them from it [a]. But *Dion Caſſius* [b] and *Herodian* [c] aſſure us, that he was altogether unappriſed of their attempt, the conſpirators not having time to think of any thing but diſpatching the tyrant, and ſecuring themſelves. Be that as it will, the conſpirators agreed, that the ſafeſt and moſt expeditious way was to diſpatch him with poiſon; which was accordingly adminiſtered to him by *Marcia*, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed ſome wild beaſts. The emperor, being ſoon after ſeized with a heavy ſlumber, retired to refreſh himſelf with a ſhort ſleep (for he ſlept, as hiſtorians obſerve, at all hours); and *Eclectus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping by that means to conceal the cauſe and manner of his death; but *Commodus* awaking, when the company was ſcarce gone,

He dooms Marcia, Lætus, *and* Eclectus *to death.*

Who conſpire againſt him.

[a] Herod. l. i. p. 486,487. [a] Jul. Cap. in Pert. p. 55
[b] Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 830. [c] Herod. l. ii. p. 490.

was

was ſeized with a violent vomiting; and, ſuſpecting that poiſon had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon the conſpirators, fearing he ſhould void the poiſon and eſcape, ſent in haſte for his great favourite *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who, being gained over by them with great promiſes, threw himſelf upon the emperor, and, ſeizing him by the throat, ſtrangled him [d]. Thus died *Commodus*, the laſt night of the year 192, after having lived thirty-one years and four months, and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which ſtood on mount *Cælius*, where he then reſided, becauſe he could not ſleep, as he ſaid, in the imperial palace [e]. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who ſucceeded to the empire, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conſpirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy: which *Eutropius* ſeems to have believed. His death was no ſooner known, than the ſenate aſſembled, without waiting for the return of day, and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curſes, ordered his ſtatues to be broke to pieces, his name to be razed out of all public inſcriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the ſtreets and thrown into the *Tiber*. When *Pertinax*, who had already been declared emperor, anſwered, that it was buried, they deſired to know who had been ſo bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than *Nero* or *Domitian* [f]. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monſter of cruelty and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor *Severus* ſtyled himſelf his brother, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, appointed prieſts and ſacrifices to his honour, and ordered the anniverſary of his birth to be obſerved with great ſolemnity [g]. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for eſtabliſhing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune ſhould befal the fleet that tranſported it from *Egypt* [h]. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the ſon of *M. Aurelius*: One *Manilius*, who had been ſecretary to *Avidius Caſſius* and privy to his conſpiracy, having made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf ever ſince his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to diſcover many

He is murdered.

His ſtatues are pulled down and his acts annulled.

[d] Idem, l. i. p. 438. Dio. p. 828. Comm. vit. p. 52. [e] Vit. Com. p. 51. Euseb. chron. p. 226. [f] Vit. Com. p. 53. Dio. p. 830. [g] Vit. Com. ibid. & Dio. p. 824. [h] Vit. Com. p. 52.

things of great importance: but *Commodus* would not ſo much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them [i]. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wiſe counſellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in hiſtory of his children; but it appears from an antient medal, that he had ſome, who muſt have died very young [k]. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (I).

Commo-

[i] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 725. [k] Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

(I) *Julius Pollux* inſcribed to *Commodus*, when he had only the title of *Cæſar*, his *onomaſticon*, which is ſtill extant, and conſiſts of ten books. It is a collection of ſynonymous words uſed by the beſt *Greek* writers to expreſs one and the ſame thing. He was one of the preceptors of *Commodus*, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the profeſſorſhip of eloquence lately founded in the city of *Athens* (41). He was, according to *Philoſtratus*, who ranks him among the *ſophiſts*, well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himſelf, his ſtyle being quite flat and lifeleſs. He was a native of *Naucratis*, once a famous city of *Egypt*, on one of the arms of the *Nile*, to which it gave its name (42). He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age (43). In the library of the duke of *Bavaria* is lodged a manuſcript chronicle done by one *Julius Pollux*, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor *Valens*; which plainly ſhews, that it is not the work of this *Julius Pollux*, but of another, who flouriſhed near two hundred years after his time (44). *Phrynicus* was contemporary with *Pollux*, and likewiſe inſcribed to *Commodus*, when he was only *Cæſar*, a work, of which *Photius* had read thirty-five or thirty-ſix books. It was a collection of words, phraſes, and ſome ſentences, extracted out of the beſt *Greek* writers, and alphabetically digeſted. But theſe thirty-ſix books might have been reduced, according to *Photius*, to ſix or ſeven, by retrenching the author's uſeleſs digreſſions and repetitions. In ſome of theſe books *Phrynicus* addreſſed himſelf to *Commodus*; in others to *Baſilides* a ſophiſt of *Miletus*, and to his other friends (45). A collection of *Attic* words, done by *Phrynicus*, has reached us, with a letter to one *Cornelianus* prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work compiled by him at the requeſt of *Cornelianus*, which contained a collection of many *Greek* words commonly uſed, but not quite pure

(41) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxviii. *p.* 590. (42) *Idem*, *p.* 488. (43) *Suid. p.* 559. (44) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (45) *Phot. c.* 158.

and

Commodus being dead and his body privately conveyed away, *Lætus* and *Eclectus* repaired without delay to the houſe of *Helvidius* and *Attic.* He owns, that ſome of them are to be found in the antients; but maintains that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (46). We find one *Attidius Cornelianus* governor of *Syria*, in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and to him, in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addreſſed (47). *Phrynicus* is not mentioned by *Suidas*. *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of one *Ariſtenetus* of *Byzantium*, who flouriſhed under *Commodus*, and ranks him amongſt the moſt eloquent men of his time (48). As for *Ariſtenetus*, the author of ſome letters that are ſtill extant, it is manifeſt, that he wrote after the foundation of *New Rome*; that is, either under *Conſtantine*, or after his time. Both he and *Apollinaris Sidonius* ſpeak of a celebrated mimic, by name *Caramallus*; whence ſome writers conjecture, that theſe two authors lived at the ſame time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (49). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, tho' in his time paganiſm was almoſt utterly aboliſhed, his work being a confuſed heap of follies and abſurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the leaſt tincture of chriſtianity (50). Thoſe who have been at the trouble of illuſtrating theſe letters with comments, diſtinguiſhed the author of them from *Ariſtenetus* quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer (51), and from another of the ſame name, who was conſul with *Honorius* in the year 404, and frankly own, that they know not who he was. They even ſeem inclined to think it a mere rhapſody, publiſhed under the name of *Ariſtenetus*, which was prefixed to the firſt letter. The whole work ſeems to be a collection of ſeveral paſſages copied out of *Plato*, *Lucian*, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expreſſion. *Athenæus*, whoſe work, intitled, *Deipnoſophiſta*, has reached our times, lived under *Commodus*; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he ſpeaks of him, till after his death (52). But he muſt have been then very old; for he had known *Pancrates*, a famous poet in the reign of *Adrian*, ſince *Caſaubon* pretends, that *Athenæus* himſelf ſpeaks in that place, and not *Callixenes*, whom he had quoted before (53). *Suidas*, who ſuppoſes him to have flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, ſtyles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of *Naucratis* in *Egypt* (54). We have but an abridgment of his *Deipnoſophiſta*, made, according to *Caſaubon*, at *Conſtantinople* five or

Lætus *and* Eclectus *offer the empire to* Pertinax.

(46) *Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Albericii, p.* 114. *Duacii, ann.* 1636. (47) *M. Aur. vit. p.* 25. (48) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxvii, *p.* 587. (49) *Voſſ. rhet p.* 115. (50) *Vide Ariſtænet. l.* i. *epiſt.* 26. *Pariſ. ann.* 1686. (51) *Steph p.* 203. (52) *Athen. l. xii. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c.* 15. (53) *Athen. l. xv. p.* 677. (54) *Suid p.* 111.

Helvidius Pertinax, whom they judged the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, and the moſt worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, *Pertinax*, rouſed out of his ſleep, (for it was about mid-night) by their entering his houſe, did not doubt but they had been ſent by *Commodus* to murder him. However, he ordered his domeſtics to let them into his room; and upon their appearing there, without riſing from his bed or betraying the leaſt concern, he told them, That as *Pompeianus* and he were the only friends of *M. Aurelius* left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant, and with great firmneſs bid them ſtrike, and put their orders in execution. *Lætus*, admiring his conſtancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the perſon in the ſenate the moſt worthy of it. *Pertinax*, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumſtances of the death of the tyrant, ſent ſome of his friends to the place where his body lay; and upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with *Lætus* their captain, cauſing, in the mean time, a report to be ſpread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The ſoldiers were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him appear in the camp at that time of night; but *Lætus*, aſſembling them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, who, he was ſure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, ſince he had everywhere given ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues. *Pertinax* himſelf ſpoke after *Lætus*, and in his ſpeech promiſed to each ſoldier three thouſand drachmas, which would have gained them over to his intereſt, had he not added very unſeaſonably, that he hoped by their means to reform ſeveral abuſes; for they concluded from thence, that he deſigned to reſtore the antient diſcipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent, which, however, they diſſembled for the preſent; and a ſmall number

ſix hundred years ſince. This writer is highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, by ſuch as are fond of the *Grecian* antiquities. He publiſhed other works; but none of them have reached our times (55).

(55) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15.*

having

having at firſt ſaluted him with the title of *emperor*, the reſt followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the uſual ſacrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the ſenate; where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the new conſuls *Quintus Soſius Falco* and *Caius Julius Erucius*, and by all the magiſtrates and other ſenators, who had aſſembled upon the firſt news of the death of the tyrant. Among the reſt came *Pompeianus*, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not help bewailing at the ſame time the unhappy end of his brother-in-law *Commodus*; which *Pertinax* was ſo far from reſenting, that he preſſed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, ſays *Capitolinus*, could *Pompeianus* have been prevailed upon to accept it. When the ſenators had taken their places, *Pertinax*, before they had conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, earneſtly intreated them not to lay ſo heavy a burden upon him in his old age, but to pitch upon ſome other more able to diſcharge ſuch an important truſt, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for ſo high a ſtation [l]. He was not ſatisfied with begging them in general to chuſe another, but particularly named *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been twice conſul, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Anchiſes* the father of *Æneas*, took him by the hand, and earneſtly intreated him to place himſelf upon the imperial throne; but *Glabrio*, and with him all the reſt, declaring, that they would acknowledge no other prince but *Pertinax*, he was in the end obliged to yield [m]. *Capitolinus*, though no-ways favourable to *Pertinax*, cannot, however, help owning, that he was raiſed to the empire againſt his will, and that he had ever ſhewn an utter averſion to the ſovereignty, and to all the badges of the ſovereign power; in confirmation of which, he alledges a letter written by *Pertinax* himſelf, and recorded by *Marius Maximus* [n]. After the ſenate had ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he returned them thanks in an oration ſuited to the occaſion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the ſenate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly eſteemed and revered. The conſuls pronounced, according to cuſtom, his panegyric: after which *Falco*, who was one of them, upon the emperor's commending *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and owning himſelf indebted to him for the empire, is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have rebuked the new prince, with great freedom, for countenancing

Who is acknowledged by the prætorian guards, and the ſenate.

He accepts the empire againſt his will.

[l] HERODIAN. l. iv. p. 482----493. DIO. l. lxxiii p. 830. Vit. Pert. p. 55. [m] HERODIAN. DIO. ibid. [n] Vita Pert. p 59.

nancing one who had been the chief miniſter of the crimes of *Commodus*. *Pertinax* heard him without the leaſt emotion, and only told him, when he had done ſpeaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that *Lætus* had put the orders of *Commodus* in execution againſt his own inclination, and ſhewn, as ſoon as he was at liberty to act as he pleaſed, what were his private ſentiments [o]. *Pertinax* received, with the title of *Auguſtus*, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of *the father of his country* not excepted, which is ſaid to have never before been given to any prince on the firſt day of his reign [p]. To the reſt he deſired that the title of *the prince of the ſenate* might be added, which had been laid aſide ever ſince the times of the republic [q]. At the ſame time, the ſenate decreed the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Flavia Tatiana*, and that of *Cæſar* to his ſon. But he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whoſe conduct he diſliked; and as to his ſon, he told the ſenate, that he ſhould enjoy the title they had decreed him, when he deſerved it. He would not even ſuffer his ſon, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but ſent him and his ſiſter to the houſe of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiouſneſs of the court. From the ſenate, the emperor went to offer the uſual ſacrifices in the capitol, viſited the other temples, and then, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, repaired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the firſt day of the new year, to all the magiſtrates and the chief men of the ſenate, purſuant to an ancient cuſtom, which had been neglected by *Commodus* [r]. *Dion Caſſius* ſaw that day, for the firſt time, *Pompeianus* in the ſenate; for, during the laſt years of *Commodus*'s reign, he had lived conſtantly in the country, alledging his old age and the weakneſs of his eyes for not aſſiſting at the deliberations of the ſenate. But theſe complaints, ſays *Dion*, ceaſed when *Pertinax* was raiſed to the empire, and returned as ſoon as he died [s].

Is honoured with all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity.

Titus *Pertinax* began his reign, to the great ſatisfaction of *Rome*, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy, no one doubting, but he would ſoon reſtore the ſtate to its former luſtre, and redreſs the abuſes and diſorders introduced by *Commodus*. He was born on the firſt of *Auguſt* of the

The birth and education of Pertinax.

[o] Idem, p. 55. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 832. [r] Herod. l. ii. p. 494. Vit. Pert. p. 55. [s] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 729.

year

year 126, the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign, in a little village called *Villa Martis*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Alba Pompeia*, now *Alba*, in the dutchy of *Montferrat*. He is commonly ſtyled, by hiſtorians and in moſt inſcriptions, *Publius Helvius Pertinax*. His father by name *Helvius Succeſſus*, had either been a ſlave himſelf, or was the ſon of an enfranchiſed ſlave[1], and followed the mean profeſſion of drying wood and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of *Pertinax* to his ſon on account of his obſtinately adhering for ſome time to the ſame calling, which, however, he was afterwards perſuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-ſchool in *Rome*, his father having taken care to have him inſtructed, when very young, in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages. But that profeſſion not anſwering his expectation, he betook himſelf to a military life, and ſerved firſt in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius* as a common ſoldier; but was ſoon raiſed to the rank of a centurion by the intereſt of *Lollius Avitus*, or rather *Lollius Gentianus*, his father's patron. Having in that poſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf under *Lucius Verus*, *M. Aurelius*'s collegue in the empire, during the *Parthian* war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*, and afterwards employed in *Britain*, or, as ſome read, *Bithynia*, *Mœſia*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, in which laſt place he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was ſent into *Dacia*, and there, upon ſome falſe information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by *M. Aurelius*, notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for him. *Capitolinus* writes, that he was governor of *Dacia*, and charged with aſpiring at the empire. Be that as it will, *M. Aurelius*, being ſoon after convinced of his innocence, created him ſenator, honoured him with the enſigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the firſt legion, which he led againſt the *Germans*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. Theſe countries he recovered in one campaign, for which eminent ſervice *M. Aurelius* made him conſul. He was afterwards ſent into *Syria* againſt *Avidius Caſſius*; and, upon his death, recalled from thence to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and command the army in *Illyricum*. Having acquitted himſelf in that office to the general ſatisfaction both of the *Romans* and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two *Mœſias*, then to that of *Dacia*, and laſtly to the government of *Syria*, which he held to the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*; but did not continue long there, being ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, and ſuſ-

His riſe and preferments.

[1] DIO. l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p. 52. VICT. epit.

pected

pected all men of merit, to quit the city, and retire to *Liguria*, his native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embellished the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not suffer his father's cottage, or rather shop, which stood in the midst of them, to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfal of *Perennis*, he was by *Commodus* sent into *Britain*, to restore the antient discipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compassed, not without exposing himself to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own request, and, upon his return, charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions; then appointed proconsul of *Africa*, and lastly governor of *Rome*, which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed [u]. The conspirators judged him, as we have related above, of all the great men in *Rome*, the most worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to *Herodian*, in every respect well qualified for so important a trust, being a man of great wisdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameless character [w]. *Dion Cassius* cries him up on account of his mild temper, his goodness, and his application to business; and adds, that he was grave without being sullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance [x]. *Aurelius Victor* styles him a person thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the antient *Romans* [y]. The other *Victor* says, that he was an enemy to all pomp and outward appearance; that he received persons of every rank and condition with great affability, and treated them as his equals. *Julius Capitolinus* is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice, and want of sincerity; but that writer lived a hundred years after *Pertinax*, whereas both *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian* were personally acquainted with him. The emperor *Julian* charges him only with having been privy to the conspiracy [z]; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

His character.

His conduct and excellent administration.

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the silver statues of *Commodus*, which had been pulled down by a decree of the senate, to be melted, and turned into mo-

[u] Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55 p. 153. Vict. epit. & in excerpt. Val. p. 713. Cæs. p. 14.
[w] Herod. l. ii p. 493.
[x] Herod ibid.
[y] Aur. Vict.
[z] Julian. Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 832,

ney; and ſold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horſes, his gold and ſilver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which particular mention is made of chariots ſo contrived, as to ſhew the hour, and meaſure the way [a]. By this means he raiſed money wherewithal to pay the prætorian guards what he had promiſed them, to diſcharge ſeveral debts contracted by *Commodus*, and to give a bounty to the people. At the ſame time he reſtored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjuſtly taken from them by *Commodus*, recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed for the pretended crime of treaſon, put them in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, thoſe who had been anyways acceſſary to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances from ſuch as had children, or lawful heirs of their own, ſaying, *I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by diſhonourable methods.* He aboliſhed all the taxes laid by *Commodus* on the rivers, ports, and high-ways; and would not ſuffer his name to be ſet up, according to cuſtom, in ſuch places as belonged to the emperors, ſaying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public [b]. Thus, by the mildneſs of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the ſenate and people; but, by attempting to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the prætorian guards, he diſobliged both them and their commander *Lætus*, who at firſt had been ſo zealous in his cauſe. The private men, not doubting but he would reſtore the antient diſcipline among them, had, three days after his acceſſion to the empire, attempted to ſet up another, *viz. Triarius Maternus Laſcivius*, a ſenator of an illuſtrious family; but he, eſcaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to *Pertinax*, aſſured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from *Rome*. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiouſneſs of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raiſe *Falco*, the conſul, to the empire. *Pertinax*, who was then at *Oſtia*, giving the neceſſary orders for ſupplying the city with proviſions, returned in great haſte to the palace; and, repairing from thence to the ſenate, complained there of *Falco*, whom the ſenators were for condemning immediately as a traitor and a public enemy. But *Pertinax*, riſing up, [illegible] that, in his reign, no ſenator, however guilty,

The prætorian guards diſſatisfied with him.

They revolt, and attempt to raiſe Falco to the empire.

[a] Vit. Pert. p. [illegible] [b] Dio l. lxxiii. p. 832 Vit. Pert. p. [illegible] p. 400.

ſhould be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. *Falco*, being thus diſmiſſed, retired to his eſtate, where he lived in ſafety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the deſign of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their reſolution to him. However that be, the ſoldiers, highly exaſperated againſt *Pertinax*, who laboured to revive the antient diſcipline, and ſtirred up underhand by *Lætus*, who did not think his former ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exaſperate them ſtill more, *Lætus* cauſed ſeveral of them to be publicly executed as privy to the late conſpiracy, pretending that he obeyed therein the orders of *Pertinax*, though the prince was quite unappriſed of theſe proceedings.

Three hundred of them march to Rome, *and enter the palace.*

By this means the mutiny increaſing daily, on the twenty-eighth of *March* a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the reſt, leaving the camp, and, paſſing through the ſtreets of *Rome* with their drawn ſwords, went ſtrait to the palace, which they entered without oppoſition, the emperor's freedmen and officers either betaking themſelves to flight through fear, or treacherouſly opening all the gates to them. *Pertinax*, in the mean time, knew nothing of what paſſed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp, and ordered *Lætus* to ſtop thoſe who had entered the palace. But *Lætus*, covering his face, that he might not be known, inſtead of obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own houſe. As the mutineers ſtill advanced, ſome of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, adviſed him to retire, and conceal himſelf, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his aſſiſtance. But *Pertinax* rejected their advice, ſaying that to ſave his life by flight, was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore reſolved to go forth and meet them in perſon, believing that, awed by his preſence, they would return to a ſenſe of their duty. Accordingly he appeared unexpectedly before them, and aſked them, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, whether they, whoſe duty it was to defend the emperor's perſon, were come with an intent to betray and murder him? At the ſame time he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of their crime, the ignominy which it would caſt upon their memories, and the fatal conſequences of ſo black a treaſon,

The intrepidity of Pertinax.

ſon, with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to ſheath their ſwords and retire. But a *Tungrian*, by name *Tauſius*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breaſt, and crying out, *The ſoldiers ſend you this*, the reſt fell on with great fury, and diſpatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no reſiſtance; but covering his head with his robe, and calling upon *Jupiter the avenger*, received their blows. *Electus* alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but after having killed two of the ſoldiers, was himſelf run through, and left dead by his maſter, for whoſe ſafety he had ſacrificed his life. The ſoldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a ſpear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could aſſemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they ſo tenderly loved. And truly it was no ſooner known, that *Pertinax* had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of his death, ran up and down the ſtreets in queſt of them. The ſenators were no leſs concerned for his death than the people; the more, becauſe they were now convinced, that the ſoldiers would ſuffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to loſe than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death, but either ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, or in thoſe of the ſoldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themſelves there moſt ſafe [c]. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, after he had lived ſixty-ſix years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix, or twenty-eight, days; and reigned, according to *Dion Caſſius*, eighty-ſeven days, that is, from the firſt of *January* to the twenty-eighth of *March* [d]. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by *Didius Julianus*, his ſucceſſor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, with the title of emperor, took the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew would, above any thing elſe, recommend him to the army in *Illyricum*, and to the *Roman* people. He puniſhed with great ſeverity all thoſe who had been acceſſary to his death, diſbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent funeral, at which was carried the effigies of the deceaſed prince, pronounced himſelf his panegyric, and cauſed him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the ſon chief-prieſt to his father. The day of his acceſſion to the

His death.

He is univerſally lamented.

Honours paid him after his death.

[c] Dio. p. 834, 835. Heron. l. ii. p. 498. Vit. Pert. p. 58.
[d] Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 834.

empire was yearly celebrated with *circenſian* games; and his birth-day for many years after, with other ſports [e]. He performed great things, ſays *Herodian*, during his ſhort reign, and would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, had he reigned longer [f].

Pertinax had ſent, as we have related above, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but in the mean time the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred ſoldiers arriving ſoon after with his head ſtuck on a ſpear, *Sulpicianus* was not aſhamed to apply to the murderers of his ſon-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, reſolved to make the moſt of it, cauſed it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the empire was expoſed to ſale, and he beſt bidder ſhould have it. When news of this ſcandalous proclamation was firſt brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the wealthieſt man in the city, was entertaining ſome of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midſt of their mirth and jollity, adviſed him, as he had more ready money than any man in *Rome*, not to loſe the opportunity of making ſo valuable a purchaſe. *Julianus*, raviſhed with the dazzling proſpect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, roſe from table, and haſtened to the camp; where he repreſented to the ſoldiers, whom *Sulpicianus* was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his ſon-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would reſtore all things to the condition they were in under *Commodus*. This pleaſed the licentious and diſſolute ſoldiery, who had committed in that prince's reign all ſorts of diſorders with impunity. However they would hear what they both offered, and ſuffered them to bid upon one another, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, riſing at once from five thouſand drachmas a man to ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, ſilenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition, that he ſhould forgive his competitor, and never take the leaſt notice of his aſpiring at the empire [g]. *Spartian* relates his acceſſion to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the ſenate aſſembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but *Julianus* coming too late, and finding the doors ſhut, was accoſted by two tribunes, *P. Florianus* and *Veſtius Aper*,

The empire expoſed to ſale.

Julian purchaſed by Didius Julianus.

[e] Dio. p. 840—842. Victr. epit. Vit. Pert. p. 59 Herod p. 495. [f] Herod. ibid. [g] Dio. p. 835. Herod. p. 499.

who

who encouraged him to ſeize on the empire. *Julianus*, believing that *Sulpicianus* had been proclaimed emperor by the prætorian guards, anſwered, that the empire was already diſpoſed of; but they nevertheleſs carried him to the camp againſt his will, where, upon his warning them not to chuſe one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and his promiſing to reſpect the memory of *Commodus*, he was proclaimed *Auguſtus* upon the above-mentioned condition *. *M. Didius Severus Julianus*, thus raiſed to the empire, was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, come originally from *Milan*, in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was the ſon of *Petronius Didius Severus* and *Æmilia Clara*, the grand daughter of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and compiled the *perpetual edict*. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of *January* of the year 133, the ſixteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, and brought up by *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *M. Aurelius*. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him firſt quæſtor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorſhip expired, gave him the command of the twenty-ſecond legion, quartered at that time in *Germany*. Not long after, he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the *Chauci*, who had made an irruption into the *Roman* territories; for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. After he had diſcharged that office, he was ſent into *Illyricum*, which country he defended with great valour againſt the neighbouring barbarians, and was on that account preferred to the government of *Lower Germany*; whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions [b]. He narrowly eſcaped being put to death in the reign of *Commodus*, as privy to the pretended conſpiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, and was for ſome time confined to the city of *Milan*. But *Commodus*, aſhamed of having cauſed ſo many other ſenators to be inhumanly maſſacred, not only diſcharged *Julianus*, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and afterwards to the conſulſhip, in which he had *Pertinax* for his collegue, whom he ſucceeded in the proconſulſhip of *Africa*. Hence *Pertinax* uſed to call him his collegue and his ſucceſſor, which was afterwards interpreted as a preſage of his being ſucceeded by *Julianus* in the empire [i].

His extraction and preferments.

* SPART. in Jul. p. 60. [b] SPART. ibid. [i] Idem, vit. Jul. p. 61.

His character.

All authors agree, that *Didius Julianus* was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth; but diſagree as to his character. *Dion Caſſius*, who had been named by *Pertinax* to the prætorſhip, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amaſſing riches by any means, however ſhameful and unjuſt, and at the ſame time ſparing no expence to pleaſe and ſatisfy his palate. He ſpoke without jndgment, ſays that writer, and uttered ſuch things in public as made him be pitied by all men of ſenſe. He was underhand a great encourager of diſturbances and troubles in the ſtate, and is ſuppoſed to have privately ſtirred up the ſoldiers againſt *Pertinax*, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. *Dion Caſſius* adds, that he himſelf in pleading had often reproached him in public with his crying injuſtices [k]. *Herodian* writes, that he was generally deſpiſed on account of his diſorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions [l]. *Spartian*, on the other hand, tells us, that in all his governments and employments under *M. Aurelius*, he acquitted himſelf with great integrity; from which, however, he was ſaid to have ſwerved in the reign of *Commodus*. He adds, that he was ſo covetous, as not to allow himſelf ſometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*, both which writers lived at that time in *Rome*. *Spartian*, however, owns, that *Julianus* was charged with eating and drinking to exceſs, with gaming, and uſing ſuch weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though in his youth he had never been addicted to any of theſe vices [m]. He ſhewed himſelf, according to that writer, kind, affable, and obliging, to all men; and was ſo far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed rather to debaſe himſelf too much. As ſoon as he was declared emperor, he appointed at the requeſt of the prætorian guards, *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Criſpinus* their commanders. At the ſame time he accepted the name of *Commodus*, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his medals [n]. After the uſual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the ſenate. The people did not offer to oppoſe their march; but no acclamations were heard; ſome, who were at a diſtance, even uttered invectives againſt him. As for the ſenators, thoſe among them who were the moſt grieved to ſee him emperor, were the moſt forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on

He takes the name of Commodus.

[k] Dio. l. lxxiii.. p. 835. [l] Herod. l. ii. p. 498. [m] Julian. vit. p. 63. [n] Birag. p. 262.

his

his acceſſion to the empire. Among theſe was, as he himſelf owns, *Dion Caſſius* the hiſtorian[o]. *Julianus* made a ſpeech in the ſenate, ſays *Dion*, who was preſent, worthy of himſelf, wherein he deſired them to confirm what the ſoldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the ſame time, that he was the fitteſt perſon they could chuſe. The ſenate immediately paſſed a decree declaring him emperor and his family patrician, and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers. At the ſame time, his wife *Manlia Scantilla*, and his daughter *Didia Clara*, were honoured with the title of *Auguſtæ*. From the ſenate he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of *Pertinax*, which he cauſed to be honourably interred, and paſſed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of *Pertinax*, which he apprehended might in the end be his own[p]. Thus *Capitolinus*; but *Dion Caſſius*, who was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed at *Rome* under *Julianus*, tells us, that the new prince entering the palace and deſpiſing the frugal ſupper which had been prepared for *Pertinax* (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the ſame day), ordered a magnificent feaſt to be got ready, and paſſed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceaſed prince in the place where he had been murdered[q]. The next morning, the ſenate and the *Roman* knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a moſt obliging manner, calling them, ſays *Capitolinus*, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his ſon. He went afterwards to the ſenate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to adminiſter in conjunction with them, the ſovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occaſion he received, according to *Capitolinus*, the title of *the father of his country*, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the ſenate he went to the capitol to offer there the uſual ſacrifices, theſenators, who attended him, ſtriving to ſhew great joy inthe height of their grief. But the people, ſtrangers to all diſſimulation, openly loaded him with curſes and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to reſign the power, which he had purchaſed of the ſoldiery in ſo ſhametul manner. They even diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones at him, and wiſhed aloud, as he was ſacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appeaſe them with great promiſes; but they anſwered boldly, that they ſcorned to receive any thing

He is accknowledged by the ſenate.

He receives them in a very obliging manner

He is hated, and openly curſed, by the people.

[o] Dio. ibid. [p] Vit. Pert. p. 61. [q] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 836.

from

from ſuch an uſurper and parricide: inſomuch, that to diſperſe them (for they ſtopt up the way), he was obliged to order the ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe who ſtood neareſt, which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they all took arms; and in the circus, where the emperor aſſiſted at the public games, renewed their curſes and imprecations both againſt him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the aſſiſtance of the other armies and generals, namely, of *Peſcennius Niger*, who at that time commanded a powerful army in *Syria*. All this *Julianus* bore with great patience, ſays *Spartian*; and, during his ſhort reign, gave many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet temper[r]. He appointed *Repentinus*, his ſon-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of *Sulpicianus*, father-in-law to the deceaſed emperor; and, to gratify the ſoldiery, re-eſtabliſhed many things, which had been appointed by *Commodus* and aboliſhed by *Pertinax*.

His government.

Among the many great captains, who commanded at this time the *Roman* armies in the different provinces of the empire, the moſt famed were *Peſcennius Niger* in *Syria*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*.

Clodius Albinus, *his extraction and preferments*

Clodius Albinus was a native of *Adrumetum* in *Africa*, but deſcended from the *Poſthumian* and *Ceionian* families, two of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*. His father *Ceionius Poſthumus* gave him the name of *Albinus*, becauſe at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children uſually are, the *Latin* word *albus* importing *white*. He was brought up in *Africa*, where he ſtudied the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, in which he was well verſed. The antients cry up his knowledge and learning, and mention with great commendations a treatiſe which he compoſed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to purſue the peaceable profeſſion of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at ſchool, that verſe of *Virgil*,----*Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis*;---- eſpecially the firſt part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, *I am for following the profeſſion of arms, right or wrong*; *I am for a military life at all events*. He therefore entered into the ſervice very early, and, by the intereſt of *Lollius Serenus*, *Fabius Mætianus*, and *Ceionius Poſthumianus*, men of rank, and nearly related to him, was firſt raiſed to the command of a troop of *Illyrian* horſe, and ſoon after to that of the firſt and fourth legions. He commanded the army in *Bithynia* in the year 175, the fifteenth of the reign

[r] Vit. Pert p. 61.

of

of *M. Aurelius*, and reſtrained them from joining, as they deſigned, *Avidius Caſſius*, for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. In the reign of *Commodus* he was appointed governor of *Gaul*, where he gained great advantages over the *Friſians*, and other neighbouring nations. From *Gaul* he was tranſlated into *Britain*, which government he held at this time [f]. The emperor *Commodus*, ſuſpecting that *Septimius Severus*, governor of *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who commanded an army in ſome other province, deſigned to revolt, in order to engage *Albinus* in his cauſe, wrote a letter to him, if *Capitolinus* is to be credited, giving him leave to aſſume, if he ſaw occaſion, the title of *Cæſar* and all the badges of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand *(K)*. The ſame writer adds, that ſome time after a falſe report of the death of *Commodus* being ſpread in *Britain*, *Albinus* giving credit to it, encouraged his ſoldiers to aboliſh monarchy, and re-eſtabliſh the antient republican government; which gained him the affections of the ſenate, but provoked *Commodus* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſent *Junius Severus* to ſucceed him in the government of *Britain*, but he did not arrive there before the death of *Commodus* was publicly known in

[f] Vit. Alb. p. 79—84.

(K) This letter was conceived in the following terms; Beſides the other letters, which I have written to you, concerning your ſucceſſor, and the affairs of the public, this, you ſee, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you ſhall ſee occaſion, to take upon you at the head of the army the name and quality of *Cæſar*. For I hear, that *Septimius Severus* and *Nonius Murcus* ſpeak ill of me to the army, in order to eſtrange from me the minds of the ſoldiery, and pave themſelves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to aſſume the name *Cæſar*, and to preſent the ſoldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I ſend you letters for my receivers, ſealed with the head of an *Amazon*, which you will deliver to them, when you have occaſion for the money; otherwiſe they will not ſupply you with it out of the treaſury. That you may not be without the badges of the dignity to which I raiſe you, I give you leave to wear a ſcarlet robe even in my preſence; the purple you ſhall have the firſt time I ſee you, but not enriched with gold, which my great-grandfather *Ælius Verus* never wore, tho' adopted by *Adrian (56)*.

(56) *Vit. Albin. p.* 47.

that province [t]. *M. Aurelius* had a particular value for him and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by *Capitolinus* [u] (L), well qualified, on account of his ſeverity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his ſeverity ſeems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is ſaid never to have pardoned the leaſt fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-ways remiſs in their duty. He was unjuſt to his domeſtics, inſupportable to his wife, and to all ſurly and moroſe. He was very proper in his dreſs, but quite otherwiſe in his repaſts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have often eat at a breakfaſt five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, a hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oyſters [w]. Sometimes he abſtained altogether from wine, and ſometimes drank to exceſs even in the time of war. He was far from being chaſte, but abhorred and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſorts of unnatural luſt. As he was, notwithſtanding his many vices, a man of great courage and ſkill in military affairs, he was commonly called a *ſecond Catiline*. The

His character.

[t] Idem ibid. p. 79. [u] Idem, p. 83. [w] Idem, p. 83.

(L) *M. Aurelius* wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entruſted *Albinus*, of the family of the *Ceionii*, with the command of two cohorts. He is, 'tis true, an *African*, but free from the vices of that country. He is the ſon in law of *Plautillus*, and, beſides a man of great experience, of a grave and compoſed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the neceſſary diſcipline in a camp: at leaſt I am ſure, we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his ſalary, and deſire you to encourage him, aſſuring him, that his ſervices ſhall not remain unrewarded (57). The ſame prince wrote another letter concerning him, ſoon after the rebellion of *Avidius Caſſius*, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus; The fidelity of *Albinus* deſerves the higheſt encomiums; for when the forces in *Bithynia* were ready to revolt and join *Caſſius*, he ſpared no pains to maintain them in their duty and defeat their evil deſigns. I therefore think him worthy of the conſulſhip, and accordingly deſign to ſubſtitute him in the room of *Caſſius Papirius*, who is dangerouſly ill, and, as I am informed, paſt recovery. But of this, take no notice till he is dead, leſt it ſhould come to the ears either of *Caſſius* himſelf, or his friends, which would give me great con-

(57) *Idem ibid.* (58) *Idem*, p. 48.

harangue

harangue he made to his troops in *Britain* againſt monarchy gained him the affections of the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that no prince, ſays his hiſtorian, was ever loved by them ſo much as he [x].

Caius Peſtennius Niger Juſtus, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals [y], was deſcended of an equeſtrian family and born at *Aquinum*. He had but a ſmall eſtate, and little learning; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the degree of a centurion to the firſt military employments in the empire. He had ſome command in *Gaul*, where he contracted a great friendſhip with *Septimius Severus*, at that time governor of the country of *Lyons*, who recommended him to the emperor *Commodus*, as an excellent ſoldier and experienced commander. He was afterwards made conſul, at the requeſt of the troops under his command [z]: *Herodian* calls him a gallant ſoldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illuſtrious conſul, and an unfortunate emperor [a]. He kept the ſoldiers to their duty, and would not ſuffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the ſoldiers, upon any account whatſoever. He cauſed two tribunes to be ſtoned, for having deducted a very inconſiderable ſum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten ſoldiers to be beheaded for ſtealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his ſoldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to uſe plate, or have any gold or ſilver about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in caſe of any misfortune, ſet themſelves off with their ſpoils. He ſuffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the ſoldiers to content themſelves with biſket. Some troops, that were in gariſon on the frontiers of *Egypt*, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other anſwer, than that they were but at a ſmall diſtance from the *Nile*. He required nothing of the ſoldiers, but what he practiſed himſelf. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier, and his diet was the ſame with that of the meaneſt in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered in all ſeaſons and climates. He obliged even his own domeſtics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not ſeem to walk at their eaſe, while the ſoldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage. He had conſtantly before his eyes *Marius*, *Hannibal*, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being ſaluted emperor, the

Peſcennius Niger. *his extraction, preferments and character.*

[x] Idem, p. 83. [y] BIRAG. p. 264. [z] SPART. in Nigr. p. 75. [a] HEROD. l. iii. p. 501.

perſon, who, according to cuſtom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and deſired him to ſay ſomething in praiſe of *Marius*, of *Hannibal*, or of ſome other renowned commander, who was dead. "Tell us, ſaid he, what they have done "worthy of imitation; for to praiſe the living is an uſeleſs "taſk, eſpecially to praiſe an emperor, who can puniſh, re-"ward, proſcribe, and condemn: as for me, *I only deſire to* "pleaſe while I live; when I am dead, then praiſe me, "if I deſerve it." If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, without uſing that cruelty for which *Severus* is blamed [b]. For though he was naturally ſevere, ſays *Herodian* [c], yet he governed with great mildneſs, and was always ready to contribute to the diverſions of the people; which gained him the affections of the *Syrians*, eſpecially of the *Antiochians*, who delighted in nothing but ſhows and ſpectacles. *Spartian* commends him on account of his chaſtity, which the *Gauls*, ſays that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues [d]. On the other hand, *Victor* the younger ſtyles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs. *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of him as a perſon no-ways remarkable either for his good or bad qualities [e]. However, it is certain, that he was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people of *Rome*, who all wiſhed to ſee him emperor [f].

Septimius Severus, *his character.*

Severus was a perſon endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every reſpect infinitely ſuperior both to *Albinus* and *Niger*. He was generally eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, the moſt active, vigilant, laborious, and enterpriſing man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greateſt commanders of ancient times, a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, a conſtant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great diſſembler, full of deceit, and ever ready to ſacrifice his reputation, and every thing elſe, to his intereſt and ambition [g]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more to cruelty; for we find ſome inſtances of his generoſity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is ſaid never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action [h].

[a] Vit. Nigr. p. 75—77. [c] Herod. l. ii. p. 501. l. iii. p. 518. [d] Vit. Nigr. p. 76. [e] Dio. l. lxxiv. p. 842. [f] Herod. ibid Vit. Nigr. p. 74. [g] Dio. l. lxxiii p 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. Vict. epit. Tertull. apol. c. 4. [h] Herod. l. iii. p. 527.

He

He was an enemy to all pomp and ſhow, frugal in his diet, contenting himſelf for the moſt part with roots and greens, but ſometimes, though ſeldom, drinking to exceſs. In the field, his diet was the ſame with that of the common ſoldiers; he ſhared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithſtanding his ſeverity, gained him the affections of the ſoldiery [i]. *Severus* was born at *Leptis*, a city of *Libya Tripolitana*, but his anceſtors had been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted into the ſenate; for he was nephew by the father to two conſuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Septimius Severus*; the latter was twice conſul. His father, *M. Septimius Geta*, had another ſon, named likewiſe *Geta*, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her ſon, has been tranſmitted to us [k]. *Severus* was born on the eleventh of *April* in the year 145, the eighth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. He ſtudied firſt in *Africa*, and afterwards at *Rome*, the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, in each branch of polite literature. *Dion*, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts [l]; and *Spartian* owns, that he ſpoke to the end of his life the *Latin* tongue with the *African* accent [m]. He was inſtructed in the knowledge of the law, together with *Papinianus*, by *Q. Cervidius Scævola*, who publiſhed various books of juriſprudence, whereof ſome fragments are ſtill preſerved in the *Pandects* [n]. He ſeems to have had likewiſe ſome knowledge of phyſic [o], and is ſaid to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial aſtrology, a ſcience to which the *Africans* were generally addicted [p]. In his youth he was accuſed of adultery, but acquitted by *Didius Julianus* at that time proconſul of *Africa*. Afterwards he came to *Rome*, where, after he had pleaded for ſome time with little ſucceſs at the bar, he was, by the intereſt of his uncle *Septimius Severus*, admitted by the emperor *M. Aurelius* into the ſenate, and appointed governor of the iſland of *Sardinia*; whence he was ſent to command the troops in *Africa* in quality of lieutenant to the

His extraction.

Education.

And employments.

[i] Idem, l. ii. p 507. [k] Spart. vit. Sev p. 64 Dio. in excerpt Val. p. 742 GRUT. p 268. [l] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p 741. [m] Vit. Sev. p 71. [n] Vit. Caracall. cum not Caſaub. p. 132. & JONS. l. iii. c. 12. [o] GALEN ther t ii. p. 457. 458. [p] Spart. vit. p 90. [q] Dio. l. lxxvi. p 866

procuratel-

proconſul. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was created prætor; and after his prætorſhip preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in *Syria*. On his journey into that province, he viſited the city of *Athens*, and received ſome affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predeceſſors. Next, he was raiſed to the government of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, or the country of *Lyons*, where, by his affability and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From *Gaul* he was removed to *Pannonia*, which province he governed with proconſular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as *Commodus* began then to be univerſally hated, he was acquitted and his accuſer crucified. He was raiſed ſoon after to the conſulſhip, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in *Illyricum* to defend the banks of the *Danube* [q]. He married to his firſt wife one *Martia*; and upon her death *Julia*, a native of *Emeſia* in *Syria*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the aſtrologers had told her, that ſhe was to marry a ſovereign. She is ſtyled in ſeveral inſcriptions *Julia Domna Auguſta, the mother of the armies, of the ſenate, of her country*, &c. [r] By her *Severus* had *Baſſianus*, commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, born the fourth of *April* 188, *Geta*, born in *Milan*, the twenty-ſeventh of *May* 189, and two daughters, who were married after their father's acceſſion to the empire. *Julia* diſhonoured with her lewdneſs her huſband and family, and had the mortification to hear herſelf publicly reproached, by a *Caledonian* lady, with the ſame vices which ſhe pretended to condemn in her [s]. She was likewiſe accuſed of conſpiring againſt her huſband, and charged with ſeveral other crimes by *Plautianus*, who did all that lay in his power to diſcredit her with the emperor; inſomuch, that to retrieve her reputation, ſhe betook herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and kept continually about her a great number of ſophiſts, philoſophers, mathematicians, geographers, and perſons eminent in the various branches of learning, which has rendered her name famous in hiſtory [t]. *Julia* had a ſiſter named *Mæſa*, who was married to one *Julius*, who had by her two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mamea*, the former the mother of the

His wife Julia.

[q] *Vit. Sev.* p. 64. 65. Dio. l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. iii. p. 103. [r] Spon. p. 270. Spantt. l. vi. p. 628. [s] Aur. Vict. Sever. vit. p. 71. Dio. lxxvi. p. 869. [t] Philos. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 3. & ſoph. lvi. p. 617.

emperor

emperor *Heliogabalus*, and the latter of *Alexander*, who ſucceeded him.

To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory, and return to *Didius Julianus*; while he was ſtriving to gain the affections of the *Roman* people by the mildneſs of his government, news was brought him, that *Peſcennius Niger* had revolted in *Syria*, and was acknowledged emperor by all the eaſtern nations and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from *Illyricum*, where *Severus* had been ſaluted, by the army which he commanded there, with the title of *Auguſtus*. The armies in *Gaul* likewiſe ſwore allegiance to him, as ſoon as they heard that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities, in *Europe*, except the city of *Byzantium*; ſo that *Severus* having ſecured the provinces behind him, and left ſome troops to guard the banks of the *Danube*, began his march to *Rome*. As he was well apprized, that *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, was in a condition to thwart his deſigns, he wrote an obliging letter to him, wherein he declared his intentions of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæſar*; which *Albinus* aſſumed at the head of his army, with all the badges of his new dignity, beſtowing on that occaſion great encomiums on *Severus*. As for *Niger* *Severus* did not ſo much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive, him, well knowing that he would not hearken to any propoſals whatſoever [a]. *Julianus*, in the mean time, repairing to the ſenate, cauſed *Severus* to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewiſe his ſoldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even ſent by the ſenate to perſuade the ſoldiers to quit the party of *Severus*, and join *Julianus*. Among theſe were *Veſpronius Candidus*, a conſular of great authority, *Valerius Catulinus*, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which *Severus* had with him, and one *Aquilius*, a centurion, the chief miniſter of the cruelties of *Commodus*, with orders to diſpatch *Severus* as ſoon as his troops had deſerted him. But the deputies, inſtead of exhorting the troops to abandon *Severus*, joined him themſelves, and encouraged the ſoldiers to purſue their march, and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Hereupon *Julianus*, having firſt paid the prætorian guards the largeſs he had promiſed them, ordered them to their arms, and at the ſame time ſent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at *Miſenum*, and with the prætorian guards made up a conſiderable army. But as they had been long inured to idleneſs,

Peſcennius Niger *declared emperor in the eaſt, and* Severus *in* Illyricum.

Severus *declared a public enemy.*

[a] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 837. Herod. l. ii. p. 513.

In his march to Rome he is every-where received with loud acclamations.

idleneſs, they ſcarce knew how to make uſe of their arms, and ſhewed great backwardneſs to make head againſt the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, and ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, a prince univerſally beloved. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, cauſed the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himſelf there after loſing all the reſt. At the ſame time, he ordered *Marcia* and *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured *Severus*; diſpatched a great number of aſſaſſins, to try if he could by any means murder *Severus*, with promiſes of immenſe rewards, if they ſucceeded in the attempt; and cauſed an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make uſe of their blood in the abominable myſteries of magic [w]. While *Julianus* was thus loſing his time in uſeleſs preparations, *Severus*, arriving at *Ravenna*, made himſelf maſter of that city and the fleet riding there; which ſo terrified *Julianus*, that, diſtruſting his troops, he ordered the ſenate to aſſemble on the twenty-ninth of *May*, when one of his miniſters deſired them in his name to ſend out the veſtals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which propoſal being rejected as no leſs ridiculous than ineffectual, *Julianus*, as ſome authors write, was ſo provoked, that he aſſembled his troops, with a deſign to put all the ſenators to the ſword, if they did not comply with his requeſt. But he ſoon changed his mind, and went to the ſenate in perſon, with a propoſal of a quite different nature, which was,

Julianus cauſes Severus to be declared his partner in the empire.

that they would paſs a decree, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. The decree paſſed without oppoſition, and was immediately ſent to *Severus*, who not only rejected the offered aſſociation, but at the inſtigation of *Julius Lætus*, ordered *Tullius Criſpinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being ſpread, that *Criſpinus* had private orders to diſpatch him. Hereupon *Julianus*, being quite at a loſs what to do, and the ſenate declining to aſſiſt him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at *Capua* to take arms, under the command of *Lollianus Titianus*, and wrote an obliging letter to *Pompeianus*, the ſon-in-law of *M. Aurelius*, who then led a retired life at *Terracina*, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But *Pompeianus* wiſely declined the offer, pleading his old age and the weak-

[w] Dio. p. 838. Vit. Jul.. p. 62.

neſs,

neſs of his ſight; which, however, would have ſerved him well, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, had he ſeen any effectual means of relieving his diſtreſſed country [x]. In the mean time, the troops ſent by *Julianus* into *Umbria* to guard the paſſes of the *Apennine* mountains, declared for *Severus*; and the prætorian guards themſelves, abandoning the emperor whom they had ſet up, agreed not to oppoſe *Severus*, upon his promiſing them impunity, provided they delivered up to him thoſe who had murdered *Pertinax* [y]. *Julianus*, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by his troops, ſhut himſelf up in the palace with *Genialis*, one of the captains of the guards, and *Repentinus* his ſon-in-law. The guards, in the mean time, having ſeized ſuch of their comrades as had been any-ways concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith *Silius Meſſala*, who had been ſubſtituted either to *Falco* or *Erucius*, the ordinary conſuls of this year 193. *Meſſala* immediately aſſembled the ſenate, when a decree paſſed, depriving *Julianus* of the empire, ſentencing him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and appointing divine honours to *Pertinax*. This decree was carried to *Severus* by ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, who intreated him in the name of the reſt, to haſten his march to *Rome*. At the ſame time, the ſenate ſent a band of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to put *Julianus* to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to reſign the empire, upon condition that they ſpared his life. Some authors write, that at the ſight of the armed band, he only ſaid, *What crime have I committed? whoſe life have I taken away?* [z]. Others tell us, that he implored the faith of *Caſar*, giving that title to *Severus* [a]. Be that as it will, his head was ſtruck off by a common ſoldier, and his body, according to *Aurelius Victor*, expoſed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after he had lived ſixty years, four months, and as many days, and reigned two months and ſix days. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his anceſtors on the *Via Lavicana*, about five miles from *Rome* [b].

Julianus *abandoned by all.*

Severus *declared emperor and* Julianus *degraded by the ſenate, and put to death.*

Severus received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet ſome days journey from *Rome*. However, he purſued his march with his troops in battle-array, and incamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and diſmay. The ſenate de-

[x] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 729. Vit. Jul. p. 63. [y] Dio p. 878. HEROD. p. 510. [z] Dio. ibid. [a] Jul. vit. p. 63. [b] Dio p. 868. Vit. Jul. p. 65.

A hundred ſenators ſent to meet Severus.

puted a hundred perſons of great diſtinction out of their body to congratulate him upon the death of his rival and his acceſſion to the empire. *Severus* received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and cauſed them to be ſearched, as if he ſuſpected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, preſented them with ſeven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to ſtay and return to *Rome* with him. He appointed *Flavius Juvenalis* captain of the guards, with *Veturius Macrinus*, whom he had named before to that employment. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Plautianus*, injoining him to ſeize the children of *Peſcennius Niger*, and of all the officers who ſerved under him. He had the good luck to intercept ſeveral letters and edicts, ſent by *Niger* to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, which he would not ſuffer to be read to them [c]. When he approached *Rome*, he cauſed all thoſe to be executed, who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and ſent orders to the other ſoldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great ſolemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dreſs the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, *Severus* ſent them word to wait in a body till he was at leiſure to receive and harangue them; and in the mean time gave private orders to his own troops to ſurround them at a diſtance, and ſhut them up on all ſides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue. He then aſcended the tribunal; and betraying great anger and reſentment in his countenance, reproached them in moſt bitter terms for murdering their prince, and ſuch a prince as *Pertinax*; for ſelling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like ſo many cowards and traitors, *Julianus*, whom they themſelves had choſen. He told them, that he could inflict no puniſhment upon them anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes; that nevertheleſs he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horſes and all their military badges, and retire without delay a hundred miles from *Rome*, ſolemnly declaring, that whoever among them ſhould be found within that diſtance of the city, ſhould irremiſſibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderſtruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the armed troops of *Severus*, who obliged them to quit their horſes, and ſtripped them even of their tunics. Thus ſtripped and degraded, they

He disbands all the prætorian guards.

[c] Vit. Sever. p. 65. & Nigr. p. 75. Herodian. l. iii. p. 526.

retired

retired with that ſhame and confuſion, which were juſtly owing to the heinouſneſs of their crimes [d]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that one of their horſes followed his old maſter, throwing down and treading under foot all thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop him; inſomuch, that the unhappy ſoldier, finding his horſe would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and running himſelf through with the ſame ſword, fell dead by him. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that the faithful horſe betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his maſter's hand [e]. *Severus* entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the ſtandards of the prætorian guards reverſed. He came to the gate on horſe-back and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the ſenators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewiſe wore, who, on this occaſion, were all clad in white. The ſtreets through which he paſſed, were ſtrewed with flowers, the houſes adorned, and covered with rich tapeſtry, and the whole city perfumed with ſweet odours. *Severus*, having viſited the capitol, and the uſual temples, retired to the palace; but the ſoldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, ſpread themſelves all over the city, and committed every-where great diſorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houſes, if they were not plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inſpired them with a great averſion to the new emperor [f]. The next morning, *Severus* went to the ſenate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when he was interrupted all on a ſudden by dreadful cries of the ſoldiers without, demanding an immenſe ſum of the ſenate, which had been formerly given to the troops that had attended *Auguſtus* to *Rome*, and was conſequently, ſaid they, due to them. The ſenate, altogether unappriſed of the cauſe of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with horror and diſmay. The emperor himſelf betrayed ſome fear; but however, ſtarting up, he went out to them; but could not appeaſe the mutinous multitude, without promiſing them part of what they demanded; that is two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, inſtead of two thouſand five hundred. Then returning to the ſenate, he excuſed himſelf for having aſſumed the title of *emperor* without their conſent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and deliver them from the tyranny of *Julianus*. He

His entry into Rome.

The ſoldiers mutiny.

The emperor's ſpeech to the ſenate.

[d] HEROD. p. 510. DIO. p. 839. [e] DIO. ibid. [f] HEROD. p. 512.

promiſed to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footſteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*, adding a ſolemn oath, by which he bound himſelf to the obſervance of all the laws; and particularly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould, for any crime whatſoever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been firſt tried and condemned by the ſenate; nay, he obliged the ſenate to paſs a decree, declaring ſuch emperors as acted otherwiſe, thoſe who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great ſatisfaction to the generality of the ſenators; but men of diſcernment, and ſuch as were better acquainted with his dark and reſerved temper, with his falſhood and diſſimulation, gave no credit to his fair promiſes; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a ſecond *Tiberius* [g]. However, they unanimouſly conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers, created him high pontiff, *&c.* *Severus* acquainted the ſenate with his having beſtowed on *Albinus* the title of *Cæſar*, begged they would confirm it to him, cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck with his name, ſtatues to be erected to him, *&c.* He diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and people, which are taken notice of on ſeveral medals of this year [h]; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was his conſecrating and inrolling, with extraordinary pompand ſolemnity, the emperor *Pertinax* in the number of the gods. This apotheoſis, perhaps the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, is deſcribed at length by *Dion Caſſius* [i]. Before he left *Rome* to march againſt *Niger*, he cauſed the ſenate to proſcribe all the friends and adherents of *Julianus*; executed without mercy ſuch of them as were diſcovered; and ſeized, and even attempted, out of hatred to that prince, to aboliſh the decrees of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, his great-grandfather. In the next place, he choſe new guards in the room of thoſe whom he had caſhiered, and four times as many, which filled *Rome* with ſoldiers, and proved very chargeable to the ſtate; for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Beſides, the natives only of certain countries, *viz.* of *Spain*, *Macedon*, *Noricum*, and above all of *Italy*, had been hitherto admitted to ſerve in the guards; but *Severus*, without any regard to their countries, choſe the moſt reſolute and brave men in his army, and appointed that, for the future, they ſhould be always taken from among the other troops; by which means the guards, who of late had ſerved only for

The title of Cæſar *confirmed to* Albinus.

The friends of Julianus *proſcribed*

New prætorian guards choſen.

[g] Vit Sever. p. 66 Herod. p. 512. Dio. l. lxxiv. p. 640.
[h] Birag. p. 268. [i] Dio. p. 840.

ſhow,

ſhow, became the flower of the *Roman* forces; and the hopes of a leſs toilſome, and more honourable and advantageous, warfare encouraged the reſt to diſcharge their duty with more punctuality and exactneſs; but on the other hand, the *Italian* youth (for the guards had hitherto been moſtly natives of *Italy*), having no longer that reſource, turned either robbers or gladiators: hence this regulation was no-ways pleaſing, either to the *Romans*, or to the other inhabitants of *Italy* [k]. About the ſame time, the emperor gave his two daughters in marriage to *Probus* and *Aetius*, and honoured both his ſons-in-law with the conſular dignity. To the former he offered the government of *Rome*; but he declining that employment, it was conferred upon *Domitius Dexter*. The emperor, having thus ſettled affairs in *Rome*, and ſupplied the city with great plenty of corn, ſet out in the beginning of *July* on his march into the eaſt againſt *Niger*, whom he had never once named during his ſtay at *Rome*. His troops mutinied the firſt day at a place called *Saxa Rubra*, about nine miles from *Rome*; but the mutiny was ſoon quelled. However, he encamped there the firſt night, when his brother *Geta* came to wait upon him, expecting ſome great preferment; but *Severus* ordered him to return to his government, and ſhewed no inclination to employ him. Before he decamped, the children of *Peſcennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the ſame kindneſs as if they had been his own. He purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, having diſpatched an expreſs to the commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, injoining him to haſten into *Thrace*, and wait for him there. He ordered *Heraclius* to attempt the recovery of *Bithynia*, which province had declared for *Niger*; and wrote to *Albinus* in *Britain*, to hold himſelf ready to march upon the firſt notice [l].

Severus ſets out againſt Niger.

IN the mean time, *Niger*, hearing that *Severus* had been acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and was already advancing by long marches againſt him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow paſſes, eſpecially that of mount *Taurus* between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*; raiſed new forces in *Antioch* and all the other cities of *Syria*, and ſent deputies to demand ſuccours of the neighbouring princes. He went in perſon to view the fortifications of *Byzantium*, in which city he left a numerous garriſon, looking upon it as a place of the utmoſt importance. From *Byzantium* he advanced to *Perinthus*, called afterwards

Niger *prepares for war.*

[k] HERODIAN. p. 512. DIO. l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. Val. p. 733. [l] *Vit. Sever.* p. 67.

Heraclea,

Heraclea, where, in a ſkirmiſh between his men and thoſe of *Severus*, whoſe party the city of *Perinthus* had embraced, a conſiderable number of the latter were ſlain, and among them ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Hereupon the ſenate, to curry favour with *Severus*, declared *Niger* a public enemy, and likewiſe *Æmilianus*, then proconſul of *Aſia*, a perſon of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally eſteemed the greateſt ſtateſman of his age [m]. *Spartian* writes, that *Niger*, improving the advantage he had gained at *Perinthus*, made himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Thrace*, and thereupon offered to take *Severus* for his partner in the empire; which propoſal he rejected with contempt and deriſion [n]. The following year 194. *Severus* and *Albinus* were both conſuls the ſecond time, and *Niger* in all likelihood took upon him the ſame dignity; for on ſome medals he is ſtyled conſul [o]. We know nothing of what paſſed in the war between *Niger* and *Severus*, till the arrival of the latter before the city of *Byzantium*, which he beſieged this year; but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance from the numerous gariſon, he left ſome of his troops before the place, and ordered the reſt to croſs the ſea and march towards *Cyzicus*, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Æmilianus* at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides; but *Æmilianus* was in the end defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf firſt in *Cyzicus*, and afterwards in another city not named in hiſtory; where he was taken, and put to death by the generals of *Severus*, for the emperor himſelf was not, it ſeems, preſent at the battle of *Cyzicus* [p]. Not long after, another battle was fought between *Nicea* and *Cius*, two cities of *Bithynia*, which proved far more bloody than the former, *Niger* commanding his own troops in perſon, and *Candidus*, an officer of great experience, thoſe of *Severus*. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, as appears from *Dion Caſſius*'s account of the engagement; but *Niger*, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, was at laſt obliged to ſave himſelf by flight beyond the ſtraights of mount *Taurus*; which he cauſed to be fortified and well guarded [q]. After this victory, *Severus* wrote to *Niger*, offering to let him live in ſafety, provided he laid down his arms and diſbanded his troops; which *Niger* ſeemed inclined to do; but was diverted from it by

Æmilianus, Niger's general, defeated, and ſlain.

Niger himſelf overthrown

[m] Herod. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 734. [n] Vit. Nigr. p. 67. [o] Biraq. p. 264. [p] Herod. p. 516. Dio. p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 67. [q] Dio. p. 842.

Aurelianus,

Aurelianus, whoſe daughters were betrothed to his ſons. He therefore retired to *Antioch*, in order to raiſe there troops and money. In the mean time, the cities of *Laodicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* detached againſt them a body of *Moors*, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to their houſes; which were in great part conſumed, but afterwards reſtored by *Severus*. In the mean time, *Severus*'s army, advancing to the foot of mount *Taurus*, was ſtopped there, and quite diſheartened, at the ſight of the ſtrong works and the great number of troops that defended them; inſomuch, that deſpairing of being able to open themſelves a paſſage, they had ſome thoughts of returning: but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with ſnow, falling in the night-time, the fortifications were utterly demoliſhed the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which ſo terrified *Niger*'s men, now perſuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, that they betook themſelves to flight, and left *Severus*'s troops to enter *Cilicia*, without offering to make head againſt them. *Niger* had already raiſed a new army, conſiſting chiefly of the *Antiochian* youth, who were very zealous and ſanguine in his cauſe; but utter ſtrangers to military diſcipline. However, *Niger* placed them ſo advantageouſly, that when they were attacked by the regular and well diſciplined troops of *Severus*, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Anulinus*, they not only repulſed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been ſnatched out of their hands by a dreadful and unexpected ſtorm of thunder and lightning; which, diſcharging itſelf in their faces, prevented them from purſuing the advantage they had gained, and diſheartened them to ſuch a degree, that, no longer doubting but the gods were averſe to their cauſe, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs and retire. Hereupon *Severus*'s troops, reſuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the moſt bloody of the three, was fought on the very ſpot where *Alexander the Great* firſt vanquiſhed *Darius*; that is, near the city of *Iſſus*, at a place called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the *Gates of* Cilicia, it being a narrow plain on the confines of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, incloſed on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by ſteep mountains, on which *Niger*'s forces were poſted. *Niger* is ſaid to have loſt in this battle twenty thouſand men. Of the dead on the ſide of *Severus* no mention is made in hiſtory. *Niger*, after this overthrow, retired to *Antioch*; but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, continued his flight towards the *Euphrates*, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed of taking ſhelter among the *Parthians*: but thoſe who purſued him, overtaking

A third battle in which Niger *is utterly defeated.*

Niger *is ſlain.*

overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, cut of his head, and carried it on the point of a ſpear to *Severus*, who cauſed it to be firſt ſhown to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, and then ſent it to *Rome* [t]. Thus *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*; but *Spartian* tells us, that *Niger*, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken priſoner, and in that condition brought to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired [f].

Severus *puniſhes without mercy ſuch as had ſided with* Niger.

Severus was not preſent at any of theſe battles; but wherever he was (for as to that particular we are left by hiſtorians quite in the dark), he ſoon made all thoſe who had ſided with his competitor feel the effects of his reſentment. He put ſuch of the ſenators to death, as had ſerved under *Niger* in quality of generals or tribunes. He ſpared the lives of the other ſenators; but baniſhed them to the iſlands, and ſeized their eſtates. He cauſed an infinite number of other perſons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without conſidering, whether they had engaged in the war by force or conſtraint. Many, who had never ſeen *Niger*, were involved in this general maſſacre of his friends and partizans [r]. *Herodian* writes, that *Severus* perſuaded *Niger*'s generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cauſe which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children [u]. He firſt baniſhed the wife and children of *Niger*, and afterwards cauſed them and all thoſe of his family to be murdered, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. *Spartian* names ſix illuſtrious perſons of the *Peſcennian* family, who were put to death by his orders [w]. However, he would not ſuffer a pompous inſcription on the baſis of a ſtatue of *Niger* at *Rome* (M) to be erazed, ſaying, *Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered* [x]. He puniſhed with exemplary ſeveri-

[t] Herod. l. iii p. 519, 520. Dio. l. lxxiv p. 843 [f] Nig. vit p. 76. [r] Dio. l. lxxv p. 851. & in excerpt. Val p. 734. [u] Herod, l. iii. p. 521. [w] Vit. Sev. p. 69 [x] Vit. Nig. p. 79.

(M) The houſe of *Niger* was ſtill ſtanding in *Dioclefian*'s time, as *Spartian* informs us, and in one of the rooms his ſtatue done to the life in the black marble of *Thebes*, with an epigram on the baſis to this purpoſe: *Here ſtands the great* Niger, *the terror of* Egypt, *the ally of* Thebes, *who had propoſed a golden age to all Kings, nations, Rome itſelf loved him He was dear to both the* Antonines, *and to the rebels enemy As his name was* Niger, (that is, *black*) *we have cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in black marble, that it might anſwer his name* This ſtatue was, as *Spartian* informs us, a preſent from the king of *Thebes* to *Statius Poſthumius*.

[w]

ty ſuch cities as had ſided with *Niger*, eſpecially *Antioch*, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, ſubjecting it as a mere village to *Laodicea*; which heightened the jealouſy between theſe two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldeſt ſon, then an infant, he reinſtated the city of *Antioch* in its former rights and privileges [y]. He obliged ſuch cities as had aſſiſted *Niger* with money, though not by choice, but conſtraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raiſe it [z]. The next conſuls were *Scapula Tertullus* and *Tineius Clemens*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Severus*, paſſing the *Euphrates*, reduced the inhabitants of *Oſrhoene* and *Adiabene*; who, taking advantage of the late diſturbances, had murdered the *Roman* ſoldiers left among them, and ſhaken off the yoke [a]. He likewiſe entered *Arabia*; for the *Arabians* too had either revolted, or joined *Niger*, but were in the end obliged to ſubmit to *Severus* [b]. *Herodian* writes, that he over-ran all *Arabia Felix* [c]; and *Eutropius* and *Victor* cry up his exploits in that country, ſpeaking of them as if he had been the firſt who reduced *Arabia* to a *Roman* province. But *Arabia Petræa* had long before been made a province by *Trajan*; and as for *Arabia Felix*, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in *Severus*'s time, or afterwards. *Euſebius* tells us, that *Severus* ſubdued the *Adiabenians* and *Arabians*, who had aſſiſted *Niger* [d]. He likewiſe made war upon the *Parthians*; but did not bring them under ſubjection, as *Spartian* pretends [e]. For theſe wars the ſenate decreed him the titles of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, which, with that of *imperator the fifth time*, are given him in the inſcriptions of this year 195, the third of his reign [f]. He refuſed the triumph which was likewiſe decreed him, that he might not ſeem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of *Parthicus* he likewiſe rejected, leſt his aſſuming it ſhould provoke the *Parthians* [g]. The *Scythians* deſigned to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were ſtopped, and deterred from putting their deſign in execution, by a dreadful ſtorm, in which three of their chiefs were ſtruck dead with lightning [h]. In the beginning of the following

He makes war upon the Adiabenians, Arabians *and* Parthians.

[y] HEROD. l. iii. p. 523 DIOG p. 1921. Vit. Caracal. p. 85. [z] DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 737. [a] DIO. l. lxxv. p 848. [b] Idem p. 948. [c] HERON. l. iii. p. 528. [d] EUSEB. chron. ad ann. 199. [e] SPART in vit. Sever. p. 67 [f] Vit. Sever. p. 67. GOLTZ. p. 84. [g] Vit. Sever. ibid. [h] DIO. p 849.

year, when *Cn. Domitius Dexter*, governor of *Rome*, was conſul the ſecond time, with *L. Valerius Meſſala Thraſea Priſcus*, the city of *Byzantium* ſurrendered after a three years ſiege. It was at this time by far the greateſt, the moſt populous, and wealthy, city of *Thrace*, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, ſeven of which were built with ſuch art, that the leaſt noiſe, heard in one of them, was immediately conveyed to all the reſt [i]. This city *Niger* ſeized at the firſt breaking out of the war, placed a numerous gariſon in it, and ſupplied the inhabitants with great ſtore of warlike machines, moſt of them invented and built by *Periſcus*, a native of *Nicea*, and the greateſt engineer of his age. *Severus* laid ſiege to this place when he firſt arrived in *Thrace*, left a conſiderable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of *Niger*, purſued it with the greateſt part of his army by land, and by ſea with all the ſhips he could aſſemble from the different ports of *Aſia*. The *Byzantines* defended themſelves, before the death of *Niger*, and even after his head had been ſhewn to them, with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. They baffled all the attempts of the aſſailants, killed great numbers of them, cruſhed ſuch as approached the walls with huge ſtones, and when ſtones began to fail them, with the ſtatues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, to ſubmit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magiſtrates and ſoldiers to the ſword; but ſpared the engineer *Periſcus*. The city, with its ſtately theatres, baths, and public buildings, was laid in aſhes; the inhabitants were ſtripped of all their effects and publicly ſold for ſlaves, and the walls levelled with the ground; thoſe walls, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, which were the ſtrongeſt rampart of the *Roman* empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians [k]. The chronicle of *Alexandria* and the modern *Greek* writers tell us, that, *Severus* himſelf rebuilt in great part the city of *Byzantium*, calling it *Antoninia*, from his ſon *Caracalla*, who aſſumed the name of *Antoninus* [l]. After the ſurrender of *Byzantium*, *Severus* ſent his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of *Lætus*, *Anulinus*, and *Probus*, to reduce part of *Meſopotamia*; which they did accordingly, and the country they conquered, perhaps *Acabene*, or *Arrtacene*, was by *Severus* made a new province, whereof *Niſibis* was declar-

The city of Byzantium taken.

And deſtroyed.

[i] Dion. l. lxxiv. p. 847. [k] Dio. ibid. Herod. l. iii. p. 523. [l] Chron. Alex. p. 620. Suid. p. 724.

ed

ed the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of *Egypt*, given only to *Roman* knights [m].

Severus *resolves to deſtroy* Albinus.

AFTER theſe ſucceſſes, *Severus* began to think of deſtroying *Albinus*, whom he had lulled aſleep with the title of *Cæſar*, while he was employed againſt *Julianus* and *Niger*. As *Albinus* was as much beloved by the ſenate, as *Severus* was hated on account of his cruelty, and many perſons of great diſtinction had even ſolicited him to come to *Rome*, and there aſſume the title of emperor, *Severus* thought he could not uſe too much diſpatch in cruſhing him. However, not judging it adviſeable to declare himſelf an open enemy to one who had not given him the leaſt provocation, he had recourſe to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the ſenate in his commendation, and another to *Albinus* himſelf, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip, calling him his deareſt and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the ſovereign power; but thoſe who brought him this letter had ſecret orders to draw him aſide, under colour of communicating to him in private ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance, and diſpatch him with their daggers. They were likewiſe provided with poiſon, in caſe they could prevail upon any of his domeſtics to adminiſter it to him. After *Albinus* had read the letter, the aſſaſſins, purſuant to their directions, told him they had ſomething to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmoſt ſecrecy. Hereupon *Albinus* deſired them to attend him into a gallery; but obſerving, that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and cauſed them to be ſeized, and put to the queſtion, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confeſſion of the errand on which they were come. Hereupon *Albinus* betook himſelf to open force; and having aſſembled a mighty army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, and thence paſſed over into *Gaul*, where he was joined by many perſons of great diſtinction, both *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. *Severus*, upon the firſt news of his revolt, leaving the eaſt, haſtened through *Thrace* and *Illyricum* into *Gaul*. Some writers tell us, that before he ſet out on his march, he cauſed a young virgin to be ſacrificed, hoping to learn from her intrails what ſucceſs would attend him in this war [n]. At *Viminacium*, a famous city in *Upper Mœſia* on the *Danube*, he gave the title of *Cæſar* to *Baſſianus* his eldeſt ſon, and on that occaſion, diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers. At the ſame time, he obliged his ſon to quit the name of *Baſſianus*,

Sends aſſaſſins to murder him.

Albinus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

[m] Dio. l. lxxiv. p. 847——850. [n] Sure. p. 257.

and ſtyle himſelf thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, for whom *Severus* ever had a great eſteem and veneration [o]. Before *Severus* reached *Gaul*, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the troops that had declared for him there and thoſe of *Albinus*, in one of which, called by *Herodian* a battle, the generals of *Severus* were utterly defeated, and their troops diſperſed [p]. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow paſſes of the *Alps*, and prevent his competitor from entering *Italy*. In the mean time, the ſenate declared *Albinus* a public enemy; after which declaration, one *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar-ſchool at *Rome*, haſtening into *Gaul*, paſſed himſelf there upon the inhabitants for a ſenator ſent by *Severus* to raiſe troops; and having by this means got together a conſiderable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of *Albinus*'s horſe, and gained ſome other ſmall advantages; which *Severus* no ſooner knew, than he wrote to him as a ſenator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commiſſioned him to levy what forces he could. Having therefore raiſed a ſmall army, he continually harraſſed *Albinus*'s men, took many priſoners, and intercepted a great ſum of money, which he ſent to *Severus*. When *Albinus* was defeated, he went to wait upon *Severus*, told him who he was; but deſpiſing the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a ſmall penſion, and retiring into the country, ſpent the reſt of his life in quiet and ſolitude [q].

Is declared a public enemy.

Severus *marches againſt him.*

In the beginning of the following year, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were conſuls, *Severus*, having paſſed the *Alps* in the midſt of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* then reſided, with a deſign to enter *Italy* early in the ſpring. He was not a little alarmed at the ſudden and unexpected arrival of *Severus*; however, having with incredible expedition drawn together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon *Lupus*, one of *Severus*'s generals, and defeated him with great ſlaughter [r]. Hereupon *Severus* advanced in perſon againſt his rival; and *Albinus* not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, were drawn up on the nineteenth of *February* in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, probably in the ſpacious plain between that city and *Trevoux*. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no leſs a reward was propoſed for the conqueror than the *Roman* empire; as the *Britiſh* legions were

The two armies engage near Lyons,

[o] Vit. Sever. p. 68. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. Sev. vit. p. 68. [q] Dio. l. lxxv. p. 851. [r] Dio. ibid.

no-

no-ways inferior either in courage or experience to thoſe of *Illyricum*, and both armies expected to ſhare the fortune, whatever it was, of their generals; the engagement was one of the moſt ſharp and bloody recorded in hiſtory. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, *Albinus*'s left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take ſhelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confuſion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn *Severus*'s men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained ſo great an advantage over them, that the emperor himſelf, who flew to their aſſiſtance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and obliged, if we believe *Herodian*, to ſave himſelf by flight, after having quitted, that he might not be known, all the badges of the imperial dignity [r]. *Spartian* writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room [s]; and *Dion Caſſius*, that his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf in imminent danger of loſing his life [t]. The ſame author adds, that ſeeing his men fly, he threw himſelf ſword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return to the charge; which they did with ſuch fury, that the enemy, not able to withſtand them, began to give ground; which *Lætus* perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horſe under his command, and completed their overthrow. *Lætus* had declined engaging ſo long as the victory continued doubtful, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of ſetting up for himſelf, after the two parties had deſtroyed each other [w]; and hence it was, that *Severus*, as *Herodian* informs us [x], inſtead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him ſoon after to death. *Albinus*'s army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were purſued by the conquerors; who, entering the city with the fugitives, firſt plundered it, and then laid it in aſhes [y]. *Albinus*, who had concealed himſelf in a houſe on the *Rhone*, finding no means of making his eſcape, laid violent hands on himſelf [z]. Thus *Dion Caſſius*. But other authors write, that being mortally wounded either by himſelf, or ſome of his own men, he was brought in that condition to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired [a]. Be that as it will, *Severus* beheld with

Severus *in great danger.*

Albinus *intirely defeated and killed.*

[r] HERON. l. iii. p. 524. DIO. p. 851. [s] Vit. Sev. p. [illegible]
[t] DIO p. 852. [w] Idem ibid. [x] HERON. l. [illegible]
[y] Idem. p. 525. [z] DIO. p. 853. [a] Vit. Alb. [illegible] p. 58

pleaſure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it ſeveral times, cauſing his horſe to tread it under foot, left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by the dogs, and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head he cauſed to be cut off, and ſent it to *Rome*, ordering it to be ſet up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at firſt his wife and children; but ſoon after, changing his mind, he cauſed them to be inhumanly maſſacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of *Albinus*, all his friends, and moſt diſtant relations, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were by *Severus*'s orders barbarouſly ſlaughtered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Moſt of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had ſhewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the ſame fate. By means of theſe murders and confiſcations, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure, inriched his ſoldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him [b].

After this victory, all the cities that had declared for *Albinus*, were ſoon reduced, and the inhabitants puniſhed, ſome with death, ſome with the confiſcation of their eſtates; ſo that *Severus*, ſeeing all quiet in *Gaul*, and likewiſe in *Britain*, which he divided into two provinces, ſet out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and diſmay, thoſe who had favoured *Albinus*, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in *Gaul*. Their apprehenſions were heightened by a letter which *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, when he ſent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*; for in that letter he complained of their affection to *Albinus*, as if they had all privately favoured and aſſiſted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; cried up the conduct and government of *Commodus*, whom he had never mentioned before but as a tyrant and monſter; and, in ſpeaking of the head of *Albinus*, uſed this expreſſion; *I ſend it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and ſee with your eyes the effects of my reſentment.* Both the ſenate and people were thunder-ſtruck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general maſſacre, the more, becauſe they were informed, that *Severus* had ſeized the papers of *Albinus*, and by that means diſcovered all his friends and correſpondents. However, as he drew near, the ſenate went out to meet him, and received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace; where he ordered

Severus's letter to the ſenate.

[b] Vit. Sev. p. 68

great

great ſums to be diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery. The next day he went to the ſenate, and there read a ſpeech filled with bitter invectives againſt the partizans of *Albinus*; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, and of *Auguſtus*, as neceſſary precautions; aſcribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæſar*, to their unſeaſonable clemency; and mentioning *Commodus*, ſtyled him a god, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon him; adding, that none but infamous and abandoned wretches could cenſure or blame the conduct of ſuch an excellent prince [c]. Having ended his ſpeech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with maſſacres and bloodſhed. In a few days forty-two ſenators, moſt of whom had been conſuls or prætors, were ſacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of perſons of an inferior rank. *Herodian* tells us, that he cut off all thoſe, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any ſway in the ſenate or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare ſuſpicions, and many for no other crime, but that of being poſſeſſed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant [d]. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the ſenate, and, out of hatred to the ſenators, cauſed them to rank *Commodus*, with the uſual ceremonies, among the gods, to appoint prieſts, and inſtitute an annual feſtival to his honour. He condemned *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who had ſtrangled him, to be devoured by the wild beaſts, and ſpared none who were ſuſpected of having been any-ways privy to his death [e]. After *Severus* had ſpent ſome months at *Rome*, and there cut off, not only the partizans of *Albinus*, but ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, he took leave of the ſenate, and, with his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, ſet out for the eaſt, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of their king *Vologeſes*, had made themſelves maſters of great part of *Meſopotamia*. He imbarqued with his army at *Brunduſium*, and arriving in *Syria*, marched ſtrait to *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, whence the *Parthians* retired into their own country upon the firſt news of his approach. He was met on his march by *Augarus*, or *Abgarus*, king of *Oſrhoene*, who ſtyled him his prince and protector, delivered up to him his children as hoſtages, and ſupplied him with a conſiderable body of archers, to be employed in his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians*.

His cruelties in Rome.

Goes into the eaſt to make war upon the Parthians.

[c] Dio. l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sev. p. 68. [d] Dio. p. 853. Herod. p. 527. Vit. Sev. p. 69. [e] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

thians [f]. The following year, *Tib. Saturninus* and *C. Gallus* being conſuls, *Severus* having made vaſt preparations for the war againſt the *Parthians*, began his march about the end of the ſummer, judging the autumn the moſt proper ſeaſon for that expedition. He followed the courſe of the *Euphrates*, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the reſt marching on the banks of the river. To paſs from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, he cauſed the canal *Nubarmalcha*, made formerly by *Adrian*, to be cleanſed, and by that means arrived in a ſhort time at *Seleucia* and *Babylon*; both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without oppoſition. Thence he advanced to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* dominions; which he inveſted, and took after a laborious ſiege, during which, his ſoldiers, for want of proviſions, were obliged to feed upon ſuch roots as they found in the fields; which bred various diſtempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to ſurrender; but the king, who had ſhut himſelf up in it, found means to make his eſcape, attended by a ſmall body of horſe; which was a great diſappointment to *Severus*. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who put all the men to the ſword; but ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thouſand, they ſold for ſlaves. After the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he cauſed to be repreſented in painting, and expoſed to public view. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of *Parthicus Maximus*; which is to be ſeen on ſeveral medals of the next and the following years [g]. *Spartian* tells us, that the army, in the tranſports of their joy for the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, proclaimed *Caracalla*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, his partner in the ſovereign power, and at the ſame time gave the title of *Cæſar* to his ſecond ſon *Geta* [h]; which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the ſenate. *Caracalla* had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of *April* of this year 198. *Severus*, not thinking it adviſeable either to keep *Cteſiphon*, or purſue *Vologeſes*, ſet out on his return into *Syria* about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is ſuppoſed to have concluded a treaty with the *Parthians*; for we read of no wars between them and the *Romans* till eighteen years after, and *Vologeſes* reigned peaceably to his death, which hap-

He takes Seleucia, Babylon, and Cteſiphon.

Caracalla made a partner of the empire.

[f] Heron. l. iii. p. 528. [g] Idem ibid. Dio. p. 854. Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 278. Onuph. in faſt. Goltz. p. 85. [h] Vit. Sev. p. 70.

pened

pened after that of *Severus* [l]. While *Severus* was thus employed in the east, some disturbances arose in *Britain*, where the *Caledonians*, taking up arms, invaded the *Roman* dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Lupus*, whom *Severus* had appointed governor of *Britain*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing that *Severus* could not send him timely assistance, was forced to purchase a peace of the enemy, and, with large sums, redeem the *Roman* territories from their daily incursions [k].

Disturbances in Britain.

THE following year, when *P. Cornelius Aullinus* and *M. Asidius Fronto* were consuls, *Severus*, on his march back into *Syria*, attacked the city of *Atra*, *Barsemus*, king of that place, having formerly sent considerable succours to *Niger*; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having lost a great many men, and most of his warlike engines [l]. About this time, *Severus* caused two officers of great distinction to be put to death, *viz. Julius Crispus*, tribune of the prætorian guards, and *Lætus*, one of his best generals; the former for saying, that *Severus* exposed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardships only to satisfy his private ambition and vanity. *Lætus*'s crime was, according to *Herodian*, his having acted with treachery in the battle of *Lyons*, as we have related above. But *Dion Cassius*, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and soldier, tells us, that *Severus* put him to death, for no other reason but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear [m]. After he had allowed some respite to his harrassed troops, and amassed an immense quantity of provisions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of *Atra*; but all his efforts against that place proving unsuccessful, he was forced to raise the siege anew, having lost, during the eighteen days it lasted, most of his machines, and an incredible number of men [n]. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, the two greatest commanders among the *Roman* emperors, as it did afterwards those of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. re-established the *Persian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire. *Severus* spent most part of the following year, when *Tib. Claudius Severus* was consul the second time, with *C. Asidius Victorinus*, in searching after such of *Niger*'s partizans as had not yet been discovered, and in gleaning, to use the expression

Lætus *murdered.*

Severus *attacks the city of* Atra; *but is obliged to raise the siege.*

[l] Dio. l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746. [k] Idem, p. 851, 866. [l] Idem, p. 844. [m] Idem, p. 855. [n] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 555.

of *Tertullian* [o], after the vintage. Many perſons of diſtinction, who believed themſelves to be ſafe, were on this occaſion ſeized and condemned without mercy, ſuch eſpecially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches [p]. The next year, when *L. Annius Fabianus* and *M. Nonius Mucianus* were conſuls, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him conſul with himſelf for the year following. They both entered upon their conſulſhip in *Syria*; and on that occaſion the emperor gave a largeſs to the ſoldiers.

Severus *viſits* Arabia, Paleſtine, Egypt, *&c.*

Severus went, during his conſulſhip, into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Paleſtine*, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their ſteady adherence to *Niger*. While he was in *Paleſtine*, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, the ſubjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian* religion; which gave riſe to the fifth general perſecution [q]. From *Paleſtine* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he viſited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*, and then purſued his rout to *Alexandria*, to which city he granted a public council or ſenate; a mark of diſtinction which they had often begged in vain of other emperors [r]. During his ſtay in *Egypt*, he viſited all the cities, and viewed with great attention the curioſities of that ancient kingdom, eſpecially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the ſtatue of *Memnon*, &c. He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and cauſed ſuch of them as contained any ſecret knowledge to be conveyed into the ſepulchre of *Alexander the Great*, which he ordered to be ſhut up, that no one might for the future either ſee the body of that prince, or peruſe thoſe books [s].

Plautianus *his chief favourite.*

The next conſuls were *Septimius Geta*, the emperor's brother, and *Fulvius Plautianus*, his great favourite. Some writers call *Plautianus* the emperor's kinſman; others ſay, that he was only his countryman, being a native of *Africa*, as was *Severus*. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean deſcent; and ſome add, that in his youth he had been baniſhed, for ſtirring up and heading the populace in a ſedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in *Rome*, and was ſo paſſionate for him, that, not in converſation only, but in public, in his ſpeeches to the ſenate and people, he extolled him more than *Tiberius* had ever done his favourite *Sejanus*. He created him captain of the

His great power.

[o] Tertul. apol. c. 35. [p] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [q] Idem, p. 70. Euseb. l. vi. c. 7. [r] Vit. Sev. p. 70. [s] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 797. Vit. Sev. ibid.

prætorian

prætorian guards, and ſhared with him the power and wealth of the empire; for *Plautianus* was ſaid to be poſſeſſed of as great riches as *Severus* himſelf, and thought to be no leſs powerful; at leaſt greater court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The ſenators and ſoldiers ſwore by *the fortune of* Plautianus; public vows and ſacrifices were offered for his ſafety, as if he had been emperor, and *Rome* was filled with his ſtatues, moſtly erected by the authority of the ſenate. His table was better ſerved than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, his houſe was conſtantly crouded with ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitors for admiſſion to *Plautianus*, who was harder of acceſs than the emperor. *Geta*, the brother of *Severus*, and the empreſs *Julia*, ſtood no leſs in awe of him than the reſt, well knowing, that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was moſt notoriouſly abuſed by the favourite miniſter, who condemned, baniſhed, and even put to death, many illuſtrious perſons, whom he hated or ſuſpected, without conſulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge; for though whatever the emperor ſaid or did was immediately carried to *Plautianus*, yet *Severus* was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his miniſter; and hence, looking upon him as a man without reproach, he continued to heap upon him all ſorts of honours. He had already diſtinguiſhed him with the conſular ornaments, and created him ſenator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and this year he not only appointed him conſul, but, to the great ſurpriſe of *Rome* and the whole empire, declared his intention of marrying his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla* to *Fulvia Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus*; which he did accordingly this very year, ſoon after his return to *Rome*; for, having ſettled the affairs in the eaſt, he arrived unexpectedly at *Rome* about the latter end of *May*, and, according to *Herodian*, entered the city in triumph [t]. *Spartian* writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, becauſe he could not ſit in the triumphal chariot by reaſon of the gout; but ſuffered his ſon *Caracalla* to triumph over the *Jews*, who had, it ſeems, revolted, but had been again brought under ſubjection by *Severus* [u]. The emperor, upon his return, diſtributed immenſe ſums among the ſoldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man more than any other prince had ever been known to give, and added to this extraordinary largeſs moſt magnificent ſhows,

Severus *marries his ſon* Caracalla *to the daughter of* Plautianus

[t] Herod. l. iii. p. 529. [u] Vit Sev. p 63.

which laſted ſeven days [w]. When the ſhows were over, the nuptials of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla* were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that what *Plautianus* gave his daughter on this occaſion, would have been a ſufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed a hundred perſons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpoſe privately cauſed to be made eunuchs, tho' ſome of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer obſerves, highly provoked both the ſenate and people againſt him [x]. About this time, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his ſecond ſon *Geta*, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-ſeventh of *May* of this year 203, the tenth of his father's reign [y]. The following year, *L. Fabius Septimius Cilo* being conſul the ſecond time with *L. Libo*, the emperor, notwithſtanding his great kindneſs for *Plautianus*, being offended at the great number of ſtatues erected to him in all the public places of the city, cauſed ſome of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being ſpread, that he was diſgraced, ſeveral governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-haſty zeal, ſome of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the ſenate and condemned to baniſhment. Among the latter was *Racius Conſtans*, governor of *Sardinia*, who was tried by the emperor in perſon, in conjunction with *Dion Caſſius* and ſeveral other ſenators. *Severus* on this occaſion ſolemnly declared, that he would never ſuffer the leaſt affront or injury to be offered with impunity to *Plautianus*; but nevertheleſs, before a year was over, he changed his ſentiments, and ſuffered him to be put to death in his preſence.

The emperor orders ſome of his ſtatues to be pulled down.

Caracalla *the occaſion of his ruin.*

His ruin was chiefly owing to *Caracalla*; who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, hated both her and his father-in-law *Plautianus*, openly declaring, that if ever he obtained the ſovereign power, they ſhould both ſoon feel the effects of his reſentment. Hereupon *Plautianus* reſolved to be before-hand with him, not doubting, but upon his death he ſhould be able to ſeize the empire for himſelf, as *Severus* was now ſtricken in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time, *Geta*, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and finding there was no hope of his recovery, deſired to ſee *Severus* before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical, conduct of his favourite miniſter. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him

[w] Dio. l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. Herod. ibid. [x] Dio p. 859. [y] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

with

with a jealous eye, and to leſſen by degrees his overgrown power; which he was no ſooner appriſed of, than he reſolved to exert the authority he ſtill enjoyed, and ſecure, by the murder both of the emperor and his ſon, the ſovereignty to himſelf; at leaſt *Saturninus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to *Severus*, that *Plautianus* had charged him to aſſaſſinate them both, and ſhewed him his orders in writing. *Herodian* [z] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a] ſeem not to queſtion in the leaſt the truth of his depoſition; but *Dion Caſſius* looks upon the whole as a contrivance of *Caracalla* to deſtroy *Plautianus*, whoſe haughty behaviour he could no longer brook [b]. Be that as it will, they all agree, that *Plautianus*, coming to the palace of his own accord, or ſent for by the emperor, as *Dion* will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where *Caracalla* then was, in order to clear himſelf from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince ruſhed upon him with a great fury, ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered thoſe who were preſent to diſpatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himſelf. His body was caſt into the ſtreet; but ſoon after taken, by the emperor's orders, and interred [c]. *Severus* immediately aſſembled the ſenate; but without uttering any invectives againſt *Plautianus*, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, ſince ſome loved to exceſs, and others abuſed the love that was ſhewn them. He did not ſeem to believe, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, that *Plautianus* had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheleſs proſecuted, and condemned, either to death or baniſhment, all his friends and creatures. His daughter *Plautilla* and his brother *Plautius* were baniſhed to the iſland of *Liparis*, where they were murdered by order of *Caracalla*, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire [d]. *Herodian* writes, that they were baniſhed to *Sicily*, and there generouſly ſupported by *Severus* during his life-time [e]. This year, the 957th of *Rome*, the 204th of the chriſtian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of *Severus*, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the ſecular games [f].

He is murdered by his orders.

THE next conſuls were the emperor's two ſons, *Caracalla*, the ſecond time, and *Geta*, the firſt. During their adminiſtration, *Severus* continued either at *Rome*, or in the neighbour-

[z] HEROD. l. iii. p. 531, 533. [a] AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 368. [b] DIO. l. lxxvi. p. 861. [c] Idem ibid. HEROD. p. 534. [d] DIO. p. 862. [e] HEROD. l. iii. p. 535. [f] CENSOR. c. 17. Zos. l. ii. p. 669.

hood,

hood, and applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. *Papinianus* in the discharge of this important office, employed as his counsellors *Paulus* and *Ulpianus*, two men eminently accomplished in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leisure to reform many abuses; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by most of the antients on account of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor *Julian*, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he styles it, his greatest fault [g]; for he never pardoned the least transgression. He enacted several laws, which are mightily cried up, by the writers of those times, as equally just and necessary. Many of them are still extant in the *Code*. He allowed no power to his freedmen; nor would he suffer the senate to distinguish them with any honours. He chose for governors of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and by that means he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, though he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in several expensive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries sufficient to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the store-houses, which he built at a vast charge, for the consumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of *Rome*, but all the places in *Italy* that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to supply for ever the indigent people of *Rome* with a certain quantity of oil every day, which was in part to be sent yearly by the inhabitants of *Libya Tripolitana*, who of their own accord submitted to that burden out of regard to *Severus*, who was of the same province, and had obliged them by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country and laid waste their fields [h]. But this contribution proving in process of time very burdensome to them, *Constantine* remitted it. *Severus* repaired most of the public edifices of *Rome*, and raised an incredible number of new ones in *Rome*, in *Antioch*, in *Alexandria*, in *Byzantium*, and in most of the great cities of the empire. The following year, when *Numinius Albinus* and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were consuls, was remarkable

Papinianus *made captain of the guards.*

Severus reforms several abuses, enacts good laws, &c.

Several senators put to death.

[g] Jul. Cæs. p. 14. Vit. Sev. p. 71. [h] Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio. p. 869.

markable for the death of many illuſtrious ſenators, inhumanly maſſacred by the emperors orders. Among theſe were *Quintillus Plautianus* and *Apronianus*, both perſons of unblemiſhed characters and of great authority in the ſenate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illuſtrious birth and extraordinary accompliſhments. They were both accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about the death of *Severus*, and their own fate, and condemned, without ſo much as being heard. *Bæbius Marcellinus*, another ſenator of great diſtinction, was condemned by the ſenate, and that inſtant hurried to execution, upon the depoſition of a ſingle evidence, who charged him with having liſtened while *Apronianus* was conſulting the aſtrologer. The evidence had been ſuborned by *Pollenius Sebennus*, who was himſelf ſoon after condemned at the ſuit of the people of *Noricum*, whom he had tyrannically oppreſſed, while he governed that province [1]. The following year, when *Aper* and *Maximus* were conſuls, the northern inhabitants of *Britain* invaded the *Roman* territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. *Virius Lupus*, then governor, or, as *Ulpian* calls him, preſident of *Britain*, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand the enemy, retired before them, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole iſland, unleſs awed by a powerful army, would ſoon revolt and ſhake off the yoke, reſolved to go thither in perſon; and accordingly, having made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, he ſet out for *Britain* the enſuing year, while his two ſons were conſuls, *Caracalla*, the third time, and *Geta*, the ſecond. Before he left *Rome*, he inveſted his ſon *Geta* with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, which he had beſtowed three years before on his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla*; ſo that there were now three *Auguſtus*'s at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his ſons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove them from *Rome*, where they abandoned themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war. The *Britons* were no ſooner informed of his arrival in their iſland, than, dreading his power, they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to ſubmit upon honourable terms. *Severus* detained the embaſſadors till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. He paſt the firſt winter, it ſeems, in the ſouthern parts of

The Britons *revolt*

Geta *inveſted with the tribunitial power and declared* Auguſtus.

Severus's *expedition into* Britain.

[1] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 741, &c.

Britain,

Britain, whence he marched early in the ſpring of the enſuing year, when *Pompeianus* and *Avitus* were conſuls, againſt the *Mæatæ*, who bordered on the *Roman* dominions, and the *Caledonians*, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheleſs, what by the enemy's ambuſcades, what by the hardſhips the *Roman* ſoldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building bridges, and drying marſhy grounds, fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed [k]. *Herodian* writes, that the *Caledonians* inceſſantly harraſſed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thouſands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the *Romans* could not follow them [l]. The emperor, though ſtricken in years and troubled with the gout, purſued his painful march, ſurmounting with great chearfulneſs all difficulties, till he reached the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland, laying the country waſte far and wide, and putting all to fire and ſword; inſomuch, that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. *Dion Caſſius* adds, that *Severus* during his ſtay in the moſt northern parts of *Britain*, obſerved with great exactneſs the length of the days and nights, of the ſummer and winter [m]; which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of *Scotland*, at leaſt ſix months. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to the ſouthern parts of *Britain*, where he had left his ſon *Geta* to adminiſter juſtice during his abſence. For this expedition he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two ſons with that of *Britannicus* [n].

He overruns the whole iſland.

Severus ſpent great part of the following year, when *Man. Acilius Fauſtinus* and *Triarius Rufinus* were conſuls, in building a wall in *Britain* from ſea to ſea, to ſecure his conquells and part the *Roman* territories from thoſe of the more northern *Britons* not ſubject to *Rome*. No mention of this wall is made either by *Dion Caſſius* or *Herodian*, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of *Severus* in *Britain*. However, *Spartian* ſpeaks of it and calls it the chief ornament of *Severus*'s reign, nay, he pretends that on account of this wall he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Britannicus* [o]. There is

His wall in Britain.

[k] Dio. l. lxxvi p 867. [l] Herod. l. iii. p. 857. [m] Dio. p. 869. [n] Goltz. p. 88. P. Pagi, p. 207. [o] Vit. Sev. p. 71.

a great

a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work and its ſituation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the *Roman* ſide with a rampart and paliſades. *Spartian* ſtyles it a wall or ditch [p]. *Oroſius* ſuppoſes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart and a great number of towers at a ſmall diſtance from each other [q]. *Beda* thinks it was a wall, built not with ſtone but turf, and ſupported by a rampart and ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground [r]. The ſame writer is of opinion, that it was raiſed by *Severus* in the ſame place where a new wall was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, when they intirely abandoned the iſland; that is, ſo far as we can judge from the context, on the iſthmus, which he deſcribed before, between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* [s]. *Buchanan* likewiſe places this wall on the ſame iſthmus [t]; and adds, that, in his time, ſome remains of it were ſtill to be ſeen. On the other hand, *Cambden* maintains *Severus*'s wall to have ſtood a great way more to the ſouth, that is, between the mouth of the *Tyne* and *Solway frith*. The learned *Uſher* is of the ſame opinion, and alledges very ſtrong reaſons to ſupport it [w]. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Severus*, after having marched from one end of the iſland to the other, and obliged the enemies of *Rome* to yield to him part of their country, ſhould have abandoned to them a conſiderable portion of the *Roman* dominions, *viz.* the countries lying between *Northumberland* or *Cumberland*, and the friths of the *Forth* and *Clyde*. For that theſe countries belonged to the *Romans* before *Severus*'s time, *Uſher* himſelf owns, and maintains [x], that *Antonius* built his wall on the above-mentioned iſthmus. We do not find, that the northern *Britons* ſeized any part of the *Roman* dominions in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, nor in that of *Commodus*; for though they paſſed the wall in the time of *Commodus*, yet they were driven back by *Ulpius Marcellus*, and reſtrained within their antient bounds, that is, according to *Uſher*, within the two abovementioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that *Severus* thus curtailed the *Roman* empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the *Roman* writers, ſuch an extenſive country, after having, at immenſe charge, and with the loſs of fifty thouſand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Beſides, *Spartian* tells us, in expreſs words,

In what place it was built.

[p] Idem, p. 73. [q] OROS. l. vii. c. 17. [r] BED. hiſt. Ang. l. i. c. 5. [s] Idem ibid. c. 12. [t] BUCHAN. rer. Scot. l. i. p. 16. l. iv. p. 116. & l. v. p. 135. [w] USH. Britan eccleſ. antiquit. p. 106. [x] Idem ibid. p. 1024.

that *Severus*'s wall reached from ſea to ſea; and *Eutropius*, that it was but thirty-two miles in length [f]; which proves, that it ſtood on the abovementioned iſthmus, and could ſtand in no other part of the whole iſland. *Severus*, having ended his wall, retired with his army to *Eboracum*, now *York*: where he was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, occaſioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldeſt ſon, who, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection *Severus* had ever ſhewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldneſs hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the ſight of the whole army. For while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle array, was concluding a treaty with the *Britons* and receiving their arms, *Caracalla*, who ſtood behind him, drawing unexpectedly his ſword, in the ſight both of the *Roman* and *Britiſh* army, advanced to ſtab him, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of thoſe who ſtood next to the emperor. *Severus*, turning about that inſtant, ſaw his ſon with a naked ſword in his hand; but, without betraying the leaſt ſurpriſe, or uttering a ſingle word, purſued the buſineſs in hand, received the arms of the *Britons*, and ſigned the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he ſent for his ſon; and, in the preſence of *Papinianus*, captain of the guards, and *Caſtor* his chief chamberlain, firſt reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn ſword, "If your ambition to reign "alone prompts you, ſaid he, to imbrue your hands in the "blood of your father, execute your impious purpoſe rather "in this place, than in the ſight of the whole world, and in "the preſence both of our friends and enemies: if you are "not yet abandoned to ſuch a degree as to murder your fa-"ther with your own hand, order *Papinianus* to commit "the parricide: you are emperor; he muſt obey you [g]." We do not find, that *Caracalla* was touched with remorſe, or any-ways affected, by this ſpeech.

Caracalla attempts to murder his father.

The following year, when *Gentianus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, the *Maeatæ* and *Caledonians*, underſtanding that the emperor was indiſpoſed and not in a condition to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and aſſembling their forces, attempted to paſs the new wall, and invade the *Roman* dominions; which ſo provoked *Severus*, that he ordered *Caracalla* to lead the whole army againſt the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The

The Maeatæ and Caledonians revolt.

[f] Eutrop. l. viii. c. 10. [g] Dio. p. 868.

young

young prince, ſeeing himſelf, contrary to his expectation, intruſted with ſo great a command, made it his whole ſtudy to debauch the officers and ſoldiers, with a deſign to depoſe his father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army ſet out from *York*, that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and diſabled by the gout from marching at their head, and diſcharging the duties of an emperor. Theſe ſpeeches were ſoon carried to *Severus*, who, immediately ſummoning the army to aſſemble, cauſed himſelf to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunal; whence, in moſt bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and treachery, ſuch of the officers as had ſeconded the wicked attempts of his ſon; ordered them all to be beheaded that inſtant in his preſence; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the army, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the ſight of ſo many executions, aſked them with an imperious and majeſtic air, whether they were yet ſatisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet [a]? Some writers tell us, that he would at the ſame time have put his ſon to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards [b]; others, on the contrary, ſay, that the captains of the guards adviſed him to deliver himſelf, by the death of his unnatural ſon, from the dangers that threatened him, but that he could not by any means prevail upon himſelf to follow their advice [c]. After this, his diſtemper being greatly increaſed by the uneaſineſs of his mind, he was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity; when he ſent for his two ſons, cauſed the ſpeech of *Miciſſa* to his children, in *Salluſt*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim; to inrich the ſoldiers, and gain their affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the reſt of their ſubjects [d]. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing* [e]. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his aſhes were to be incloſed, *Little urn*, ſaid he, *you ſhall contain one, for whom the whole world was too little* [f]. Before he expired, he ordered the golden ſtatue of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's room, to be carried into the rooms, firſt of his eldeſt, and then of his youngeſt, ſon [g]. As his pains increaſed, eſpecially in his feet, he called for poiſon; but no one daring to adminiſter it to him, he is ſaid to have glutted himſelf with courſe meats,

Caracalla *attempts to depoſe his father.*

[a] Vit. Sev. p. 71. AUR. VICT. [b] Vit. Caracall. p. 89.
[c] Dio l. lxxvi p 868. [d] Dio. p 868. [e] Vit. Sev. p. 73.
[f] Dio. p 869. [g] Vit. Sev. p. 74.

Severus *dies.*

which ſoon put an end to his life [h]. He died at *York* on the fourth of *February* of the year 211, after having lived, according to *Dion Caſſius* [i], ſixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned ſeventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York* with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes conveyed by his two ſons to *Rome*, in a golden urn, or as others will have it, in an urn of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited at *Rome* in the ſtately mauſoleum of the emperor *Adrian*. He was ſoon after ranked among the gods, with the uſual ceremonies, deſcribed at length by *Herodian* [k].

His character.

Severus was, without all doubt, a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts; but all good qualities were quite eclipſed by his exceſſive cruelty and inſatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuſe his cruelty, which they ſoften with the name of ſeverity, and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the ſtate could never have been rooted out. It was ſaid of him, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly ſaid of *Auguſtus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died.* He was, according to the ſame writer, greatly eſteemed, nay, and generally loved, after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations [l]. *Galen* tells us, that his greateſt pleaſure was to do good to all; and adds, that he kept conſtantly by him a great ſtore of treacle, and other expenſive remedies, to relieve ſuch as wanted them; by which means he ſaved the lives of many perſons, namely of *Antipater*, his *Greek* ſecretary; of the ſon of *Piſo*, to whom *Galen* inſcribed his treatiſe on treacle; and of a lady of diſtinction, named *Arria*, for whom *Severus* had a particular value, becauſe ſhe applied herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and the reading of *Plato* [m]. But after all, the moſt we can ſay in his commendation is, that *Severus* deſerves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good, princes. Of the writers, who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (N).

Severus

[h] Vict. epit. [i] Dio. ibid. [k] Herod. l. v. p. 5[illegible].
[l] Vict. Sev. p. 71. [m] Gal. de theri. l. ii. p. 457, 458.

(N) Among the writers who flouriſhed at this time, we may [illegible] perſons; for he wrote the hiſtory of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great ſeverity. *Spartian* compoſed [illegible] a ſincere and impartial account of the tranſactions of

Severus was ſucceeded by his two ſons *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, whom he had inveſted with the ſovereign power, during his life-time, of his reign (59); and *Victor* ſpeaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long ſince loſt. The ſophiſt *Antipater*, a native of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*, wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of *Severus*'s reign, and was for that work firſt appointed the emperor's *Greek* ſecretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two ſons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*; then honoured with the conſulſhip; and laſtly, preferred to the government of *Bithynia*; from which employment he was ſoon removed, on account of his exceſſive cruelty (60). His hiſtory has not reached our times. *Galen*, the prince of phyſicians, was ſtill alive in *Severus*'s time; for he lived, according to *Suidas*, ſeventy years (61). He was a native of *Pergamus*, and the ſon of one *Nico*, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewiſe well verſed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to underſtand and teach the *Greek* tongue in its greateſt purity. His ſon *Claudius Galenus* was born in the year 131, the fifteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, as appears from F. *Labbe*, who collected out of *Galen*'s works, and publiſhed in 1660, all the paſſages in which that writer makes any mention of himſelf (62). He came to *Rome* while *L. Verus* was making war upon the *Parthians* in the eaſt, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (63). He ſtaid in *Rome* about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into *Italy* by *M. Aurelius*, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refuſed to attend that prince into *Germany*, and continued at *Rome*, where he is ſuppoſed to have ſpent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different ſubjects, *viz.* on phyſic, rhetoric, philoſophy, and ſome grammatical pieces (64). *Jonſius* takes the treatiſe on *treacle* not to be his, becauſe he does not mention it among his other works (65). The ſame writer maintains *the hiſtory of the philoſophers*, aſcribed to *Galen*, to be nothing elſe but the five books of *Plutarch* upon *the opinions of philoſophers* (66). Some find fault with *Galen* for crying down all thoſe of his profeſſion, who in his time were in any repute at *Rome* (67). *Diogenes Laertius*, the author of the lives of the philoſophers compriſed in ten books, flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius*, under *Antoninus Pius*; but, according to *Jonſius*, whoſe conjectures ſeem to us better grounded, under *Severus* (68). He was a native, as *Jonſius* conjectures, of *Laerte*, a ſmall city of *Cilicia*, and thence took the ſurname of *Laertius*. After he had

Is ſucceeded by his ſons Caracalla *and* Geta.

(59) *Vit. Sev. p.* 65. (60) *Herod. l. ii p.* 514. *Philoſoph.* 50. *Galen. liber. l. ii. p.* 458. (61) *Suid. p.* 509. (62) *Gal. vit. Jonſ. l. iii. c.* 11. (63) *Gal. prog. c.* 3. (64) *Suid. ibid.* (65) *Jonſ. l iii. c.* 12. (66) *Idem ibid.* (67) *Vide Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p.* 732. (68) *Jonſ. l. iii c.* 12.

taken

life-time, and by his laſt will appointed to reign jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the nickname of

taken great pains to inform himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers, he embraced the worſt of all, that is, the *Epicurean.* His work is greatly eſteemed by the learned, but in many places ſtrangely corrupted. *Caſaubon* aſcribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himſelf; who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digeſt the materials which he had collected (69). Before he wrote the lives of the philoſophers, he publiſhed a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verſes, which he ſtyled *Pammetra*, that is, all ſorts of meaſures (70). *Neſtor*, a native of *Laranda* in *Lycaonia*, flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (71), under *Severus*, and wrote ſeveral *Greek* poems. *Piſander*, who in the reign of the emperor *Alexander*, wrote ſome hiſtories, or rather fables, in *Greek* verſe, was his ſon. *Hermocrates*, the ſophiſt, would have proved the moſt eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. *Severus* often heard him, and with great pleaſure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the eaſt, to marry the daughter of the ſophiſt *Antipater*; but he divorced her ſoon after (72). *Julius Titianus*, the father of the orator of the ſame name, who was preceptor to the ſon of *Maximinus*, about the year 235, publiſhed many pieces mightily cried up by the antients; and among the reſt a deſcription of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the ſtyle of *Cicero*; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different ſtyles of authors, and was thence called *the ape of his time* (73). *C Julius Solinus*, whoſe deſcription of the earth, under the title of *Polyhiſtor*, has reached us, flouriſhed, according to ſome writers, under *Severus*; but others, with *Voſſius*, are quite at a loſs about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after *Pliny* the elder, and before St. *Jerom*; that is, after the firſt century, and before the end of the fourth (74). *Dodwel* obſerves, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes from ſome conjectures, that he flouriſhed after *Cenſorinus*, who wrote in the year 238 (75). His work is, for the moſt part, copied, and not very judiciouſly, from other writers, eſpecially from *Pliny* the elder. Under *Severus* flouriſhed *Philoſtratus*, author of the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*; which work he undertook at the requeſt of the empreſs *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*. *Photius* commends the elegance and ſoftneſs of his ſtyle; but thinks his conſtruction not al-

(69) *Diog. Laert not. Caſaub. p.* 18. (70) *Hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c.* 15. (71) *Suid. p.* 211. (72) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 51. (73) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l ii c.* 1. (74) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l iii. p.* 720, 721. (75) *Dod. append. ad diſſert. Cyprian. c.* 15.

ways

of *Caracalla*, a *Gauliſh* word for a kind of caſſock uſed in *Gaul*, and by him firſt introduced among the *Romans*, gave, from his infancy, many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end a moſt inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years ſeemed no leſs void of humanity than his father, changed, we may ſay, by degrees, his temper, and became in regard of his affability, moderation, and complaiſance towards all, the darling both of the people and ſoldiery. They ſhewed, from their childhood, an utter averſion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their common ſports and diverſions. This natural antipathy increaſed as they grew in years, notwithſtanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father and their preceptor *Antipater*; who were continually laying before them the many evils that muſt neceeſſarily attend the diviſion and diſagreement of brothers. But all to no purpoſe; for *Severus* no ſooner expired, than *Caracalla* ſtrove to have his brother excluded by the officers of the army from any ſhare in the ſovereignty; but the ſoldiers proteſting, that they would equally obey both the ſons of *Severus*, ſince he had appointed both to ſucceed him, he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and ſuffer the ſoldiers to take the uſual oath of allegiance to both. After this, *Caracalla* led his

Their diſferent temppers.

ways agreeable to the rules of grammar (76). We have ſhewn, in the foregoing volume, how little credit his life of *Apollonius* deſerves (77). In that hiſtory he promiſes to clear his hero in another work, from the aſperſions of the philoſopher *Euphrates* (78). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to *Euſebius*, a native of *Athens*, and the ſon of *Philoſtratus Verus*, who publiſhed a great many works, and among the reſt, one againſt the ſophiſt *Antipater* (79). Beſides the life of *Apollonius*, *Philoſtratus* wrote four books of pictures, or deſcriptions, a treatiſe on heroes, letters on friendſhip, and the lives of the ſophiſts in four books. All theſe works have reached our times. Under *Severus* lived two other writers of the ſame name, viz. *Philoſtratus*, the ſon of *Nervianus*, to whom ſome writers aſcribe the lives of the ſophiſts; and *Philoſtratus*, a native of *Lemnos*, who wrote ſome deſcriptions; of theſe, the former was great nephew, and the latter grandſon by the mother, to the author of the life of *Apollonius* (80).

(76) *Phot. c.* 44. (77) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XIV. p.* 455, *&c.*
(78) *Philoſ. vit. Apol l. i. c.* 10. (79) *Euſeb. in Hier p.* 435.
(80) *Vide Caſaub in Spart p* 30.

army

Caracalla *concludes a ſhameful treaty with the* Britons.

army towards the borders of the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*, who had begun hoſtilities anew; but inſtead of attacking thoſe warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and reſtored to them the lands which *Severus* had obliged them to yield to him [n]. Before he left *Britain*, he diſcharged *Papinian*, captain of the guards; cauſed *Caſtor* his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with *Evodius*, another of the deceaſed emperor's freed-men, and formerly his own preceptor; and diſpatched aſſaſſins into *Italy* to murder *Plautilla*, who had been his wife, *Plautius* her brother, and a celebrated charioteer of the faction in the circus oppoſite to that which he favoured [o]. *Herodian* tells us, that, before he left *Britain*, he diſpatched, under various pretences, the phyſicians who had refuſed to poiſon his father, and all the deceaſed emperor's friends, eſpecially ſuch as endeavoured to promote a good underſtanding between him and his brother [p]. Such was the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*. The two brothers left *Britain* about the middle of the ſummer, and ſet out for *Rome*, with their mother *Julia* and the aſhes of their deceaſed father. *Caracalla* attempted on the road to murder his brother *Geta*; which attempt increaſed their mutual animoſities and jealouſies to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their ſeparate guards, and with no leſs warineſs than if they had been in an enemy's country, lodging conſtantly in different houſes, and carefully watching the motions of each other. They were received with great ſolemnity at *Rome*, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obſequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they divided into two; for it was larger, if *Herodian* is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except *Rome*. This diviſion between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; inſomuch, that, to avoid the many inconveniencies and diſorders thence ariſing, a diviſion of the empire was propoſed. To this expedient they both hearkened; *Geta*, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that if *Caracalla* would but yield to him *Aſia* and *Egypt*, he would retire to *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, and leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt of the empire. But this ſcheme was defeated by their mother *Julia*, throwing herſelf at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would di-

Miſunderſtanding between the two brothers.

[n] Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 882, & ſeq. Carac & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. [o] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 870. & l. lxxvi. p. 867. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 538.

vide

vide her too between them [q]. Towards the cloſe of this year, *Caracalla* attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feaſt of *Saturn*; which occaſioned almoſt an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodſhed [r].

THE following year, when the two brothers *Julius* and *Caius Aſper* were conſuls, *Caracalla*, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpoſe of deſtroying his brother and ruling alone, but finding him guarded both againſt poiſon and open force, pretended a deſire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother *Julia*, invited him to an interview in her chamber. *Geta* readily accepted the invitation, and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery in a propoſal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderneſs. But he had no ſooner entered her chamber, than ſome centurions, whom *Caracalla* had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, ruſhing in, ſword in hand, fell upon *Geta*, and diſpatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to ſave him, was wounded in the hand [s]. *Caracalla* himſelf ſeems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of *Serapis* the ſword with which he had murdered him [t]. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year and twenty-three days; for his father died on the fourth of *February* of the year 211, and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month [u]. He no ſooner expired, than *Caracalla*, leaving the palace with great haſte and precipitation, flew through the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and diſmay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conſpiracy had been formed againſt him; that he muſt have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence protected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went ſtrait to the place where the enſigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and aſylum; and there, throwing himſelf upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from ſo great and imminent a danger. To the ſoldiers, who crouded about him, he expreſſed himſelf with the ſame ambiguity; but by degrees let them

Geta *murdered in the arms of his mother.*

[q] Idem. p. 539—543. DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 871 [r] DIO. p. 871. [s] HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 543. [t] DIO. p. 880. [u] Vit. Get. p. 91.

know, that he was ſole ſovereign, and in a condition to beſtow upon them what wealth and honours he pleaſed; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his generoſity, which he ſaid was no longer checked or reſtrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largeſs of two thouſand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that inſtant out of the public treaſury. Thus was the exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjuſt confiſcations, been filling for the ſpace of eighteen years, emptied in one day. *Caracalla*, having by this extravagant largeſs ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery, told them in the end, that his brother *Geta* had attempted to murder him, but had loſt his life in the attempt. Hereupon *Caracalla* was ſaluted ſole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy *Geta* declared a traitor and a public enemy [w]. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, now *Albano*, where the murder of *Geta* was highly reſented; but *Caracalla*, haſtening thither, ſoon appeaſed them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his brother, and promiſing them an immenſe donative. *Caracalla* paſſed that night in the camp of the prætorian guards, and the next day went to the ſenate, with a cuiraſs under his robe, guarded by all his troops, ſome of whom he even placed among the ſenators, to be ready in caſe any of them ſhould attempt to revenge the death of *Geta*. His ſpeech turned upon the wicked deſigns of *Geta*, whom he ſaid he had ſlain unwillingly in his own defence, leſſening the heinouſneſs of his crime by the example of *Romulus* and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the ſenate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all thoſe who are in baniſhment, to return home; I except none, by what "crimes ſoever they may have deſerved that puniſhment [x]." From the ſenate he returned to the palace, leaning upon *Papinian* and *Cilo*; whence he cauſed the body of his deceaſed brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the *Septimian* family on the *Appian* way: and when the funeral ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the ſenate to rank him with the uſual ſolemnity among the gods [y]. Finding upon his return to the palace his mother *Julia*, bewailing with other women the death of her ſon, tranſported with rage, he was at firſt for putting them all to death; but in the end got the better

Caracalla gains the ſoldiery with an immenſe largeſs.

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

Performs funeral rites of his brother, and cauſes him to be ranked among the gods.

[w] Dio p. 872. Herod l. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91. & Carac p. 86. [x] Vit. Car. p. 86. [y] Car. vit. p. 86. & Get. vit. p. 91, 92.

better of his paſſion, and even ſhewed great kindneſs to *Julia*, ordering the ſame honours to be paid to her as to himſelf. *Spartian* and ſome other writers pretend, that ſhe gained his favour by ſacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither *Herodian* nor *Dion Caſſius*, charge *Julia* or *Caracalla* with any ſuch crime; and thoſe, who do, ſuppoſe *Julia* to have been only ſtep-mother to *Caracalla*, which is now by all writers agreed to be a groſs miſtake. We are told, that *Caracalla* on hearing the name, or beholding the images or ſtatues of *Geta*, uſed to burſt into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his maſſacring, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or quality, all the friends of *Geta* [z]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that he began this general maſſacre by ordering all his domeſtics to the number of twenty thouſand perſons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter his name; inſomuch, that no one durſt uſe it thenceforth, even on the ſtage, where it was commonly given to ſlaves. He likewiſe ordered all the money with his name to be melted down, and the inſcriptions eraſed. Among many illuſtrious perſons, whom the inhuman tyrant ſacrificed to his rage and jealouſy, as the friends of *Geta*, no one was more univerſally, or more deſervedly, regretted, than the celebrated *Papinian*, the greateſt civilian, in the opinion of *Zoſimus* [a] and *Cujas* [b], that ever was, or ever will be. As *Severus* had recommended chiefly to him his two ſons, he ſpared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of *Caracalla*; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of *Geta*. Beſides, the tyrant deſiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compoſe a ſpeech for him, excuſing the crime, which he deſigned to pronounce in the ſenate, *Papinian*, whoſe love for juſtice, to uſe the expreſſion of *Zoſimus*, was equal to his knowledge of it, anſwered with great firmneſs, *It is not ſo eaſy a thing to juſtify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a ſecond parricide to defame an innocent perſon, after having taken away his life.* The emperor, provoked at this anſwer, ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off, and likewiſe his ſon's, who was then quæſtor, and had but three days before exhibited moſt magnificent ſports [c]. *L. Fabius Cilo*, another of *Severus*'s great favourites, for whom *Caracalla* himſelf had a particular eſteem (for he uſed to ſtyle him his true friend, his benefactor, his father), was in the next place doomed to deſtruction, for having, together with *Papi-*

Orders all his friends to be maſſacred.

The death of Papinian.

[z] Vit. Get. p. 92. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 546. [a] Zos. l. i. p. 637. [b] Cuj. in cod. Theod. [c] Vit. Car. p. 88. DIO in excerpt. Val p 742.

nian, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was ſent with a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him in his houſe, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the preſence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom *Chilo* had commanded while governor of *Rome*, moved with compaſſion in ſeeing a perſon of his rank thus ignominouſly treated by the inſulting ſoldiery, like a common malefactor, reſcued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of ſuch outrages; which ſo frightened *Caracalla*, that he declared that he had given no ſuch orders; and, to appeaſe the multitude, cauſed both the tribune and ſoldiers to be immediately put to death[d]. He ſpared *Chilo*, but vented his rage without controul, upon many other illuſtrious perſons, both of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, not ſparing any for whom either his father or brother had ever ſhewn the leaſt kindneſs or eſteem. Among theſe unhappy victims were a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmoſt reſpect, but *Caracalla* ordered to be ſtrangled for ſhedding a few tears, when news was brought her of the death of *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the ſon of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*, to whom *Caracalla* had ſent the day before a diſh from his own table, as a token of his friendſhip; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice conſul, had commanded armies in ſeveral wars, and was grandſon to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, by the empreſs *Lucilla*; *Helvius Pertinax*, ſon to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no leſs hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewiſe provoked with a ſatirical jeſt; for when the titles of *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* were decreed to him by the ſenate, *Pertinax* moved, that the ſurname of *Geticus* might be added to the other two, alluding not ſo much to the victory, which *Caracalla* pretended to have gained over the *Getæ*, as to the murder of his brother *Getæ*. Some of *Geta*'s enemies fared no better than his friends; but the death of no man occaſioned greater ſurpriſe in the city, than that of *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s moſt intimate friends, and the firſt who had adviſed him to diſpatch his brother. He did not even ſpare the veſtal virgins, ſome of whom he ordered to be ſtrangled for having bewailed the death of *Geta*. In ſhort no ſex, rank, or age, eſcaped his cruelty. The people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at *Rome* cauſed great numbers of them to be put to death, ſometimes out of revenge, and ſometimes

Many illuſtrious perſons inhumanly maſſacred.

The cruelties of Caracalla,

[d] Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio. l. lxxvii p. 872. [e] Vit. Car. p. 87.

only

only for his diverſion; for he delighted in nothing ſo much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodſhed. The people having one day rallied, at the *Circenſian* games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to ruſh in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the ſword; but as the ſoldiers could not in ſo great a croud diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, they fell indifferently upon all, ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſarmed multitude, ſparing only ſuch as had money enough about them to redeem their lives [f]. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raiſing money than *Caracalla*, or ſquandered it away with more prodigality. He often uſed to ſay, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Purſuant to his maxim, he impoveriſhed his ſubjects in all the provinces of the empire, loading them with exceſſive impoſts and taxes; for which, as well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, ſhe ed her his naked ſword, ſaying, *As long as I have this, I ſhall never want*. However, he gave away ſuch immenſe ſums, moſtly to perſons who leaſt of all deſerved them, *viz.* to his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freed-men, *&c.* that he was in the end obliged to coin falſe money, which he ſpent at home, while he employed what true gold and ſilver he could extort from his ſubjects in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were conſtantly threatening him with war [g]. He ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt contempt for the ſenate, intirely neglected the adminiſtration of juſtice, took no care of the provinces, and raiſed to the higheſt employments the meaneſt, and in every reſpect the moſt infamous and unworthy, perſons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of *Rome* to an eunuch, named *Sempronius*, who was by birth an *Iberian*, by profeſſion a poiſoner and magician, who had been baniſhed by his father *Severus*, and confined to a deſert iſland. He appointed one *Theocritus* captain of the guards, who had been firſt a ſlave, and afterwards a dancing-maſter, and ſtage-player. One *Epagathus*, another manumitted ſlave, bore likewiſe great ſway at court, and with the other two ruled and controuled both the empire and emperor, ſetting all things to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty [h]. *Caracalla* was author of the famous law declaring all the free ſubjects of the empire *Roman* citizens. This conſtitution is commonly aſcribed to *M. Aurelius*; but that it

Loads his ſubjects with taxes

Is controuled by his freedmen.

Declares all the ſubjects of the empire Roman citizens.

[f] HERON. l. iv. p. 246. [g] DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 758 & l. lxxvii. p. 875. [h] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 877.

was

was publiſhed not by that prince, but by *Caracalla*, we are told in expreſs terms by *Dion Caſſius* [i], whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Aurelius Victor*, who was, as we conjecture, led into that miſtake by the words of *Ulpian*, aſcribing the above-mentioned law to *Antoninus* [k], though from the context it is manifeſt, that *Ulpian* ſpeaks in that place of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, whom ſome writers have followed, ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of this law [l]. Though the name and privileges of *Roman* citizens were by this conſtitution made common to all the ſubjects of the empire, yet the antient diſtinction of *colonies*, of *Latin*, *municipal*, and *free*, cities, ſubſiſted long after, as appears from the *Theodoſian* code [m] and *digeſts* [n]. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the beſt civilians, is not the province of an hiſtorian.

His cruelties in Gaul.

Caracalla, finding himſelf generally hated at *Rome*, on account of his cruelties, reſolved to leave the city, and viſit, after the example of *Adrian*, all the provinces of the empire. Purſuant to this reſolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth conſulſhip, and named *Decius Cælius Balbinus*, afterwards emperor, for his collegue, he ſet out for *Gaul*, where he cauſed the proconſul of the province of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made ſuch havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at *Rome*. He did not even ſpare the phyſicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous maiady, with which he was ſeized; but, upon his recovery, cauſed them to be put to death [o]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Meſſala* and *Sabinus* were conſuls, he returned to *Rome*, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the *Gauliſh* faſhion, which he wore himſelf, diſtributed among the people, and would ſuffer none to wait upon him but in that dreſs. From this habit the emperor was nicknamed *Caracalla* or *Caracallus*, for ſuch was its *Gauliſh* name [p]. Hence *Scaliger* derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word *caſſock*, the *caracalla* being a kind of caſſock. At *Rome* it was called *Antoniniana* from *Antoninus*, which was one of the emperor's names. His ſtay at *Rome* was very ſhort; for this very year the *Catti*, the

Whence the name of Caracalla.

[i] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 755.
[l] Chrys. in act. apoſt hom. xlviii.. 189, 190. l. iv t. 9. l. iii. p. 370. 1921. & l. viii. p. 1923.
[k] Digeſt. 1. t. 5. l. xvii.
[m] Cod. Th. 2. t. 21. p. lxxvii. p. 890. Spartian. p. 72.
[n] Digeſt. 50. t. 15. l. i. p.
[o] Vit. Car. p. 87. Euseb. chron. p. 230.
[p] Dio. l.

Alemanni

Alemanni, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory, and ſeveral other *German* nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The *Alemanni* inhabited at this time the preſent dutchy of *Virtemberg*, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring nations [q]. They had entered into an alliance with the *Catti*, whom we have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incurſions into the *Roman* territories. *Caracalla* therefore marched againſt them, but in that expedition approved himſelf a better ſoldier than commander. For though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchaſe a peace with vaſt ſums, and the liberty of retiring with ſafety into the *Roman* dominions [r]. Having aſked ſome women, whom he had taken in the countries of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, which they choſe, to be ſold for ſlaves or put to death, they all preferred death to ſlavery. The emperor nevertheleſs ordered them to be ſold; but they all laid violent hands on themſelves, and ſome of them after having put to death their children [s]. It was no ſooner known in *Germany*, that he had bought a peace of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, than all the nations inhabiting that extenſive country flew to arms, threatening him with a deſtructive war, unleſs with them too he ſhared his treaſures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly penſions, and by that means reducing himſelf to ſuch ſtraights, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin falſe money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he ſuffered no one to be preſent except the interpreters, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death, leſt they ſhould divulge what had paſſed. However, the barbarians themſelves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade *Italy*, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him, and to march ſtrait to *Rome*, which, he ſaid, they might take with great eaſe [t]. During his ſtay in *Germany*, he cauſed *Gaiobamarus*, king of the *Quadi*, to be treacherouſly murdered; and having ordered all the youth of *Noricum* to take arms and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the ſword [u]. For his pretended victories over the *Alemanni*, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus* [w].

His expedition againſt the Catti *and* Alemanni.

[q] Vide VORBURG. hiſt Rom Ger. p. 473. & BUCH. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. [r] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 876. [s] Idem in excerpt Val. p. 749, 750 [t] DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 891. [u] Idem in except. Val. p. 749, & 754. [w] CAR vit. p. 89. GOLTZ p. 93. BIRAG. p. 293.

THE

He passes over into Asia.

The following year, when *Lætus* was consul, the second time, with *Cerealis*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Germany*, led his army into *Dacia*, where he gained some small advantages over the *Getæ*, and then pursued his march through *Thrace* to the *Hellespont*, which he crossed, not without danger of being shipwrecked; and, arriving in *Asia*, hastened to *Pergamus*, hoping to be delivered by the god *Æsculapius*, worshipped in that city, from all the maladies, says *Herodian*, both of his body and mind. But the god, continues that historian, was deaf to his prayers; so that he left *Pergamus*, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he designed to bribe the deity, and pursued his journey to *Ilium*, where he viewed the remains of antient *Troy*, and visited the tomb of *Achilles*, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* pretended to derive their origin. From *Ilium* he went to *Nicomedia*, where he spent the winter. In that city he invited *Dion Cassius* to sup with him, during the feast of *Saturn*; for he obliged most of the senators to attend him in all his journies, to defray his travelling charges, and to build in the cities, where he passed the winter, theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres, for public sports [r]. Historians ob-

His levity.

serve, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dressed after the manner of the countries through which he passed: thus in *Germany* he assumed the *German* habit, and chose such of the *German* soldiers as were most strong and active for his guard. When he entered *Macedon*, from a *German* he became a *Macedonian* in habit and behaviour. For pretending to be a great admirer of *Alexander*, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was represented, but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head somewhat to one side. He ordered several statues to be set up in *Rome* to the honour of that hero; and among the rest, some with two faces, one resembling *Alexander*, and the other himself. He ordered himself to be styled *Alexander*, and *Antoninus the Great*, called a squadron of his army a *phalanx*, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of *Alexander*. He had no sooner entered *Asia*, than he forgot *Alexander*, and studied in all things to resemble *Achilles*, whose tomb he had visited. Thus he travelled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing-stock of other nations, and the shame and disgrace of his own. The following year, when *C. Atius Sabinus* was consul the second time, with

[r] Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

Cornelius

Cornelius Anullinus, *Caracalla*, leaving *Nicomedia* after the fourth of *April* (for he celebrated his birth-day there), croſſed *Bithynia*, *Aſia*, and the other provinces, on his journey to *Antioch*, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his ſtay there, he wrote to the ſenate, that he was well appriſed they did not approve of his conduct; but ſo long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred [y]. He was very deſirous of picking a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were involved in a civil war, occaſioned by the ambition of the two ſons of the late king *Vologeſes*; but they complying with all his demands, he poſtponed his intended expedition againſt them, and bent his mind on the reduction of *Oſrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of theſe two countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. However, *Caracalla*, having invited them to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, cauſed them to be arreſted there, and impriſoned, without the leaſt colour or pretence for ſo doing. Hereupon *Oſrhoene* immediately ſubmitted, and was, according to ſome writers, reduced to a *Roman* province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed by its own princes [z]. All we know for certain is, that *Caracalla* eſtabliſhed a *Roman* colony at *Edeſſa*, the capital of *Oſrhoene* [a], and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was ſubject to the *Romans*. The *Armenians*, notwithſtanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous reſiſtance; gave a total overthrow to *Theocritus* the comedian, who was ſent againſt them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all the efforts of *Caracalla*; and maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties [b]. From *Antioch* the emperor proceeded to *Alexandria*, where he made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked againſt them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their ſatirical humour, they had publiſhed on occaſion of the death of *Geta*. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were diſperſed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter and pillage their houſes, and put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. His cruel orders were executed with ſuch barbarity, as can hardly be expreſſed; the whole city floated in blood; every houſe was filled with carcaſes; and the return of day diſcovered in every ſtreet the ſad monuments of the mighty butchery: but

He treacherouſly ſeizes and impriſons the kings of Oſrhoene and Armenia.

Orders a general maſſacre at Alexandria.

[y] DIO l. lxxvii. p. 879. HEROD. l. iv. p. 510. [z] Vide SPANH. l. ii. 86. & SYNCEL. p. 359. [a] SPANH. l. ix. p. 775. [b] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 875.

the tyrant, not yet ſatiated with blood, commanded the ſlaughter to be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleaſure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had paſſed the preceding night, imploring, during the general maſſacre, the protection of that deity. When the ſoldiers were tired with ſlaughter, *Caracalla* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the *Alexandrians*; but that it was not neceſſary to ſpecify the number of the dead, nor their condition, ſince none had periſhed but ſuch as were guilty. Before he left the city, he ſtripped it of all its privileges; ſuppreſſed the celebrated aſſembly of learned men; ordered all ſtrangers who lived there to abandon the place; and that ſuch as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, who were very few, might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for that purpoſe, and guarded by the troops he left there [c]. However, as the tyrant died ſoon after, *Alexandria* ſpeedily recovered its former ſplendor, and continued to be the firſt city of the empire after *Rome*.

His treachery towards the Parthians.

From *Alexandria* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, by ſome memorable exploit, deſerve the ſurname of *Parthicus*, which he ſeems to have preferred to all others. In order to have ſome pretence for declaring war, he ſent an embaſſy to *Artabanes* with rich preſents, to deſire his daughter in marriage, not doubting, but the *Parthian* would deny him his requeſt; which happened accordingly, *Artabanes* alledging, that his daughter, brought up after the *Parthian* manner, could never be reconciled to the cuſtoms of the *Romans* [d]. *Herodian* writes, that *Caracalla* perſiſting in his demand, *Artabanes* at length complied with it; ſuffered him to enter his dominions; diſpatched orders to his governors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmoſt magnificence; and went out himſelf in perſon to meet him, as he approached the royal city of *Cteſiphon*, where the nuptials were to be ſolemnized. *Artabanes* was attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gaveſt attire. But *Caracalla*, abuſing the confidence they repoſed in him with a treachery hardly to be matched, gave the ſignal to his ſoldiers to fall upon them ſword in hand; which they did accordingly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a reception.

[c] Herod. l. iv. p. 549 Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. Vit. Car. p. 87. [d] Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 896.

However,

However, the king had the good fortune to make his eſcape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of ſuch an emperor as *Caracalla*, the cruel and perfidious monſter, inraged that *Artabanes* had eſcaped him, wrecked his fury on all the countries through which he paſſed on his return to *Syria*, leaving everywhere diſmal monuments of his barbarous cruelty and inſatiable avarice [e]. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Caracalla*, upon the *Parthian* king's returning him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any further declaration of war; ravaged great part of *Media*; deſtroyed ſeveral cities; took *Arbela*; and there demoliſhed the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs, inſulting their remains in a moſt outrageous manner. The ſame writer adds, that as the irruption was ſudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the leaſt oppoſition, or even ſaw the face of an enemy [f]. *Spartian* indeed ſpeaks of a tumultuary engagement between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, in which *Caracalla* let looſe wild beaſts againſt the enemy [g]. But with us his authority is of no weight, when claſhing with that of *Dion Caſſius*. The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to *Edeſſa*, whence he wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the *Parthians*, and reduced all the eaſt. The ſenate, though informed of what had paſſed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which above all he ſeemed to covet [h]. The following year, when *C. Bruttius Præſens* and *T. Meſſius Extricatus* were conſuls, a bloody doom at length overtook this man of blood. He had often rallied as a coward, and threatened with death, *Macrinus* captain of the guards; beſides, about this time a ſoothſayer declared publicly in *Africa*, that *Macrinus* and his ſon *Diadumenus* were deſtined to the empire. Hereupon the ſoothſayer was immediately ſent to *Rome*, where he repeated and maintained the ſame thing before *Maternianus*, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he repoſed in him an intire confidence, had injoined to employ all poſſible means, even the deteſtable myſteries of magic, in order to diſcover, whether any one privately aſpired at the empire. *Maternianus* therefore did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the ſoothſayer; but the letter being delivered to *Julia*, whom *Caracalla* had left at *Antioch*, with full power to open and read all his diſpatches (for he himſelf was ſtill at *Edeſſa*, where he had paſſed the winter), *Macrinus*, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it,

Honoured by the ſenate with the title of Parthicus.

[e] HERODIAN. l. iv. p. 551—553. [f] DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 881.
[g] Vit. Car. p. 87. [h] DIO. ibid. HERODIAN. p. 553.

before *Julia* could tranſmit it from *Antioch* to *Edeſſa.* This intelligence was conveyed to him by *Ulpius Julianus* his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier diſpatched from *Rome* ſtrait to the court at *Edeſſa* [i]. *Herodian* writes, that a pacquet being brought to the emperor, while he was buſied in driving a chariot at the public ſhows, he ordered *Macrinus* to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that *Macrinus* found among the reſt the letter of *Maternianus.* Be that as it will, *Macrinus* was, as all authors agree, informed before the emperor of what *Maternianus* had wrote; and therefore being ſenſible, that he could not uſe too much diſpatch [k], he immediately gained with great promiſes two brothers, *Aurelius Nemeſianus* and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, both tribunes of the guards; *Julius Martialis*, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refuſing him the poſt of a centurion; *Martius Agrippa* the admiral; *Rhætianus*, tribune of the ſecond legion, and ſeveral others; who put their deſign in execution on the eighth of *April* of this year 217, while the emperor was going on horſe-back with a ſmall retinue from *Edeſſa* to viſit a temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*; for being obliged to ſtop by the way to eaſe nature, and all withdrawing except one of the prince's domeſtics, as he was ready to mount again, *Martialis*, loth to let ſlip that opportunity, ran haſtily to him, gave him with his dagger ſuch a ſtab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and returning to the reſt mixed with the croud, before they were appriſed of what had paſſed; but when the emperor's death was publicly known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, obſerving *Martialis* with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confuſion, he had not had the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, ſhot him through with an arrow. *Caracalla* was killed after he had lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned ſix years, two months, and four days, from the death of his father [l] (O). The ſoldiers,

Macrinus *conſpires againſt him.*

Caracalla *murdered.*

[i] Dio l. lxxviii. p. 882. [k] Herod. ibid. p. 554. [l] Dio. p. 891. Herod. p. 556.

(O) The authors, who lived under *Caracalla*, were *Q. Severus Sammonicus*, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by *Geta*; and hence *Sammonicus* was by *Caracalla*'s orders murdered, while he was at ſupper as a friend to *Geta* (31).

(31) *Car. vit. p.* 86. & *Get. vit. p.* 92.

None

diers immediately gathered about the body of the deceaſed prince, conveyed it to *Edeſſa*, and there proceeded, even before

None of his works have reached our times, except ſome books in *Latin* verſe on phyſic, and a few paſſages quoted by *Macrobius* out of a book in proſe, which he inſcribed to the emperor *Severus* (82). *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he publiſhed ſome hiſtorical pieces (83). His library conſiſted of ſixty-two thouſand volumes, which his ſon who bore the ſame name, bequeathed to young *Gordian*, whoſe preceptor he had been (84). The emperor *Alexander* is ſaid to have taken great delight in reading the works of *Horace* and *Serenus Sammonicus*, with whom he had been acquainted 85); but this muſt have been the ſon. *Ælius Maurus*, whom *Spartian* quotes in relating the death of *Severus* (86), wrote in the reign of *Caracalla*, being then very old; for he had been a ſlave to *Phlegon*, the celebrated freedman of the emperor *Adrian* (87). *Voſſius* ranks him among the *Latin* hiſtorians; becauſe *Spartian* does not ſay, that he wrote in *Greek* (88). *Oppian*, the celebrated *Greek* poet, lived under *Antoninus*, the ſon of *Domna*; that, is under *Caracalla*, the ſon of *Julia Domna*, as he himſelf informs us (89), and not under *Antonius the Philoſopher*, as we read in the chronicle of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* (90). He was a native of *Anazarbus*, a town of *Cilicia*, as appears from the ſhort account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (91). His father being baniſhed by *Severus* to the iſland of *Malta*, or to that of *Melida* near *Raguſa*, *Oppian* accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there compoſed his poems, which he afterwards rehearſed at *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary applauſe, and pleaſed the emperor *Severus* to ſuch a degree, that he recalled his father from baniſhment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verſes in his poem on the art of fiſhing; whence he uſed to call thoſe verſes, *golden verſes* (92). He inſcribed that poem to *Antoninus*, that is, to *Caracalla*, about the year 204, according to *Scaliger*, and the other, on *the chace*, to the ſame prince, after the death of his father *Severus* (93). The latter poem ought to conſiſt of five books as well as the former, though there are but four in the *Paris* edition of 1555, and in that of *Plantin* in 1597, both which editions are evidently imperfect. St. *Jerom* cries up the poem on the art of fiſhing as a wonderful performance (94). *Scaliger* ſtyles it a *divine work*; but *Saumaiſe*, not ſo laviſh of his praiſes, calls it only

(82) *Voſſ. poet Lat. p.* 52. & *Macrob. ſaturn. l.* ii *c.* 12. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt Lat. l.* ii *c.* 2. (84) *Gord. vit. p* 150 (85) *Alex vit p* 124. (86) *Vit. Sev. p* 71. (87) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat l.* ii. *c* 2. (88) *Idem ibid.* (89) *Oppian. de venat. l* i. *p.* 129. (90) *Euſeb. chron. p.* 121, 122. (91) *Oppian vit.* (92) *Saum. l.* i. *p* 304. (93) *Oppian. de piſc. l* ii *p.* 51 & *de venat. l* i *p* 129. *Euſeb. chron. p.* 222. (94) *Hier. chron.*

an

Opilius Macrinus declared emperor by the soldiery.

fore they had performed the funeral obſequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in ſuſpenſe that and the two following days; but on the fourth, the eleventh of *April*, and the birth-day of *Severus*, the prætorian guards, who were at *Edeſſa*, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conſpiracy of *Macrinus*, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been any ways acceſſary to the death of *Caracalla*, which they aſcribed to *Martialis* alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private paſſion and revenge. *Macrinus* pretended at firſt to decline ſuch a heavy burden; but was eaſily prevailed upon to ſubmit to it; diſtributed on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the ſoldiery; made them ample promiſes; and granted a general pardon to all perſons accuſed of, or condemned for, crimes of majeſty or high treaſon [m]. *Herodian* writes, that the army firſt choſe *Adventus*, *Macrinus*'s colleague in the command of the prætorian guards, who excuſed himſelf on account of his great age [n]. But, according to *Dion Caſſius*, *Adventus* only bragged, that, in regard to his ſeniority, he had a better right to the empire than *Macrinus*, declaring at the ſame time, that he willingly yielded it to him [o]. *Adventus* was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a ſtateſman, exceeding old, no leſs meanly born than *Macrinus*, and illiterate to ſuch a degree, that he could not even read [p]. However, *Macrinus* created him ſenator, appointed him governor of *Rome*, and the following year choſe him for his collegue in the conſulſhip.

His birth and preferments.

As for the new emperor *Opilius*, or rather *Opelius*, *Macrinus*, he was a native of *Cæſarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of a very mean deſcent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and firſt employments, were invented by his ſucceſſor *Heliogabalus*, and by

[m] Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 893—895. [n] Herod. l. iv. p 535.
[o] Dio. p. 894. [p] Idem ibid.

an indifferent poem (95). We learn from his life, that, beſides the two above-mentioned works, he compoſed ſeveral other admirable poems, as the anonymous author ſtyles them (96). He tells us himſelf, that he deſcribed in verſe the *Parthian* war, and the taking of *Cteſiphon*, no doubt by *Severus*. He is ſaid to have retired with his father to *Anazarbus*, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (97). The inhabitants of *Anazarbus*, his countrymen, erected a ſtatue to him, with a pompous inſcription.

(95) *Sozom. ibid.* (96) *Oppian. vit.* (97) *Ibid.*

his

his orders inſerted, as true, in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in *Julius Capitolinus*, who was ſtrangely prejudiced againſt him, we ſhall chiefly follow *Dion Caſſius*, who flouriſhed under him, and ſeems quite free from all perſonal hatred and perſonal affection. According to that writer, he was a perſon of a moſt mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery, and covered the meanneſs of his birth and firſt employments. He was pretty well verſed in the laws, which induced *Plautianus* to commit to him the care of his eſtate; that is, to appoint him his ſteward. Afterwards *Severus* charged him with the care of the poſts in *Italy*; but ſoon after baniſhed him, for what tranſgreſſion we know not, into *Africa*, where he ſupported himſelf with pleading cauſes of ſmall conſequence. He returned to *Rome* after the death of *Severus*, when *Caracalla* gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the ſame prince named him to ſucceed the celebrated *Papinian* in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide cauſes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when *Caracalla* himſelf was not preſent [q]. He married one *Nonia Celſa*, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a ſon, born on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 208, and commonly called by the *Latin* hiſtorians *Diadumenus*; but by *Dion Caſſius*, by *Herodian*, and in moſt inſcriptions, *Diadumenianus* [r]. With the empire he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, which are ſtill to be ſeen on ſeveral of his medals [s]: but on none appears that of *Antoninus*; whence we conclude *Capitolinus* to have been miſtaken in giving him it. Before he left *Edeſſa*, he cauſed the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, and ſent his aſhes, incloſed in an urn, to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who not caring to outlive him, eſpecially after *Macrinus* had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives againſt him, and her private intrigues, in order to ſeize the empire for herſelf, abſtained from all food, and died ſtarved. Her body was ſent to *Rome*, and depoſited in the tomb of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſar*, the grandſons of *Auguſtus*, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her ſiſter *Mela* to the mauſoleum of *Adrian* [t]. *Macrinus* was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſent for his ſon *Diadumenus*, who was then at *Antioch*. The ſoldiers who attended

The death of Julia.

[q] Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893. [r] Idem, p. 888. HERON. p. 566. GOLTZ. p. 100. [s] GOLTZ. p. 95. [t] DIO. p. 899

Diadumenus *declared Cæsar.*

tended him, and were intirely addicted to *Macrinus*, gave him, pursuant to their private instructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of *Cæsar*; which, upon his arrival at *Edessa*, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving on that occasion another bounty to the soldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the senate immediately with the death of *Caracalla*, and his accession to the empire, by a letter, in which he spoke with great reserve of the deceased emperor, neither commending nor discommending him: he only said, that since the doom which he seemed to have deserved had at length overtaken him, and the army had chosen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himself indebted to the senate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the senate had heard before the news of the death of *Caracalla*, yet apprehending it to be only a false report, they had carefully concealed their sentiments; but being now assured of the truth by *Macrinus*'s letters, they loaded him with dreadful curses; ordered all his gold and silver statues to be melted down, his name to be erased out of all inscriptions; annulled his acts, and declared his memory infamous, styling him no longer *Antoninus*, but *Bassianus*, *Caracalla*, and *Tarantus*, which was the name of a little, deformed, and cruel gladiator [u]. They were so transported with joy in seeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of *Caracalla*, that, overlooking the meanness of *Macrinus*'s birth, they declared him emperor without the least hesitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his son proclaimed *Cæsar*, and his wife, *Nonia Celsa*, honoured with the title of *Augusta*. In their answer to his letter they earnestly intreated him to punish, according to their deserts, the ministers of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. *Macrinus* complied in some degree with their request; for he suffered them to condemn, not to death, but to banishment, three senators, and many others of an inferior rank, and orderd all the slaves and freedmen, who had informed against their masters or patrons, to be crucified. The new emperor in the mean time leaving *Edessa*, led his army to *Antioch*, and there, in the presence of all his troops, gave his son the name of *Antoninus*, a name highly revered, and in a manner, adored by the soldiery [w]. On this occasion the whole army demanded with loud cries the deification of *Caracalla*; a

The hatred of the senate to Caracalla.

Macrinus *is acknowledged emperor by the senate.*

[u] Idem, p. 892. [w] Idem p. 896. Herod. l. iv. p. 561.

demand

demand which greatly ſurpriſed *Macrinus*, who nevertheleſs was in the end forced to comply with it, and command the ſenate to rank among the gods one, whom he himſelf had cauſed to be murdered, and who was deſervedly looked upon by all, except the ſoldiery, as a profeſſed foe to human race, a monſter gorged with blood, a parricide, and the moſt inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and diſgrace a diadem. The ſenate, purſuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cauſe one *Aurelianus* to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed ſome of the deceaſed emperor's ſtatues [x]; ſo great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, uſurped both over the ſenate and prince. Caracalla *deified.*

WHILE theſe things paſſed at *Antioch* and *Rome*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, having aſſembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it with a deſign, to invade the *Roman* territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. *Macrinus*, prompted partly by his natural timidity (for he was not a man of courage), and partly by motives of juſtice and equity, endeavoured to appeaſe him, by ſending back all the priſoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them embaſſadors to propoſe a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but *Artabanes* declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, unleſs the *Romans* engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had deſtroyed, to give up *Meſopotamia*, and to pay an immenſe ſum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs over-turned by *Caracalla*, and making good the loſſes his ſubjects had ſuſtained by the late unjuſt invaſion, *Macrinus*, aſhamed to comply with ſuch high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Niſibis* [y]. *Herodian* tells us, that the battle which enſued laſted two whole days, night alone putting an end to the conteſt, and both parties challenging the victory. He adds, that the third day, the two armies, not being able to approach each other on account of the dead bodies, which formed a kind of wall between them, retired to their reſpective camps [z]. But *Dion Caſſius* writes, that the *Romans*, inured under *Caracalla* to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; inſomuch, that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third, ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents for *Artabanes*, and *The* Parthian *war.* *The* Romans *defeated.*

[x] Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 892. Vit. Macr. p 95. [y] Vit. Macr. p 96. Dio, ibid. p. 890. [z] Herod. l. iv. p. 557.

Macrinus *concludes a peace with the* Parthians *and* Armenians.

all the grandees of his court, and by that means obtained a peace, which coſt him, according to our hiſtorian, fifty millions of drachmas [a]. However, the ſenate decreed him the ſurname of *Parthicus*, which he accepted as appears from ſome of his medals [b]; but declined the triumph which was decreed him at the ſame time [c]. As for the *Armenians* whom *Caracalla* had likewiſe provoked, *Macrinus* appeaſed them, by reſtoring their king *Tiridates* to the throne, and to him thoſe lands which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Cappadocia* [d]. *Capitolinus* ſpeaks of a war with the people of *Arabia*, in which *Macrinus* ſignalized his courage, and was attended with great ſucceſs [e]; but of this war no mention is made by any other hiſtorian. *Macrinus*, having thus concluded a peace both with the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, returned to *Antioch*; and there by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes which had prevailed in the reign of his predeceſſor. He declared all the reſcripts and deciſions of the emperors void and null, unleſs they were found agreeable to the antient and known laws of *Rome*, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing, that the caprices of a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* ſhould be held for laws. He puniſhed crimes with great ſeverity. When any perſons, of what rank ſoever, were convicted of adultery, he cauſed the delinquents to be tied together, and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive ſlaves to fight like gladiators: ſometimes he ordered criminals to be ſhut up and ſtarved to death. He puniſhed with death ſuch informers as could not make good their accuſations; when they did, they had the uſual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's eſtate; whence they were called *Quadruplatores*; but at the ſame time *Macrinus* declared them infamous. He revived according to *Capitolinus*, who betrays a ſtrange prejudice againſt him, the puniſhment of *Mezentius*, who is ſaid to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrify together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his ſon *Diadumenus*, publicly repeated the verſe of *Virgil* in commendation of *Lauſus* the ſon of *Mezentius*; *Dignus cui pater haud Mezentius eſſet, It was a pity he had a* Mezentius *for his father* [f]. He took from the inhabitants of *Pergamus* all the privileges which had been lately granted them by *Caracalla*, and appointed *Dion Caſſius* the hiſtorian governor of that city and

Macrinus's *ſeverity againſt criminals.*

[a] Dio ibid. p. 866. [b] Norris. de Dio p. 19. [c] Dio. ibid p. 900. [d] Idem, p. 887. [e] Vit. Macr. p. 95. [f] Vit. Macr p 96.

of

of *Smyrna* [g]. A conſpiracy being diſcovered againſt him, he puniſhed ſome of the authors of it; but pardoned *Arbianus*, *Thuſcus*, and *Gellius*, of whom the former is ſtyled duke of *Armenia*, and the two latter lieutenants of *Aſia* and *Arabia*; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by *Capitolinus*, that *Diadumenus* wrote on this occaſion to his father, and likewiſe to the empreſs his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had ſhewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy [h] (P). But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that *Diadumenus*, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing ſuch letters.

An inſtance of his clemency.

WE have hitherto ſeen nothing in *Macrinus* blame-worthy: however, he was not without his faults; for, in the firſt place, as he himſelf was of a mean deſcent, he deprived of their employments thoſe who were nobly born, and raiſed to the higheſt poſts perſons of his own condition, though, generally ſpeaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed *Adventus*, of whom we have ſpoken before, governor of

Raiſes only perſons of a mean deſcent, and no merit.

[g] Dio. p. 897. [h] Diad. vit. p. 100.

(P) The letter which he is ſaid to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms. "I cannot be ſilent on the "preſent occaſion, without being wanting to my duty. You were "ſurely quite unmindful of your own ſafety, when you ſpared "the authors of the late rebellion. Men whoſe minds are once "exulcerated, will never be reclaimed by mercy; and friends, "when they once begin to hate, are of all enemies the moſt cruel, "the moſt implacable; beſides, they are ſtill in a condition to do "miſchief, they have ſtill troops under their command:

Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Aſcanium ſurgentem, & ſpes hæredis Juli
Reſpice, cui regnum Italiæ Romanaque tellus
Debetur ———————

"You muſt put them to death, if you deſire to live in ſafety. Your "ſparing them will encourage others (ſuch is the perverſeneſs of "mankind!) to follow their example." In his letter to his mother he expreſſed himſelf thus. "The emperor my father by ſparing "his enemies, ſhews that he neither loves you nor himſelf: there"fore exert yourſelf on this occaſion, and take care they be exe"cuted; for tho' my father ſpares them, they will not, when "occaſion offers, ſpare us (98).

(98) *Vit. Diad. p.* 100.

Rome, and prince of the ſenate, even before he was a ſenator, though altogether unequal to that high poſt, being incapable of ſpeaking in public, and ſo illiterate, that he could not ſo much as read. He recalled from the government of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, *Sabinus* and *Cuſtinus*, men of merit and diſtinction; and ſent *Marcius Agrippa*, a manumitted ſlave, formerly baniſhed by *Severus* for treaſonable practices, to ſucceed the former; and ſubſtituted *Decius Tricianus*, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the ſoldiers he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſion or neglect of duty with ſuch ſeverity, that, inſtead of *Macrinus*, he was called by them *Macellinus*, from the word *macellum*, ſignifying *ſhambles*. In the reign of *Caracalla*, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themſelves with impunity in all manner of licentiouſneſs; but *Macrinus* obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not ſuffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more becauſe the emperor himſelf wallowed in pleaſures at *Antioch*, while they in the field often wanted neceſſaries. They therefore began to regret the loſs of *Caracalla*, to hate the very name of *Macrinus*, and publicly to reproach him with the meanneſs of his birth and former life. At the ſame time, they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*; which incenſed them againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from *Macrinus*, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when *Macrinus* and *Adventus* were conſuls. This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of *Mæſa*, ſiſter to the late empreſs *Julia*, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her ſiſter during the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, and likewiſe immenſe wealth; which *Macrinus* ſuffered her to enjoy after the murder of *Caracalla*, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, her native city. She had two daughters, *viz. Julia Soæmis*, or *Soæmias*, and *Julia Mammæa*. Of theſe the latter had a ſon named *Alexianus*, and the former one called *Varius Avitus Baſſianus*. When *Mæſa* retired by *Macrinus*'s orders to *Emeſa*, ſhe took her two grandſons with her, *Avitus* being then thirteen years old, and *Alexianus* only nine, and cauſed them both to be conſecrated prieſts, the chief deity of the inhabitants of *Emeſa*, who had erected a ſtately temple to him, under the name of *Elagabalus*.

He diſoblieges the ſoldiers by his exceſſive ſeverity.

Eleagabalus. *Baſſianus*, the eldeſt of the two, was appointed pontiff of that deity, and thence called *Eleagabalus*, or, as he is commonly ſtyled by hiſtorians, *Heliogabalus* [i]; for his name has occaſioned great diſputes among the learned. As the temple of the ſun was but at a ſmall diſtance from *Macrinus*'s camp, the *Roman* ſoldiers, coming frequently to viſit the deity of the place, were mightily taken with the comelineſs of the young pontiff, who, in his perſon, was tall and genteel, well-ſhaped, and had ſomething in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleaſing. *Mæſa*, obſerving her grandſon thus admired by the ſoldiery, reſolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that *Heliogabalus* was the ſon of *Caracalla*; that ſhe poſſeſſed immenſe treaſures, and would willingly inrich with them ſuch as ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the deceaſed emperor's ſon. The ſoldiers, who were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Emeſa*, believing *Heliogabalus* to be truly the ſon of *Caracalla*, and allured by the mighty promiſes of *Mæſa*, invited her with her grandſon to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabalus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and inveſted him with all the enſigns of ſovereignty [k]. *Macrinus*, who was then at *Antioch*, when informed of this revolt, inſtead of marching in perſon to quaſh it at once, as he might have eaſily done, contented himſelf with ſending *Ulpius Julianus*, one of the captains of the guards, with ſome troops, againſt them. *Julianus* attacked their camp with great reſolution, and might have made himſelf maſter of it the very firſt day, the ſoldiers under his command being moſtly *Moors*, and conſequently greatly attached to *Macrinus* their countryman; but *Julianus* checking their ardour, and putting off the aſſault to the next day, in hopes they would in the mean time ſubmit of their own accord, the beſieged raiſed new works during the night, ſuſtained the aſſault the next morning with great reſolution, and by ſhewing *Heliogabalus* on the ramparts, and with him the treaſures they had received from *Mæſa*, induced the *Romans* who were with *Julianus*, and highly diſſatisfied with *Macrinus*, to murder their own officers and join them. *Julianus* betook himſelf to flight, and lay for ſome time concealed; but being at length diſcovered, one of the ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and ſealed with *Julianus*'s own ſeal, pretending it to be the head of *Heliogabalus*; and made

Heliogabalus is by ſome proclaimed emperor.

Julianus, ſent againſt him is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.

[i] HEROD l. v. p. 562. DIO in excerpt Val p. 111. MARC. vit p 96. [k] DIO. p. 902. HEROD. p. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

his

his eſcape while the emperor was unfolding it. *Macrinus*, perceiving whoſe head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, haſtened to the camp of the *Albanians*; that is, of the ſoldiers who had their fixed quarters at *Alba*, and were then incamped in the neighbourhood of *Apamea*; acquainted them in a very injudicious ſpeech with the revolt of the troops near *Emeſa*; declared *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexianus*, both their mothers, and their grandmother *Mæſa*, public enemies; and proclaimed his ſon *Diadumenus Auguſtus*, and his partner in the empire, promiſing on that occaſion to each ſoldier five thouſand drachmas, and paying them of that ſum one thouſand on the ſpot. At the ſame time, he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops and the promotion of his ſon, and injoining them to promiſe to the people in his name one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The ſenate, by whom *Macrinus* was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of *Auguſtus* to his ſon, and declared *Heliogabalus* a public enemy. From *Apamea* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, inſtead of marching without loſs of time againſt the rebels at *Emeſa*; which city was but at a ſmall diſtance. He was ſcarce gone, when the *Albanians*, and the other troops incamped in that neighbourhood, declared for *Heliogabalus*, who thereupon marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, to attack *Macrinus*, before he had time to aſſemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the troops of *Heliogabalus*, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by *Mæſa*, *Soæmis*, the mother of *Heliogabalus*, and by *Heliogabalus* himſelf, who ſignalized his valour on that occaſion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, *Macrinus*'s men would have gained the day, according to *Dion Caſſius*, had they not been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himſelf to flight, when he ſaw the troops of *Heliogabalus* return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till *Heliogabalus* aſſured them upon his oath, that they ſhould not be diſcharged, but ſhould enjoy under him all the privileges and exemptions which had been granted them by other emperors; then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done [1]. *Macrinus* retired to *Antioch*, and there giving out that he had

Moſt of the troops revolt.

Macrinus abandons his men in an engagement, who join Heliogabalus.

[1] Dio. p. 889. Herod. l. v. p. 565.

gained

gained a complete victory, ordered his ſon to ſhelter himſelf in the country of the *Parthians*; and, before the news of his defeat was publicly known, fled himſelf in diſguiſe, taking with him letters for thoſe who had care of the poſts, as if he had been ſent by the emperor upon ſome important affair that required diſpatch. Thus he croſſed undiſcovered the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*. To avoid *Nicomedia*, he imbarqued at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called *Eribolus*, with a deſign to go by ſea to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to croſs over to *Byzantium*; but being driven back by a contrary wind to *Chalcedon*, when he was upon the point of landing at *Byzantium*, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and diſcovered by thoſe whom *Heliogabalus* had ſent to purſue him. The ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to *Heliogabalus*; but he having thrown himſelf out of it, when he was informed that his ſon too had been taken, and by the fall broken his ſhoulder-bone, the ſoldiers put an end to his pain and his life, by cutting off his head; which they carried to *Heliogabalus*; who ordered it to be expoſed on the point of a ſpear to puiblic view [m]. Such was the end of *Macrinus* in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the ſeventh of *June* of the year 218. His ſon *Diadumenus* was publicly executed by the new emperor's orders, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a ſpear. We are told, that ſome of the ſoldiers, conſidering his youth (for he was but ten years old), were for ſaving him; but the letters, which he was ſuppoſed to have written againſt *Aribanus* and his accomplices, being produced, they conſented to his death. *Baſilianus*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Marius Secundus*, governor of *Phœnicia* (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor), refuſed to acknowledge *Heliogabalus*, even after the death of *Macrinus*; which occaſioned ſeveral ſeditions in thoſe countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and ſoldiery were killed, and among the reſt *Secundus* himſelf. *Baſilianus* fled to *Italy*, and lay ſome time concealed in the neighbourhood of *Brundiſium*; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for ſome relief, and by *Heliogabalus*'s orders executed at *Nicomedia*, where that prince paſſed the firſt winter after his acceſſion to the empire [n].

Both he and his ſon Diadumenus *put to death.*

[m] DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 889. HEROD. ibid p. 566. Macr. vit. p. 96. [n] DIO. p 905. Heliog. vit. p. 102.

Heliogabalus

Heliogabalus, immediately after the defeat and flight of *Macrinus*, entered *Antioch*, and from thence wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the defeat of *Macrinus*, and his acceſſion to the empire, and promiſing to conform in every thing to the excellent inſtitutions of *Auguſtus* and *M. Aurelius*, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the ſenate, whoſe authority ſhould be ever ſacred to him. However, as he ſtyled himſelf *Auguſtus* the ſon of *Antoninus*, that is, of *Caracalla*, and the grandſon of *Severus*, and likewiſe aſſumed the proconſular and tribunitial power, and the titles of *Happy* and *Pious*, before they had been conferred upon him by the ſenate, his letter occaſioned a general conſternation in the city; nevertheleſs they confirmed to him all the titles he had aſſumed; declared *Macrinus*, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy, and honoured both *Mæſa* and *Soæmis* with the title of *Auguſtæ*. Thus was *Varius Avitus Baſſianus*, commonly known in hiſtory by the name of *Heliogabalus*, raiſed to the empire. He was the moſt profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal, tyrant that ever diſgraced a diadem. His grandmother *Mæſa*, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite aſhamed of his ſcandalous and unaccountable conduct, ſtrove to the utmoſt of her power to keep him within ſome bounds; but he, utterly deſpiſing her, only hearkened to the wicked counſels of his mother *Soæmis*, and of ſuch as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly ſaid to have exceeded *Nero* himſelf in cruelty, *Caligula* in prodigality, and the moſt abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that ſhort time married ſix wives. His firſt wife was *Julia Cornelia Paula*, a lady of an unblameable character, and ſprung from two of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*; but ſoon after divorced her, and ſtripped her of the title of *Auguſta*, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married *Julia Aquilia Severa*, a veſtal virgin, which was accounted by the *Romans* an enormous crime; but ſoon put her away to marry *Annia Fauſtina*, the granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, though already married to *Pomponius Baſſus*, whom he cauſed to be murdered. *Fauſtina*, and three others, whoſe names are unknown, were in a ſhort time obliged to give room to *Aquilia Severa* the veſtal, whom he admitted anew to his bed, ſaying, That he hoped, as ſhe was a prieſteſs and he a prieſt, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods.

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor by the ſenate.

His character.

His wives.

gods [o]. But his frequent marriages and divorces did not give ſo much offence as his ſcandalous lewdneſs and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with ſuch numbers of proſtitutes, for the conveniency, he ſaid, of his friends and favourites, that it ſeemed a city, ſays *Herodian*, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he paſſed the greateſt part of his time, abandoning himſelf to the moſt ſcandalous and unnatural practices. He often aſſembled them in one of the halls of the palace, appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air of a proſtitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aſide all modeſty, ſhake off all reſtraints, and make it their whole ſtudy to find out new methods of ſatisfying their luſtful appetites. In his ſpeeches he addreſſed them with the title of *commilitones*, *fellow ſoldiers*; and truly they were the only ſoldiers worthy of ſuch a general. After ſome time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himſelf of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married firſt to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers, and afterwards to *Hierocles*, a ſlave. He was not aſhamed to ſatisfy his moſt infamous and unnatural luſts in public, in the face of the ſun and the whole *Roman* people, putting thereby out of countenance even the moſt profligate amongſt his debauched companions. But to dwell on ſuch abominable ſcenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and only worthy of ſuch a biographer as *Ælius Lampridius*, who ſeems to take particular delight in deſcribing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monſter. His prodigality was as boundleſs as his luſt; for in the ſhort time of his reign he is ſaid to have reduced almoſt to beggary all the ſubjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He ſuffered nothing to appear at his table but what was brought from the moſt diſtant countries at an immenſe charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furniſhed with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber and the place where his chariot waited for him was ſtrewed with gold-duſt; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the ground like other man. All his tables, cheſts, chairs, and ſuch veſſels as were deſtined for the meaneſt uſes, were of pure gold. Though his cloaths were exceeding coſtly, and ſet with jewels and precious ſtones, yet he is ſaid never to have worn one of them twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once

His wedlings ſtrange lewdneſs.

His prodigality.

[o] Dio l. lxxix. p. 911. Herod p. 563.

uſed. He was conſtantly ſerved in gold plate; but every night after ſupper diſtributed among his gueſts and attendants what had been made uſe of that day. He often diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery, not corn only and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and ſilver plate, jewels, precious ſtones, and tickets intitling them to immenſe ſums, which were immediately paid. He cauſed his fiſh-ponds to be filled with water diſtilled from roſes, and the *naumachia*, where ſea-fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries where he walked, were daily ſtrewed with roſes, lillies, and all ſorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, his favourite diſhes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheaſants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geeſe, his horſes with raiſins, and his lions and other wild beaſts with partridges and pheaſants. In ſhort, the whole wealth of the *Roman* empire was ſcarce ſufficient, ſays *Herodian*, to ſupply the extravagance of one man [p]. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to *Lampridius*, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our hiſtory.

Cauſes ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be murdered.

To give ſome account of this ſtrange reign, according to the order of time; *Heliogabalus*, before he left *Syria*, commanded ſeveral perſons, both in the eaſt and at *Rome*, to be put to death; and among the reſt, *Julianus Neſtor*, captain of the guards under *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, governor of *Syria*; *Reanus*, governor of *Arabia*; *Claudius Attalus*, who had governed *Thrace* in the year 194, and was then governor of *Cyprus*; and *Decius Triccianus*, who commanded in *Pannonia* [q]. From *Syria*, the new emperor marched to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where he paſſed the winter, and gave many freſh inſtances of his cruel and inhuman temper, cauſing, beſides many others, one *Gannys* to be murdered, for adviſing him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a *Roman* emperor. *Gannys* was one of *Maſa*'s domeſtics, but favoured to ſuch a degree by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his fidelity, and the zeal he had ſhewn in his cauſe, that he deſigned to marry his mother to him, and declare him *Cæſar*. However, his finding fault with his vices provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the ſpot, and gave him with his own hand the firſt blow [r]. In the beginning of the following year, *Helio-*

[p] Herod. p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102. [q] Dio. l. lxxix. p. 894. [r] Idem, in excerpt. Val. p. 761, 762.

gabalus

gabalus entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his colleague one *Sacerdos*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. Early in the ſpring, the new emperor ſet out for *Rome*; where he was received both by the people and ſenate, with great demonſtrations of joy, though no one doubted but he would prove a ſecond *Nero* or *Caligula*. The next day he went to the ſenate; and taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the conſuls, ordered her name to be ſet down among thoſe of the other ſenators, and appointed that ſhe ſhould vote as the reſt, and be conſulted in all matters of importance. For his mother *Soæmis* he inſtituted a ſenate, conſiſting only of women, and declared her their head or preſident. The ſubject of their conſultations, debates, and decrees, were the dreſs and apparel of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks and dignities, their viſits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature [r]. The emperor himſelf was not employed in affairs of greater moment, being wholly taken up in eſtabliſhing at *Rome* the worſhip of his god *Heliogabalus*, or, as he is ſtyled on the medals of this prince, *Eleagabalus*. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worſhipped him with ceremonies never before practiſed at *Rome*, preferred him to *Jupiter* himſelf, and to all the other gods of the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, were but the ſervants of his god; and declared, that he would ſuffer no other god to be adored, at *Rome* or elſewhere, but *Eleagabalus*. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, ſtripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of *Veſta*, the ſtatue of *Cybele*, the bucklers of *Mars*, the palladium brought from *Troy*, as was ſuppoſed by *Æneas*, and whatever elſe was looked upon by the *Romans* as moſt ſacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddeſs *Cæleſtis* to be brought to *Rome*, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to *Eleagabalus*, and cauſed the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity [s]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abſtained from hogs-fleſh, and cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed [t]; and *Herodian*, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the ſummer. The ſame author adds, that beſides many other victims, he ſacrificed children to him, moſtly ſprung from illuſtrious families, and privately ſnatched up by the miniſters of his cru-

He ranks his grandmother among the ſenators, and inſtitutes a ſenate of women.

Eſtabliſhes the worſhip of his god Eleagabalus.

[r] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 105, 106. [s] Heliog. vit p 102, 103, Herod. l. v. p. 568. Dio. l. lxxix. p. 912. [t] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 762.

elty, diſperſed all over *Italy* for that purpoſe [w]. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that he cauſed ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and among the reſt, *Seius Carus*, *Valerianus Pætus*, *Silius Meſſala*, and *Pomponius Baſſus*, all ſenators of great diſtinction, for no other crime, but becauſe he believed they diſliked his conduct [x].

THE following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Eutychianus*, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was ſurnamed *Comazon*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, ſignifies *waggiſh*, or *gay*. He had greatly contributed to the riſe of *Heliogabalus*; for at his inſtigation the troops near *Emeſa* had declared for him: on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the conſular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the conſular dignity; and when his conſulſhip expired, appointed him governor of *Rome* [y]. The next year, when *Gratus Sabinianus* and *Seleucus* were conſuls, *Maeſa*, foreſeeing that the *Romans* could not long bear with ſuch a prince as *Heliogabalus*, pre-

Alexianus adopted and created Ceſar.

vailed upon him to adopt his couſin *Alexianus*, and declare him *Cæſar*, though at that time only twelve, or, at moſt, thirteen, years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince on that occaſion took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*, the former from the king of *Macedon*, and the latter from the emperor, his ſuppoſed grandfather [z]. *Heliogabalus* treated him at firſt in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courſes; but finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and ſoldiery than himſelf, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to thoſe who were truſted with the care of his education, to diſpatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumſpection of *Mamæa*, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother *Maeſa*, who betrayed all the emperor's ſecrets, *Heliogabalus*, tranſported with rage, ordered the ſenate to degrade *Alexianus* from the dignity of *Cæſar*, and annul the late adoption. At the ſame time he diſpatched aſſaſſins to murder him; and retiring to an old palace on mount *Eſquiline*, waited there till news was brought him of his death. But, in the mean time, the prætorian guards, apprized of the danger that threatened the

Heliogabalus repents his adopting him, and attempts to deſtroy him.

[w] HERON ibid Heliog vit. p. 103. [x] Dio. p 908, 909. [y] Dio. p. 888. [z] HERON. l. v. p. 570. Dio. l. lxxix. p. 914.

young

young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himſelf to death, had he not ſoftened them with mighty promiſes, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and ſuch as were deemed enemies to *Alexander*; and ſolemnly declared, that he deſigned for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redreſs all the grievances, of which, he ſaid, they had but too much reaſon to complain [a]. The next year he took upon him his third conſulſhip; and pretending to be reconciled to *Alexander*, choſe him for his collegue; but being determined at all events, notwithſtanding his late proteſtations, to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a rival, in the firſt place he ordered all the ſenators to quit the city, leſt they ſhould thwart his deſigns; and then cauſing *Alexander* to be ſhut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a ſudden taken ill, and almoſt paſt recovery. This report he ſpread abroad on purpoſe to diſcover the diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, who no ſooner heard it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to ſee *Alexander*. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himſelf conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, while no one took the leaſt notice of *Heliogabalus*; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he ordered thoſe, who had applauded *Alexander*, to be puniſhed as traitors. But the reſt, reſcuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which ſo terrified him, that he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, thoſe who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to diſperſe the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel enſued between the partizans of the two princes, in which thoſe who favoured *Heliogabalus* were ſoon defeated and cut in pieces, with *Hierocles*, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the miniſters who attended him. The emperor himſelf withdrew, during the conteſt, into the moſt filthy place of the camp, and conſequently the moſt worthy of him; where he was ſoon diſcovered, and murdered by the enraged ſoldiery, together with his mother *Soæmis*, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were ſtruck off; and after their bodies had been ignominiouſly dragged through the city, and moſt outrageouſly inſulted by the populace, that of *Heliogabalus* was, with a great weight faſtened to it, thrown from the *Æmilian* bridge into the *Tiber* [b]. Such was the deſerved end of *Helio-*

The ſoldiers mutiny.

Heliogabalus *and his mother* Soæmis *murdered.*

[a] DIO. p. 915. HERON. ibid Heliogab. vit p 106. [b] HERODOT. p. 573. Heliog. vit. p. 106.

gabalus

gabalus, the moſt wicked and moſt debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the ſeventh of *June*, of the year 218, on which day he defeated *Macrinus*, to the eleventh of *March* of the year 222, when he met with his deſerved doom. The ſenate cauſed the name of *Antoninus*, which he had aſſumed and diſgraced with his lewd life, to be eraſed out of the public regiſters and all inſcriptions; and paſſed a decree, excluding for ever women from the ſenate, and loading with curſes ſuch as ſhould for the future attempt to tranſgreſs it [c].

Alexander declared emperor.

Upon the death of *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiery, and conducted from the camp to the ſenate; where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *father of his country*, and all the other marks of diſtinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the ſame time they offered him the name of *Antoninus*, and the ſurname of *Great*; but he modeſtly declined them both. He was the ſon of *Julia Mamæa*, or *Mammæa*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of *Geneſius Marcianus* a *Syrian*. He was a native of the city of *Arca* in *Phœnicia*, and born there, according to *Lampridius* [d], in a temple conſecrated to *Alexander the Great*; whence, upon his being adopted by *Heliogabalus*, he took the name of *Alexander*. His former name was *Baſſianus*, according to *Dion Caſſius*; but according to *Herodian*, *Alexianus*, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care; for *Julia Mamæa* is thought by many writers of great note to have been inſtructed in the truths of the goſpel, and to have embraced the chriſtian religion [e]: at leaſt, *Euſebius* ſtyles her a very pious and religious woman [f]; epithets which we can hardly perſuade ourſelves a chriſtian biſhop would have beſtowed upon a pagan. While ſhe was at *Antioch*, in the year 218, hearing *Origen* greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, ſhe ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him, ſent for him from *Alexandria*, received him with great joy, and kept him ſome time with her [g]. It is not improbable, that ſhe was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it. Be that as it will, ſhe brought up her ſon with extraordinary care, employing only ſuch perſons to inſtruct

His birth and education.

His mother Julia Mamæa.

[c] Heliog. vit p. 107. [d] Vit. Alex p. 114. [e] Vide Oros. l. vii. c. 18. Cedren. t. i p. 256. Aurelian. p. 80. Vinc. Lerin. c. 23. [f] Euseb. l. vi. c. 21. [g] Idem ibid.

him

him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning and allowing no one, to come near him, whom ſhe ſuſpected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himſelf from his infancy to the ſtudy of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and was as well verſed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not ſo great, as appeared from his ſpeeches to the ſenate, to the ſoldiery, and to the people [h]: neither did he admire the *Latin* eloquence ſo much as the *Greek*. He was well ſkilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, beſides, in the arts of painting, ſinging, playing upon inſtruments, *&c.* From his infancy he gave innumerable inſtances of a moſt mild, humane, and generous temper; ſhewed an utter averſion to bloodſhed and all manner of cruelty; and made it his chief ſtudy to pleaſe and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domeſtics. As he paid an intire deference to his mother *Mamæa* and grandmother *Moſa*, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he choſe, as ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, ſixteen ſenators for his council, all men of known probity, and long verſed in public affairs, tranſacting nothing without their advice, and conſtantly conforming to it. Among theſe were, *Fabius Sabinus*, generally ſtyled the *Cato* of his time; *Domitius Ulpianus* and *Julius Paulus*, two celebrated civilians; *Antonius Gordianus*, afterwards emperor; *Catilius Severus*, *Alexander*'s kinſman, and one of the moſt learned perſons of his age; *Flius Sereianus*, a man of extraordinary integrity; and *Quintilius Marcellus*, a great admirer of the cuſtoms and manners of the antient *Romans* [i]. The deference he paid to his mother was ſo great, that *Herodian* reckons it among his faults; for though he was himſelf a man of extraordinary talents, of ſuch diſcernment and penetration, ſays *Lampridius*, that no one ever deceived him, yet he conſtantly preferred her opinion to his own [k]. He gave her name to ſeveral buildings, which they ſtill retained in the end of the fourth century [l]; and cauſed her to be honoured with the titles of *Auguſta*, or *mother of her country, of the armies*, and *of the ſenate*, which had been formerly conferred on *Julia*, the wife of *Severus* [m]. As *Mamæa* profeſſed, in all likelihood, the chriſtian religion, no wonder that *Alexander* ſhewed great favour to the chriſtians, and would not ſuffer them to be any-ways moleſted on account of their religion. *Lampridius* tells us, that his court was filled

His counſellors.

[h] Alex. Vit. p. 115. [i] Alex vit. p 241. [k] HERON l. vi. p 575. [l] AMMIAN. l. xxviii p. 372. [m] SPON p 101.

Alexander

with

with chriſtians [n]; and *Lampridius*, that in his private oratory he worſhipped *Chriſt* and *Abraham*, and would have cauſed temples to be erected to the founder of the chriſtian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the anſwers of the oracles, adviſing him, that if he ever ſuffered *Chriſt* to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be ſoon abandoned, and the gods neglected [o]. He ſeems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the chriſtian religion; for he had conſtantly in his mouth that golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*; cauſed it to be ſet up over the gates of his palace, and on ſeveral public edifices, and obſerved it himſelf, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greateſt exactneſs [p]. For he made it his chief ſtudy to oblige all men, and is ſaid never to have wronged any. During the firſt year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuſes, which had prevailed in the court under his predeceſſor. With this view he baniſhed all the freedmen, ſlaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any ſway in the late reign; and choſe in their rooms perſons of blameleſs characters, and known integrity. Having by this means reformed the court, he made a ſtrict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, eſpecially of the governors of provinces, and diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had been employed by *Heliogabalus*. Such of them, as had oppreſſed the people committed to their care, were baniſhed; and the reſt reduced to their former condition, as perſons altogether unfit for any public office [q]. The next year, when *L. Marius Maximus* and *L. Roſcius Ælianus* were conſuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married *Sulpicia Memmia*, the daughter of *Sulpicius* a conſular, and granddaughter of *Catulus*. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either at *Rome*, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the firſt of which *Julianus* and *Criſpinus* were conſuls, and in the ſecond *Fuſcus* and *Dexter*. But the fourth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and during his ſecond conſulſhip, in which he had *Quintilius Marcellus* for his collegue, *Artaxerxes* having utterly ruined the *Parthian*, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian*, empire, of which great revolution we have ſpoken elſewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover *Meſopotamia* and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the *Perſian* empire.

Diſcharges the miniſters of the late emperor.

The Perſian *empire re eſtabliſhed.*

[n] Euseb. l. vi. c. 28. [o] Alex. vit. p. 124, 139. [p] Idem p. 132. [q] Idem ibid.

pire. His approach occaſioned great conſternation in *Syria*; and many of the *Romans* quartered in *Meſopotamia*, abandoning the caſtles which they gariſoned, liſted in his army; ſo that he might with great eaſe have over-run, not only *Meſopotamia*, but likewiſe *Syria*, had he not attacked on his march the city of *Atra*, before which place he loſt ſuch numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the preſent his expedition againſt the *Romans*, he thought it adviſeable to march back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of *Media*, and made ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon *Armenia* [r]. The next conſuls were *Albinus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity: but the following conſulſhip of *Modeſtus* and *Probus* was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian *Domitius Ulpianus*, who being appointed by *Alexander* captain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh among them the ancient diſcipline, provoked their hatred to ſuch a degree, that, after having in vain ſolicited *Alexander* to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's preſence. The chief authors of his death were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, and the moſt factious among the guards ignominiouſly diſcharged. In the room of *Ulpian*, the emperor choſe one *Decimus*, and *Julius Paulus*, a native of *Padua*, who had been baniſhed by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well ſkilled in the laws as *Ulpian* [s]. This year ſeveral tumults happened at *Rome* and in the provinces. The troops, quartered in *Meſopotamia* revolted, murdered their general *Flavius Heracleo*, and went in great numbers over to the *Perſians* [t]. The troops in *Syria* proclaimed one *Taurinus* emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon him againſt his will, made his eſcape; and being purſued by the mutinous ſoldiery, threw himſelf into the *Euphrates*, and was drowned [u]. *Zoſimus* and *Syncellus* ſpeak of one *Uranus*, who, having uſurped the empire at *Edeſſa* in *Oſrhoene*, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to *Alexander*. At *Rome* the prætorian guards attempted to raiſe one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city [w]. But *Ovinius Camillus*, a ſenator, ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, ſtudying to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, in order to raiſe

The death of Ulpian.

The ſoldiers mutiny in ſeveral provinces.

[r] Dio. l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. Val. p. 769. HEROD. l. vi. p. 176. [s] Vit. Alex. p. 122 [t] Dio. l. lxxx. p. 917, 918. [u] Idem ibid. [w] SYNCELL. p. 357. Zos. p. 639.

Ovinius Camillus *aſpiring at the empire, how treated by* Alexander.

himſelf, by their means, to the empire, *Alexander* was no ſooner informed of his private practices, than he ſent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him ſo great a burden, ſtyled him his collegue, took him with him to the ſenate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, cauſed him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every reſpect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's preſence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; but he declining it, the emperor deſired he would at leaſt ſhare with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both ſet out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not enured to a military life, being tired, after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would purſue his journey on horſeback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved ſo great a mortification to *Camillus*, that he begged leave to reſign the empire, and return home; which *Alexander* readily granted, aſſuring him before they parted, that he might live in ſafety where he pleaſed. *Camillus* retired to his country-ſeat, and there lived unmoleſted, during the reign of *Alexander*; but was put to death by ſome of his ſucceſſors, for what crime we are no-where told[x]. The expedition which *Alexander* is ſaid to have undertaken this year, was probably againſt the *Germans*; for it appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the ſeventh of the emperor's reign[y]; and *Lampridius* tells us, that the *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus*, governor of *Illyricum*[z]. The ſame year, *Furius Celſus* ſignalized himſelf in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Junius Palmatus* in *Armenia*, and were both rewarded with the conſular ornaments[a].

The following year, *Alexander* entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Dion Caſſius*, the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue. *Dion* was in the beginning of this reign in *Aſia*; whence he paſſed into *Bithynia*, his native country, with a deſign to ſtay ſome time there with his friends and relations; but he was ſoon ſent into *Africa*, to govern that province, with the character of proconſul. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was appointed governor of *Illyricum*, and from thence removed into *Upper Pannonia*, where he revived the ancient military diſ-

[x] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Caſaub. p. 172. & Salmas. p. 230. [y] Birag. p. 323. [z] Vit. Alex, p. 134. [a] Idem ibid.

cipline

cipline among the troops, puniſhing the leaſt neglect of duty with the utmoſt ſeverity; inſomuch, that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigour, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no ſooner ſaw him appear in *Rome*, than they began to mutiny, and preſs the emperor to put him to death. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjuſt demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his collegue in the conſulſhip: however, fearing the ſoldiers might offer him ſome inſult, if he appeared in *Rome* with the enſigns of the conſular dignity, he adviſed him to retire from the city, and paſs the time of his conſulſhip in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after he obtained leave to withraw into his own country, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement [b]. It will not be foreign to our purpoſe to inſert here the account which that writer gives us of the ſtate of the *Roman* legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of *Auguſtus* twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other ſix having been either diſbanded, or incorporated into ſome of thoſe that ſtill remained. On the other hand, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Veſpaſian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Severus*, raiſed thirteen new ones; ſo that the legions at this time were in all thirty-two. Of theſe, three were quartered in *Britain*, one in *Upper*, and two in *Lower*, *Germany*, one in *Italy*, one in *Spain*, one in *Numidia*, one in *Arabia*, two in *Paleſtine*, one in *Phœnicia*, two in *Syria*, two in *Meſopotamia*, two in *Cappadocia*, two in *Lower*, and one in *Upper*, *Mœſia*, one in *Noricum*, and one in *Rhætia* [c]. Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but *Lampridius* ſeems to inſinuate, that each legion conſiſted of five thouſand men [d]. From this diſtribution of the legions it appears, that the *Romans* at this time looked upon the *Caledonians*, the *Parthians*, or rather *Perſians*, and the nations beyond the *Danube*, as their moſt formidable enemies, and were not ſo apprehenſive of any invaſion on the ſide of *Germany*, as they had been in former times; for now there were but three legions in that country, whereas in the reigns of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, the banks of the *Rhine* had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main ſtrength of the empire [e]. This year *Alexander*, who did not ſpare his greateſt friends, when manifeſtly convicted of abuſing the

Dion Caſſius *hated by the ſoldiery on account of his ſeverity.*

The number of the Roman *legions.*

[b] Dio. l. lxxx. p. 918. [c] Dio. l. lv. p. 564. [d] Alex. vit. p. 131. [e] Tacit. annal. iv. c. 5.

confidence he repoſed in them, cauſed *Vetronius Turinus*, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature. The emperor had a particular eſteem and kindneſs for *Turinus*, and often conſulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greateſt importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor ſeemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier reſolved to turn to his own advantage, and accordingly gave out, that *Alexander* tranſacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an abſolute ſway over him; and that it was in his power to raiſe whom he pleaſed to the firſt employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immenſe wealth in a ſhort time, all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to *Turinus*, whoſe intereſt was not to be gained without rich preſents. He often did not ſo much as mention to the emperor the perſons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheleſs, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he aſſumed the whole merit of it to himſelf, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgment, which in thoſe days was called *ſelling ſmoke*. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to ſuſpect his favourite of ſuch practices; and therefore a perſon, in whom he could confide, ſoliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his requeſt, provided he privately addreſſed *Turinus*, as if he wanted his recommendation. *Turinus*, glad of this opportunity, promiſed to employ all his intereſt in his behalf, and ſoon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was ſure, would grant him the deſired favour the very firſt time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very ſoon. He added, that he deſerved to be rewarded for his trouble; and the petitioner referring that to his diſcretion, he not only exacted a large ſum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promiſe, in the preſence of witneſſes, a far more conſiderable one, to be paid as ſoon as he obtained his requeſt. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the favour; which *Turinus* no ſooner knew, than he obliged his client, tho' he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word and pay the promiſed ſum, pretending, that by his means alone he had obtained what he deſired. Hereupon *Alexander* cauſed a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large ſums, not only from thoſe who had obtained any preferment, but from ſuch too as had had law-ſuits, and often from both parties; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he accuſed him to the ſenate, who ſentenced him

Vetronius Turinus abuſes the confidence placed in him by the emperor.

him to death; and the ſentence was put in execution in the following manner: The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and ſuffocated with the ſmoke of green wood and wet ſtubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time proclaiming, *He who ſold ſmoke, dies with ſmoke* f. The following year, *L. Virius Agricola* and *Sex. Catius Clementinus* being conſuls, the emperor retired into *Campania*, and there ſpent this and the following year, when *Pompeianus* and *Pelignianus* were conſuls g. The next conſuls were *Lupus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration, *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. Hereupon *Alexander*, following the advice of his council, diſpatched embaſſadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eaſtern nations by *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his late ſucceſſes, deſpiſed the remonſtrances of *Alexander*, and purſued his ravages in *Meſopotamia*, laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, and entering *Cappadocia*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Hereupon the emperor reſolved to march againſt him in perſon; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the ſenate and people, left *Rome* in the ſpring of this year 232, the eleventh of his reign; and bending his march through *Illyricum*, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn; whence he ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Artaxerxes*, hoping that his preſence would add ſome weight to the reaſons he had formerly alledged. But the haughty *Perſian*, deriding the peaceable temper of the *Roman* emperor, choſe four hundred of the talleſt men in his army, and ſent them, well mounted and richly apparalled and armed, in quality of embaſſadors, to acquaint the *Romans* and their emperor, that the great monarch *Artaxerxes* ordered them to retire forthwith from *Syria* and *Aſia*, and all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Ægean* ſea, which had formerly belonged to the *Perſians*. *Alexander* heard their meſſage with great temper, and then cauſed the embaſſadors to be ſtript of their rich armour and apparel, and ſent under a guard into *Phrygia*, where he allotted them houſes and lands to culti-

How puniſhed by the emperor.

Artaxerxes invades the Roman *dominions.*

Alexander *haſtens to* Antioch.

Haughty embaſſy of the Perſian *monarch.*

f Alex. vit. p. 124, 125. g NORIS. epiſt. conſul. p. 146. BIRAG. p. 313.

vate

vate [h]. After this, he began to prepare for war in good earneſt, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the eaſt to join him with all poſſible expedition, cauſed a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and diſpatched officers into all parts to raiſe new levies. In imitation of *Alexander the Great*, whoſe name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed ſome companies of foot with ſhields covered with gold and ſilver, and formed ſix legions into a body of thirty thouſand men, which he called his *phalanx*. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, during the war, in a very eminent manner, and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their ſervices with double pay [i]. *Lampridius* tells us, that the emperor being informed, ſoon after his arrival at *Antioch*, that ſome of his ſoldiers were gone to *Daphne*, and there bathed with the lewd women of that diſſolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arreſted and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, *Alexander* went out to them, and, without betraying the leaſt fear, told them, that as the ancient diſcipline was the main and only ſupport of the empire, he was reſolved to maintain it at all events, and puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, nay, with death, thoſe diſorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At theſe words, the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but *Alexander*, with an air of authority, *Silence*, ſaid he, *I command ſilence; keep theſe clamours to terrify the* Perſians, *the* Sarmatians, *and the* Germans: *you have learnt of thoſe, who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that ſavage noiſe, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloaths, and pays, you. Forbear therefore theſe unſeaſonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, leſt I diſband you all, or inflict upon you a more ſevere puniſhment.* Hereupon the uproar increaſing, and ſome of the boldeſt even menacing him with their ſwords; *Reſerve your menaces*, ſaid he, *for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who deſpiſe your impotent rage: ſhould you murder me, the republic will not be at a loſs to find me a ſucceſſor, who will puniſh you according to your deſerts.* As the mutiny ſtill continued, he cried out with a loud voice, *I diſband you all; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone.* With theſe words the whole legion was thunderſtruck; they obeyed, quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments, and retired in ſilence, while the emperor's guards took up their ſtandards, and carried them, together with the arms

Alexander prepares for war.

A legion mutinies.

The intrepidity of Alexander.

[h] Herod. l. vi. p. 579. [i] Alex. vit. p. 131.

of

of the diſbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor ſet out againſt the *Perſians*, he reſtored them, upon the interceſſion of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to their former rank, after having puniſhed with death their tribunes, for having ſuffered the ſoldiers under their command to tranſgreſs with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to ſuppreſs the tumult [k]. This legion ſignalized themſelves above the reſt in the *Perſian* war, and ſhewed more concern for the death of *Alexander* than any other [l].

Marches againſt the Perſians.

AT length *Alexander* took the field at the head of a numerous army, obſerving in all his marches and motions ſuch order and diſcipline, that his camp ſeemed a well governed city, his ſoldiers citizens, and his officers ſo many ſenators [m]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſuch as offered the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched. One of his ſoldiers having injured an old woman, he not only diſbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her ſlave, with his labour, ſo long as ſhe lived. Others he puniſhed for very ſmall offences with death, cauſing the public crier to repeat during the execution, *Do as you would be done by*. It was death for any officer of what rank ſoever, to detain the leaſt part of his ſoldiers pay or allowances. But notwithſtanding his great ſeverity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and ſoldiers, as no one ever rewarded them with more generoſity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when ſick or wounded; or ſupplied them on all occaſions more plentifully with proviſions. He kept conſtantly in his cabinet certain regiſters, in which were marked the names of all the officers and ſoldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their ſervice, the dates of their commiſſions, the names of the perſons at whoſe recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, *&c.* Theſe regiſters he frequently peruſed, and by that means became acquainted with moſt of the officers and ſoldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their names, and preferred only perſons of merit [n]. When they were ſick, he viſited them in their tents, even the common ſoldiers, ſupplied them with chariots, and ſuffered them to want nothing that could any-ways relieve or comfort them in their ſickneſs. If they were not in a condition to purſue their march, he recommended them to the care of perſons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generoſity for their trouble, whether the ſoldiers

His care of the military diſcipline, and of the ſoldiery.

[k] Vit. *Alex.* p. 133. [l] Idem, p. 136. [m] Idem, p. 130.
[n] Idem, p. 120, 121.

died

died or recovered [o]. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meaneſt in the army againſt their tribunes and other officers, puniſhing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or diſtinction [p]. He frequently diſtributed large ſums among them, aſcribing chiefly to their poverty the diſorders they committed. They were all ſo well clad and armed, ſays *Lampridius*, and the cavalry ſo well mounted, that nothing gave a more true idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire, than the army of *Alexander Severus* [q]. In his marches he cauſed proviſions to be got ready before-hand at the ſeveral places where the army was to encamp; whereas before his time each ſoldier uſed to carry with him ſubſiſtance for ſeventeen days. In the enemy's country where he could not uſe that precaution, he cauſed the neceſſary proviſions to be carried on horſes, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time time rendered his marches ſo quick and expeditious, that he is ſaid in moſt of his wars to have ſurpriſed the enemy [r]. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from the common ſoldiers, and his diet was the ſame with theirs. He conſtantly dined and ſupped in public with his tent open, and in the ſight of the whole army, and viſited, before he withdrew to repoſe, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-eſtabliſhed the antient diſcipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of *Heliogabalus*; and gained, by his firmneſs and intrepidity, ſuch an authority over them, as to diſband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar* [s]. With an army thus diſciplined, the emperor marched early in the ſpring of this year 233, againſt *Artaxerxes*, who, fluſhed with his former ſucceſſes, would hearken to no terms, however reaſonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the *Roman* dominions at the head of an army conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty thouſand horſe, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſeven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers after the *Perſian* manner [t]. Of this war *Herodian* gives us the following account: *Alexander*, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter *Media*, another to march into the country of the *Parthians*, and led himſelf the third,

He is both feared and beloved by the ſoldiery

The ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the Parthians.

[o] Idem, p. 130. [p] Idem, p. 119, 121. [q] Idem, p 132. [r] Idem, p. 134. [s] Idem, p. 117. [t] Idem, p. 133. Herodian. l. vi. p. 580.

which

which conſiſted of the flower of the army, at an equal diſtance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but *Alexander*, either through want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, inſtead of purſuing his march and entering the enemy's country, halted in *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the body which had marched through the country of the *Parthians* were intirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the other obliged to retire, and repaſs in the depth of winter the mountains of *Armenia*, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which *Alexander* commanded was greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the emperor himſelf was ſeized with a dangerous malady, which almoſt brought him to the point of death [u]. Others write, that *Alexander* was betrayed by ſome of his own people, and obliged to ſave himſelf and his army by flight. But moſt hiſtorians aſſure us, that he gained a complete victory over the *Perſians*; and *Lampridius* quotes the very words of *Alexander* to the ſenate on that occaſion. According to him the emperor entered the enemy's country, without ſo much as acquainting before-hand his officers with the rout he intended to take. He was ſoon met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of the moſt numerous army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts; whereupon a battle enſuing, the emperor diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, encouraging the ſoldiers more by his example than by words; expoſed himſelf to the enemies darts and arrows like a common ſoldier; viſited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in ſhort, diſcharged every duty of a valiant ſoldier and experienced commander [w]. The numerous army of *Artaxerxes* was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithſtanding his former victories and conqueſts, to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from *Alexander* himſelf, who, on his return to *Rome*, gave the ſenate an account of this memorable expedition in the following ſpeech: "Conſcript fathers, we have overcome "the *Perſians*, and there is no need of great eloquence to "acquaint you with the particulars of the victory. The "enemy came with ſeven hundred elephants, the greateſt "number ever ſeen together in the field. Theſe carried "towers upon their backs, filled with archers and arrows. "Three hundred of the elephants we took, two hundred "we killed upon the ſpot, and eighteen we have brought

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

[u] HEROD. ibid. [w] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131.

" hither with us. They had eighteen hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, of which we took two hundred. We have cut in pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand men armed cap-a-pé, with whoſe ſpoils we have enriched our troops. We took a great number of priſoners, whom we have ſold. The country of *Meſopotamia*, lying between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which my predeceſſor *Heliogabalus* had neglected, we have reconquered, and brought again under ſubjection. We have put the moſt potent king *Artaxerxes*, as he is ſtyled, to flight; the country of *Perſia* beheld him flying for the firſt time. In the place where the *Romans* formerly loſt their enſigns and ſtandards, the *Perſians* have now loſt theirs. You ſee, conſcript fathers, what we have atchieved; the ſubject needs no eloquence to adorn or ſet it out; the army is returned rich, and loaded with booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint public thankſgivings for ſo ſignal a victory, that we may not ſeem ungrateful to the gods, who have bleſſed our arms with ſuch ſucceſs [x]."

Diſagreement among authors about the ſucceſs of this expedition.

This ſpeech, *Lampridius* aſſures us, he copied out of the journals of the ſenate, and found it word for word, in the works of many hiſtorians; and therefore he cannot conceive how *Herodian* could write, that *Alexander* loſt his army by famine, cold, and ſickneſs; which, he ſays, is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and hiſtories, of thoſe times. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that *Herodian* hated *Alexander*, and therefore gave an unfaithful and detracting account of his *Perſian* expedition [y]. However, he is followed by *Zonaras* [z] and *Cedrenus* [a]. But *Aurelius Victor*, *Feſtus*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, and *Syncellus*, abandon him in this particular, and follow *Lampridius*. All the oriental hiſtorians write, that *Alexander* was utterly defeated, and obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Perſian* all the countries lying between the *Euphrates* and the frontiers of *Paleſtine* [b]. But, after all, *Lampridius* relates ſo many particulars of this victory, and appeals with ſuch confidence to the journals of the ſenate, and the hiſtorians of thoſe time, that we cannot help preferring his authority to that of the oriental hiſtorians, and of *Herodian* himſelf. After this victory *Alexander* returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to purſue the war with freſh vigour the following year; but, in the mean while, being informed, that the *Germans* had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Vit. Maxim. p. 143. [z] Zonar. p. 225.
[a] Cedren. p. 256. [b] Rein. epiſt. xlviii. p. 438.

at

at the ſame time that *Artaxerxes* had diſbanded great part of his army for want of proviſions, he reſolved to quit the eaſt and return to *Rome*, apprehending greater evils from the *Germans*, than from the *Perſians*. Accordingly, having erected ſeveral forts in *Meſopotamia*, and left numerous garriſons to defend them, he ſet out from *Antioch* in the ſpring of the following year, when *Maximus* and *Urbanus* were conſuls; and arriving ſafe at *Rome*, was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horſes, as was uſual, but by four of the elephants which he had taken [c]. When the ceremony was over, he went to the ſenate, where he made the ſpeech we have related above. From the ſenate he repaired to the capitol, and there conſecrated ſome of the *Perſian* ſpoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then turning to the people, *I have overcome the* Perſians, ſaid he, *and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promiſe you a largeſs, and propoſe to exhibit to-morrow the* Circenſian *ſports*. From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the ſenate, the equeſtrian order, and ſuch crouds of people, all crying, Rome *is ſafe, while* Alexander *is ſafe*, that with much-ado he reached the palace in four hours. The next day, he exhibited the *Circenſian* ſports, gave the promiſed largeſs, and, in honour of his mother, eſtabliſhed a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of *Mamæa* [d].

Alexander returns to Rome, and triumphs.

IN the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Germans* and other northern nations had paſſed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpreſſible grief of the ſenate and people, left the city, and haſtened with his victorious army into *Gaul*, to ſtem this furious torrent. We are told, that a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, *You may go; but hope not for victory, nor truſt your own ſoldiers*. The hiſtorian does not inform us whether or no *Alexander* heard and underſtood her; but he aſſures us, that *Alexander* feared neither death, nor the omens that were thought to preſage it, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: A celebrated aſtrologer, by name *Thraſybulus*, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was tranſported with

He leaves Rome to march againſt the Germans.

[c] Alex. vit. p. 135. FEST. p. 553. [d] Vit. Alex. p. 133, 134.

joy, not doubting, but he ſhould die in the field, which, he ſaid, was a death worthy of an emperor, obſerving to the aſtrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming among the reſt *Alexander the great*, *Pompey*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Cicero* [e]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Severus* and *Quinctianus* were conſuls, *Alexander* advanced with his army to the banks of the *Rhine*; but finding the enemy had repaſſed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a deſign to attack them in their own country, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [f]. *Herodian*, who always paints *Alexander* as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he ſent embaſſadors to the *Germans* with propoſals of peace, which he even offered to purchaſe at any rate; and adds, that during the time of this ſhameful negotiation, he diverted himſelf with driving chariots, and ſuch-like unprincely exerciſes; which provoked the ſoldiers, and occaſioned his ruin [g]. But *Lampridius* clears the emperor from theſe ill-natured aſperſions, and aſcribes the diſcontent of the ſoldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in *Gaul*, to their licentiouſneſs, and to the ſeverity of *Alexander*; which they could not endure, after having been, under *Heliogabalus*, long inured to idleneſs and all manner of debauchery. Among theſe troops was one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*; but he unmindful of his duty and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, inſtead of attempting to appeaſe the licentious and diſcontented ſoldiery, fomented under-hand the tumult; and, by his ſeditious ſpeeches, inſpired the multitude with contempt for *Alexander*, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning *Mamæa*, and conſequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigour [h]. The emperor was then either at *Mentz* or *Sicilia*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent village of *Siclingen* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, or that of *Oberlweſel* on the *Rhine*, in the territory of *Treves*, between *Boppart* and *Bingen*. As *Alexander* had but a ſmall body of troops with him, *Maximinus* reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity, and to diſpatch him, not doubting, but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promiſes, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his deſign to ſome of the moſt bold and reſolute among his men, who, animated with the hopes

Who retire at his approach.

The Gauliſh *legions complain of the ſeverity of* Alexander.

They are encouraged by Maximinus.

[e] Idem, p. 135, 136. [f] Idem, p. 137. [g] Herod. l. vi. p. 585, 589. [h] Idem, ibid.

of

of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately ſet out for the place where the emperor then was; which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when thoſe who attended the emperor were withdrawn to refreſh themſelves, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, with a ſhort ſleep after dinner. They no ſooner appeared, than the few ſoldiers who were upon guard betook themſelves to flight, having probably been gained over before-hand by *Maximinus*. *Mamæa*, alarmed at the unexpected noiſe and tumult, ran out attended by the captains of the guards, to appeaſe it; but the aſſaſſins, having firſt murdered both her and them, entered with their drawn ſwords the emperor's tent; who, as he was unarmed and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a ſingle word, the many blows with which they diſpatched him, deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing againſt his mother, as one whoſe only care was to amaſs riches [b]. Such was the unfortunate and undeſerved end of *Alexander Severus*, after he had lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, twenty-ſix years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loſs of no prince was ever more regretted by the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, than that of *Alexander*, who, by his wiſe adminiſtration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The ſenate immediately decreed both to him and to his mother *Mamæa* divine honours, appointed them altars, prieſts, and ſacrifices, and inſtituted, in honour of the deceaſed emperor, an annual feaſt, which was ſtill kept in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, on the firſt of *October*, *Alexander*'s birth-day [c]. The ſoldiers were no ſooner appriſed of his death, than they put to the ſword all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to it, except the chief author of it, *Maximinus*, who, by perſuading the ſoldiery that he had no hand in the murder, eſcaped for the preſent the deſerved puniſhment. *Alexander* was according to the teſtimony of all the antients, *Herodian* alone excepted, one of the beſt and wiſeſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre; and would, had he lived longer, have intirely reformed thoſe abuſes, which, after his death, involved the empire in endleſs calamities. He was ſparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked, eſpecially to ſuch as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppreſſed

Alexander is aſſaſſinated.

His character.

His hatred to thoſe who robbed the ſubjects.

[b] Idem, p. 135 VICT. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. HERODN. l. vi. p. 587. [c] Alex. vit. p. 136.

preſſed the people committed to their care. Theſe he never ſpared, though his friends, favourites, and kinſmen; but ſentenced them to death, and cauſed them to be executed, notwithſtanding their quality or former ſervices, like common malefactors. *Eucolpius* the hiſtorian, one of *Alexander*'s chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by *Lampridius* [d], that he could not even bear the ſight of ſuch public robbers; inſomuch, that one *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of *Heliogabalus*, coming one day with other ſenators to wait upon the emperor, *Alexander*, on ſeeing him, cried out in a violent paſſion, *O ye immortal gods! is* Arabinus *ſtill alive, and a ſenator! Does he even preſume to appear in my preſence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as himſelf!* After this, he cauſed it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the ſame crime ever preſumed to appear in his preſence, he ſhould immediately receive his deſerved puniſhment, notwithſtanding the pardon granted him by his predeceſſor [e]. He uſed to ſay, that it was not a ſufficient puniſhment to deprive corrupt magiſtrates and governors of their places; but that, as the truſt repoſed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He baniſhed one of his ſecretaries, for giving to his council in writing a falſe account of an affair, and cauſed the ſinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his ſlaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he cauſed to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently reſided, that by the ſight of the body, which was left on the croſs, his other ſlaves might be deterred from the like practices [f]. He never pardoned any crime committed againſt the public; but ſuffered no one to be condemned, till his cauſe was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. The firſt thing he did after his acceſſion to the empire was, to diſcharge all the officers, miniſters, and governors, employed by *Heliogabalus*, and appoint in their room perſons of known probity. He retrenched all the penſions which that prodigal prince had ſettled on his freedmen, on buffoons, ſtage-players, charioteers, gladiators, *&c.* ſaying, that the emperor was but the ſteward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmoſt injuſtice, thus wantonly ſquander away their revenues upon perſons no-ways uſeful to them. No prince ever paid greater deference to the ſenate than *Alexander*. He was the firſt emperor who allowed the ſenators to ſit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magiſtrates without

His deference to the ſenate.

[d] Alex. vit. p. 119. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, p. 124.

adviſing

adviſing with them, and never failed to prefer ſuch as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the ſenate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that venerable body, aſking the opinion of each in particular, and examining, with great ſtrictneſs, into the manners and former conduct of the perſon who was to be admitted. If upon this inquiry he was found unworthy of a place in the ſenate, ſuch of the ſenators as had recommended him, were themſelves degraded, and ſuch as had given teſtimony of his probity, condemned, as in caſes of perjury, to loſe their eſtates, and baniſhed for ever. He never admitted either freed-men, or their children, to the equeſtrian order, which he uſed to call *the nurſery of the ſenate.* He appointed, that the captains of the guards ſhould no longer be choſen out of the equeſtrian, but only out of the ſenatorial, order; that no one ſhould have the power of judging a ſenator, but who was himſelf a ſenator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the ſenators in caſes of treaſon[s]. Thus by degrees the captains became the moſt powerful officers in the ſtate, and their office more conſiderable than even that of the conſuls, which in the end ruined the authority of the ſenate. In the adminiſtration of juſtice *Alexander* never took upon him to decide any law-ſuit, without conſulting his council, which conſiſted of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*; whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leiſure, that they might not pronounce ſentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of juſtice determined by perſons of known integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws. In military affairs he conſulted only ſuch perſons as had acquired experience by their long ſervice, and were well acquainted with the ſituation of places, or men verſed in hiſtory, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the like occaſions by his predeceſſors or other great captains. He is ſaid never to have given any public office out of favour or friendſhip; but to have employed ſuch only as were both by himſelf and the ſenate judged the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpoſe to avoid that office, ſaying, that with him the declining ſuch honourable employments was the beſt recommendation to them. He would not ſuffer any employments to be ſold, ſaying, *He who buys, muſt ſell in his turn; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh one for ſelling, after he has been ſuffered to buy.*

He beſtows the office of captain of the guards only on ſenators.

Impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Prefers only perſons of merit.

[s] Idem, p. 120.

In

In appointing governors of provinces he obſerved a commendable cuſtom, which was to publiſh their names, and encourage all perſons to declare, either in public or private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge: *Since* Jews *and* Chriſtians, ſaid he on this occaſion, *uſe ſuch commendable methods in the choice of their prieſts, it is reaſonable we ſhould proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are intruſted with the lives and fortunes of ſo many perſons.* As he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who betrayed their truſt, ſo he rewarded with great generoſity ſuch as had anſwered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raiſed them to employments of greater profit, or, if they choſe to retire, preſented them with houſes and lands, ſaying, that ſince corrupt governors inriched themſelves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be inriched at the expence of the prince [b]. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ſhow, and extremely modeſt in his apparel, telling thoſe who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry and virtuous actions. The rich preſents ſent him by foreign princes he beſtowed on the temples; but ſold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The embaſſadors of an eaſtern prince having preſented the empreſs with two pearls of an extraordinary ſize, *Alexander* ordered them to be ſold; but no one being found rich enough to purchaſe them, he conſecrated them to ſerve as pendents to a ſtatue of *Venus*, that the empreſs might not ſeem by wearing them to encourage luxury in others. He kept ſuch a ſmall number of ſlaves and freed-men, whom he cauſed to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their condition, that when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to uſe thoſe of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he ſold all the gold and moſt of the ſilver plate belonging to the palace, to defray the neceſſary charges of the government, without burdening the people. He reduced the impoſts with which *Heliogabalus* had loaded both *Rome* and the provinces, to the thirtieth part, and ſuffered ſeveral cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without intereſt to the poor, wherewithal to purchaſe houſes and lands, allowing them time to pay the capital with the product of their lands. He was ſo far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the ſight of thoſe, whoſe province it was to levy the

Alexander an enemy to all pomp and ſhow.

Reduces the taxes.

[b] Idem, p. 119, &c.

taxes;

taxes; he uſed to call them *neceſſary evils*, and never ſuffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled at a vaſt charge the public granaries, which, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found almoſt empty; diſtributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn amongſt the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children [i]. He would not ſuffer the money levied upon the public proſtitutes and calamites to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. He built granaries in all the quarters of the city, for the uſe of thoſe who had none of their own. Of theſe public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the ancients. He cauſed baths to be likewiſe erected in each quarter of the city, and at his own expence furniſhed them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; whereas before his time they were never opened till the riſing, and were ſhut again at the ſetting, of the ſun. He built a great many fine houſes for ſuch of his friends and miniſters as had ſerved him faithfully, and lived without reproach [k]. He furniſhed the governors of provinces at their firſt ſetting out with money and other things which were thought neceſſary; that is, according to *Lampridius*, with twenty pounds weight of ſilver, eight mules, two horſes, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the perſon he named was not married [l]. He founded a great many free ſchools in *Rome*, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed, families. He imbelliſhed *Rome* with an incredible number of ſtately buildings; repaired moſt of the ancient ſtructures, leaving upon them the names of their firſt founders; and erected in the great ſquare of *Nerva* ſtatues in honour of moſt of the emperors his predeceſſors, with inſcriptions on columns of braſs, containing ſuccinct accounts of all their memorable actions [m]. *Alexander* was a great encourager of learning, took great delight in converſing with learned men, and ſpent all the time he could ſpare from public affairs in reading the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, eſpecially *Plato*'s commonwealth, *Tully*'s offices, the works of *Horace*, of *Virgil*, whom he uſed to ſtyle the *Plato* of the poets, and of *Serenus Sammonicus*, another poet, whom we have mentioned above [n]. He was himſelf well-verſed

His public works.

His learning.

[i] Idem, p. 124, 130. [k] Idem, p. 127. [l] Idem, p. 130. [m] Idem, p. 123. [n] See beefore p. 85. ſub not.

verſed in all the branches of polite literature, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of ſome of his predeceſſors [o]. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, which was by his order, publicly taught at *Rome*, and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcience of the ſoothſayers and augurs, both as to entrails of ſacrifices and the flight and chirping of birds [p]. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public ſchools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praiſe. In ſhort, *Alexander*, to end the hiſtory of his reign, with the words of *Aurelius Victor*, made it his whole ſtudy to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuſes, to reſtore the military diſcipline, and to diſcharge with the greateſt fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the empire would have ſtill retained its former luſtre, had thoſe who ſucceeded him firmly maintained what he had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed. Some of his predeceſſors, namely *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius*, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than *Alexander* was at the time of his death [q]. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in our note (Q).

[o] Vit. Alex. p. 123. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Aur. Vict. in vit Alex.

(Q) *Lampridius*, in his life of *Alexander*, often quotes *Acholius*, *Septimius*, and *Eucolpius*, but ſeems to prefer *Septimius* to the other two (99). They flouriſhed under *Alexander*, and wrote the hiſtory of that prince's reign. *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and *Lampridius* does not inform us whether they wrote in *Greek* or *Latin* (100). *Acholius* lived in the time of *Alexander*, but died long after; for he was *admiſſionum magiſter*, that is, in the modern phraſe, maſter of the ceremonies, to the emperor *Valerian*, who began his reign in the year 253, eighteen years after the death of *Alexander* (1). He even wrote the life of *Valerian*, and conſequently outlived him; nay, *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he was ſtill alive in the reign of *Aurelian*, who was raiſed to the empire in 270 (2). *Eucolpius* not only lived in the time of *Alexander*, but was highly favoured by that prince (3). A treatiſe on government, aſcribed to *Eucolpius*, was tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh* above a hundred years

(99) *Vit Alex. p.* 119. 131. 136. (100) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt Lat. p.* 79. (1) *Aur. Vict. p.* 213. (2) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c* 4. *p.* 182. (3) *Alex. vit. p.* 119. (4) *Vide Selden. in Eutych. Ægypt. &c. not. p.* 174, 175. *Londin. ann.* 1642.

ſince

ſince, in which the reader will find a particular account of a ſuppoſed conference between the emperor *Alexander* and *Origen*. But as ſome circumſtances of that conference are inconſiſtent with what we read in the beſt hiſtorians, we are inclined to aſcribe that piece to ſome modern *Greek* writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (4). *Gargilius Martialis*, wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of *Alexander*, and is ranked by *Vopiſcus* among thoſe hiſtorians who wrote with more exactneſs than elegance (5). *Servius* and other writers quote a treatiſe on gardening by one *Gargilius Martialis* 6); but whether this be the hiſtorian, or another author of the ſame name, we cannot take upon us to determine. *Marius Maximus* wrote the hiſtory of the emperors from *Trajan* to *Alexander*, and is often quoted by the *Auguſtine* writers. *M. Valois* takes him to be the ſame perſon with *L. Marius Maximus*, who had been conſul, and was preferred by *Plautinus* to the government of *Rome* in the year 218 7). *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, that at *Rome*, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read with great attention the ſatires of *Juvenal* and the hiſtory of *Marius Maximus* (8). *Capitolinus* commends his ſincerity and exactneſs (9); but *Vopiſcus*, whoſe judgment is of great weight with the learned, ſtyles him, of all hiſtorians, the moſt tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (10). The life of *Alexander* was likewiſe publiſhed by *Aurelius Philippus*, his father's freedman (11). *Julius Granianus*, who inſtructed *Alexander* in rhetoric, left ſome declamations, which were ſtill extant in the time of *Lampridius* (12). Beſides the celebrated civilians *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, of whom we have made mention above, *Florentinus*, *Ælius Marcianus*, *Hermogenes* or *Hermogenianus*, *Calliſtrata*, and *Q. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus*, whoſe names are famous in the pandects, were all *Papinian*'s diſciples, and flouriſhed under *Alexander*; as did likewiſe *Herennius Modeſtinus*, who was preceptor to *Maximinus*, the ſon of the emperor of that name, and wrote ſeveral books of juriſprudence, and, among the reſt, one in *Greek*, on the excuſes of guardians. He was honoured with the conſulſhip by *Alexander*, but was ſtill alive in the reign of *Gordian*, which began in 239 (13). In the time of *Alexander*, flouriſhed, as we ſuppoſe, the ſophiſts, who are mentioned by *Philoſtratus* in the end of his work; for he wrote ſoon after that prince's reign (14). Among theſe was *Aſpaſius*, who attended the emperor into

(5) *Vopiſc. Prob. vit.* p. 234. (6) *Vide Caſaub. not.* p. 168. (7) *Ammian. not.* p. 304. *Spon.* p. 114. *Ammian. l.* xxvii. p. 372. (9) *Vit. Alb.* p. 84. (10) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. c. 3. p. 178. (11) *Vit. Alex.* p. 118. (12) *Idem ibid.* p. 115. (13) *Alex. vit.* p. 137. & *Caſaub. not.* p. 158. *Maxim. vit.* p. 148. *Cod. Juſtin. l.* ii. *tit.* 12. *leg.* 11. p. 196. (14) *Philoſ. ſoph.* lix. p. 622. (15) *Idem.* p. 623.

the eaſt, afterwards taught at *Rome*, and was in the end preferred to be one of the emperor's ſecretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his reſcripts, which he did in a bombaſtic and obſcure ſtyle. He was a native of *Ravenna* (15). *Caniſius* publiſhed in, 1602, the work of an anonymous chriſtian writer, compoſed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and ſix years ſince our Saviour's death, ſuppoſing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digeſted abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinions of the learned, full of anachroniſms and other faults. The tranſcribers of *Caniſius*'s copy have left out the chronological table of the *Roman* emperors, which is twice promiſed in the preface (16) Father *Labbè*, who has publiſhed the ſame author, found in his copy the above mentioned table, which is far from being exact (17). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of *Alexander* (18); whence it is plain, that the author put the laſt hand to it in the beginning of the reign of *Maximinus*. In father *Labbè*'s edition of this work, the author promiſes a catalogue of the biſhops of *Rome*, and the time of their reſpective epiſcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuſcript. The author was perhaps a native of *Rome*, and a prieſt; for in father *Labbè*'s edition, he addreſſes himſelf to a deacon, whom, he ſays, he deſigns to inſtruct; which, in the primitive church, no eccleſiaſtic of an inferior rank, and much leſs a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer *Voſſius* takes no notice.

But the moſt famous of all the writers, who flouriſhed under *Alexander*, was the celebrated hiſtorian *Dion Caſſius*, called alſo *Caſſius Cocceius*, or *Cocceianus*. He was a native of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, and probably related to *Cocceianus Dion*, a citizen of *Pruſa* in the ſame province, in whoſe behalf *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan* (19). Under *Trajan* flouriſhed another *Dion* of *Pruſa*, a famous ſophiſt, commonly known by the name of *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, who wrote ſeveral works, which have reached our times (20). The hiſtorian was the ſon of *Apronianus*, who was governor of *Cilicia* about the year 183, when the two brothers *Quintilii* were put to death by *Commodus*'s order (21). He was likewiſe for ſome time governor of *Illyricum* (22). His ſon was at *Rome* in the reign of *Commodus*, at leaſt towards the latter end of it (23). He was ſenator in the year 192, the laſt of the reign of *Commodus*, and named prætor for the enſuing year by *Pertinax*, who had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him (24). He was appointed conſul by the emperor

(15) *Canis. antiq. lect. tom. ii. p.* 594. (17) *Labbé bibl. nov. tom i. p.* 308. (18) *Idem p.* 309. (19) *Plin. l. x epiſt.* 87. *p.* 612. (20) *Suid p.* 753, & 765. (21) *Dio. l.* lxix. *p.* 788. & *l.* lxxii. *p.* 820. (22) *Idem. l.* xlix. *p.* 413. (23) *Idem l.* lxxii. *p.* 818. (24) *Idem ibid. p.* 820, 827. & *l.* lxxiii. *p.* 835. (25) *Idem l.* lxxvi. *p.* 869.

Severus

Severus (25), attended, after that prince's death, his ſon *Caracallà* into the eaſt (26), and ſpoke with him, for the laſt time, at *Nicomedia*, about the latter end of the year 215 (27). *Macrinus* named him to the government of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*, which he held under *Heliogabalus*, and was ſtill in *Aſia* in the year 221 (28). From *Aſia*, he went into *Bithynia*; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, firſt of *Africa*, afterwards of *Illyricum*, and laſtly of *Pannonia*; in which governments he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Alexander* upon his return to *Rome*, honoured him with a ſecond conſulſhip in the year 228 (29). When the time of his conſulſhip expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he paſſed the remaining part of his life in retirement. *Dion Caſſius* wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the *Roman* hiſtory, from the landing of *Æneas* in *Italy*, to the reign of the emperor *Alexander* (30). In the time of *Severus*, he wrote a book on the dreams and other prodigies, which ſeemed to preſage the riſe of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, *Dion* dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of hiſtory. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of *Commodus*; and being encouraged by *Severus* and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, he undertook that of *Rome* (31), and ſpent ten years in collecting the neceſſary materials for ſo great a work, and twelve more in compoſing it (32). He is very minute in his hiſtory of the emperors to the death of *Heliogabalus*; but gives us only a ſummary account of the eight firſt years of *Alexander*, having been, as he himſelf informs us, moſt part of that time abſent from *Italy* (33), and conſequently not ſo well acquainted with what paſſed at *Rome*. He had, it ſeems, begun his hiſtory before the death of *Plautianus*, that is, before the year 204, and ended it ſoon after the year 229, for he takes no notice of *Alexander*'s war with the *Perſians*. His account of the public tranſactions, from the reign of *Commodus* to that of *Alexander*, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himſelf ſeen and obſerved. He aſſures us, that no one capable of writing a hiſtory was better acquainted than himſelf, both with the public and private tranſactions: which is not at all incredible in a perſon of his rank. His ſtyle, according to *Photius*, is ſublime, and anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſubject; his terms expreſſive, his phraſe elegant, his periods full and well ſounding, and the whole worthy of the beſt hiſtorians of ancient *Greece*. He propoſed *Thucydides* for his model, and does not, in the opinion of *Photius*, fall much ſhort of that excellent writer (34). *Voſſius*, however, blames him for crying down

(25) *Idem. l. lxxviii. p.* 883, 884. (27) *Idem. l. lxxix. p.* 908 (28) *Idem p.* 915. (29) *Idem, l. lxxx. p.* 917. (30) *Suid. à p.* 753. (31) *Idem l. lxxii p* 828. *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 105. (32) *Idem, l. lxxii. p* 829. (33) *Idem. l. lxxvi. p.* 860. (34) *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 103. (35) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c.* 15. *p* 238.

the

the greateſt men of antiquity, namely, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Seneca*; but others clear him from that cenſure, and think he acted the part of an unbiaſſed hiſtorian, in diſcovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of thoſe whom he himſelf moſt admired (35) He blame only what in them was blame-worthy, and commends what to him ſeemed commendable. Others think him too diffuſe in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian He wrote, as we have obſerved above, the *Roman hiſtory in eighty books*; but of that great work only a ſmall part has reached us. For the firſt thirty four books have been long ſince entirely loſt; and of the thirty fifth only ſome fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be intire; but the next ſix are, in ſome places, ſtrangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty laſt, we have only ſome fragments publiſhed by *Fulvius Urſinus* and *M. Valois*. However, that great loſs has been in ſome degree ſupplied by *John Xiphilin*, who was patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in the eleventh century, and epitomized *Dion*'s hiſtory from the thirty fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly eſteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The hiſtory of *Zonaras* may likewiſe be called an abridgment of *Dion*'s work; for he copied, as he himſelf owns, moſt of his hiſtory from *Dion*, and followed him with great exactneſs. Theſe abridgments have been of great uſe to us in the compiling of our hiſtory; for in them are to be found the moſt material tranſactions of the *Romans*, from the period where *Tacitus*'s hiſtory ends, to the time of the emperor *Alexander*: from that prince to *Conſtantine*, the hiſtory of the emperors is more perplexed and leſs certain. For *Herodian* wrote with more elegance than exactneſs; and *Lampridius* and the other *Auguſtine* writers ſcarce deſerve the name of hiſtorians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* only copied them about the cloſe of the ſame century *Zoſimus*, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, ſhews, by the miſtakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made uſe of bad memoirs, or did not underſtand the good ones. *Dion Caſſius*, beſides his *Roman* hiſtory, publiſhed a particular hiſtory of *Trajan*, the life of the philoſopher *Arrian* the diſciple of *Epictetus*, itineraries, the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and that of the *Getæ* (36). The latter was known to *Jornandes*, who copied from it what he writes of *Telephus*, king of the *Getæ* in the times of *Achilles* and *Ulyſſes* (37).

(36) *Suid. d. p* 714. (37) *Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c.* 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Roman *history, from the death of* Alexander Severus, *to the captivity of* Valerian, *when the empire was usurped by thirty persons at once, commonly called* the thirty tyrants.

THE murder of *Alexander* occasioned a great tumult and confusion in the army; during which the *Pannonian* troops, under the command of *Maximinus*, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, finding no other appeared to claim or dispute that title, followed their example, and took the usual oaths to *Maximinus*, after he had solemnly declared, that he had been no-ways concerned in or accessary to the death of *Alexander*. The new emperor immediately declared his son *Maximinus Cæsar* and prince of the *Roman* youth, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, honoured him with the title of *Augustus*, and took him for his partner in the sovereignty. The senate, whom he took care to acquaint as soon as possible with his assumption to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery, confirmed it; so that *Maximinus* was, without the least opposition, acknowledged emperor by the senate, the people, and the army [r]. He was, according to *Syncellus* [s], a native of *Thrace*; according to *Herodian*, *Capitolinus*, and *Jornandes*, born in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His father, by name *Micea*, or *Micca*, was a *Goth*; and his mother *Ababa*, or *Abala*, an *Alan* [t]. He is styled in the antient inscriptions *C. Julius Ve-*

Maximinus declared emperor, and his son Maximinus Cæsar.

His extraction and preferments.

[r] Max. vit. p. 142. [s] Sync. p. 361. [t] Heron. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. Jornand. regn. c. 22.

rus Maximinus. He was of a very mean extraction, and in his early youth a ſhepherd, but of a gigantic ſtature, being eight foot and a half tall, and withal exceeding well-ſhaped, all his limbs anſwering his ſtature in ſymmetry and proportion. Of his ſtrength wonderful things are related by the antients, *viz.* that he was often ſeen to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could ſcarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, *&c.* Beſides, he was ſo bold and courageous, that he took delight in expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; for his ſtrength, *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; but at the ſame time, for his ſavage cruelty, *Buſiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*. He was firſt known to the emperor *Septimius Severus* on the following occaſion: That prince having exhibited, as he paſſed through *Thrace*, ſome military games and exerciſes in honour of his ſecond ſon *Geta*, and propoſed prizes for the conquerors, *Maximinus*, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the *Latin*, and partly in the *Thracian*, language, to enter the liſts, and try his ſkill with the reſt. The emperor, admiring his ſize, matched him, not with the ſoldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with ſome of the ſtrongeſt ſlaves, in the camp, whom he overcame, ſixteen, one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be liſted among the horſe. A few days after, as the emperor was viſiting the different quarters of the camp on horſeback, *Maximinus*, accoſting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wreſtle, put his horſe upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, *Maximinus* keeping cloſe by him the whole time, till both he and his horſe were quite ſpent. Then turning to him, *Thracian*, ſaid he, *art thou now diſpoſed to wreſtle? I am*, anſwered *Maximinus*, *as much as you pleaſe*. The emperor immediately diſmounted, and ordered ſome of the ſtrongeſt ſoldiers and beſt wreſtlers in the army to enter the liſts with him, of whom he overcame and threw down ſeven, as if they had been ſo many children; which ſo pleaſed the emperor, that he preſented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being ſufficient to ſupport him. For he uſed to eat, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, forty, according to *Ælius Cardus*, a more antient hiſtorian, ſixty, pounds weight of fleſh a day; and to drink eight amphoræ of wine, that is, ſix gal-

His mighty ſtrength.

lons,

lons, without ever eating or drinking to excefs [u]. He was preferred by *Caracalla* to the poft of a centurion, but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to ferve under *Macrinus*, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his fervice to him; and being admitted again into the army, he was, by the intereft of his friends, raifed to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under fome pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had difobliged him with an impure jeft, alluding to his mighty ftrength [w]. He had even abfented himfelf from *Rome*, not being able to bear the fight of that lewd monfter; but returned thither when he underftood that *Alexander* was raifed to the empire, and was by that prince received with the greateft demonftrations of kindnefs and eftеem, recommended by him to the fenate, created fenator, and honoured with the command of a new-raifed legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to inftruct in the military exercifes. In that office he acquitted himfelf fo well, that *Alexander* preferred him to a higher command, and, at the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of difciplining the new-raifed troops, confifting chiefly of *Pannonians*. We are told, that *Alexander* had even fome thoughts of marrying his fifter *Theoclia* to the fon of *Maximinus*, who, in moft infcriptions, is ftyled *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in ftature almoft equal to his father, well-fhaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to fuch a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed *Auguftus*, and his father's partner in the empire, he fuffered his foldiers not only to kifs his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he was killed with his father in the year 238, he was betrothed to *Julia Fadilla*, the great niece of *Antoninus Pius* [x].

He is greatly favoured by Alexander

Maximinus no fooner faw himfelf inveſted with the fovereign power, than he difmiffed all thofe who had been employed by *Alexander* in places of truft, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, felected for the moft part out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief ftudy to gain the affections of the foldiery; but chufing rather to be feared than loved by the reft of his fubjects, he began his reign with unheard-of cruelties. All thofe who had been intimate with *Alexander*, or fhewed the leaft concern for his death, were by his orders inhumanly maffacred; the fenators,

His cruelty after his acceffion to the empire

[u] HERODIAN. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p 138, 139. [w] Max. vit. p. 139. 140. [x] Max. vit. p. 119, &c.

whom he had created, degraded; and ſuch officers as he had raiſed, under various pretences, diſcharged, and moſt of them baniſhed. Being aſhamed of the meanneſs of his extraction, he cauſed all thoſe who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and by their intereſt raiſed him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conſpiracy of *Magnus*, a conſular of an illuſtrious family and great merit. He conſpired with ſeveral of *Alexander*'s old ſoldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the *Rhine*, after *Maximinus* had paſſed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But the conſpiracy being diſcovered, all thoſe, whom *Maximinus* only ſuſpected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly maſſacred, to the number of four thouſand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of *Maximinus*, to rid himſelf of thoſe who gave him umbrage [y]. A few days after the conſpiracy of *Magnus*, the *Oſrhoenians*, who ſerved in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been aſſaſſinated by *Maximinus*'s orders, openly revolted, proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, and attired him, much againſt his will, with the imperial purple and all the enſigns of ſovereignty. But ſoon after, one *Macedo*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendſhip for *Quartinus*, murdered him while he was repoſing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximinus*, who, inſtead of rewarding him according to his expectation, cauſed him ſome time after to be executed for rebelling againſt his prince and betraying his friend [z]. The *Oſrhoenians* returning to their duty after the death of *Quartinus*, the following year, when *Severus* and *Quintianus* were conſuls, *Maximinus* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemies habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of priſoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marſhes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, diſcharging every duty of a gallant ſoldier and experienced commander. He choſe always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common ſoldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, ruſhed ſword in hand into the midſt of the enemy, he was

The conſpiracy of Magnus.

The Oſrhoenians *revolt.*

Quartinus *betayed and murdered.*

Maximinus *gains ſeveral victories over the* Germans.

[y] Idem, p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 589. [z] Herod. l. vii. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c.

ſurrounded

ſurrounded on all ſides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithſtanding his extraordinary ſtrength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, haſtened to his reſcue. He took care to tranſmit an account of his victories to the ſenate, telling them among other things, that he had laid waſte the enemy's country four hundred miles round; deſtroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of priſoners; and fought more battles than any of the antients had ever done [a]. He ordered his exploits to be repreſented in painting, and hung up in the ſquares and public places at *Rome*. For theſe victories the ſenate decreed both to him and his ſon the title of *Germanicus*; which is ſtill to be ſeen on ſeveral of his medals [b]. From *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and having paſſed the winter at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where he entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and took *Africanus* for his collegue, early in the ſpring he led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, gained ſeveral victories over thoſe barbarous nations, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. He had nothing leſs in view than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern ocean; which he would have eaſily accompliſhed, ſays *Herodian* [c], had he not been interrupted by a civil war and great diſturbances at home, occaſioned by his unheard-of cruelty and inſatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without diſtinction of quality, ſex, or age, all who were accuſed, ſeizing their eſtates, and reducing the richeſt families in *Rome* to beggary. Perſons of the greateſt diſtinction were ſnatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundleſs accuſations, carried into *Pannonia*, to be judged by the emperor; who never failed to condemn them either to death or baniſhment, and to ſeize their eſtates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not ſatisfied with the wealth of ſo many illuſtrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to ſtrip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to ſeize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diverſions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and diſpoſed them to a general revolt, which firſt broke out in *Africa*, about the middle of *May* of the enſuing year, when *Perpetuus* and *Cornelianus* were conſuls, on the following occaſion: Two young men of great diſtinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in

Overcomes the Dacians *and* Sarmatians.

His cruelty

The people in Africa *revolt.*

[a] Idem ibid. [b] GOLTZ. p. 101, 102. BIRAG. p. 329.
[c] HERODI. l. vii. p. 592.

that province, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conſpired to ſave their fortunes, by deſtroying him; and accordingly, having gained ſome ſoldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him and ſuch of the ſoldiers as attempted to defend him. This murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, well appriſed, that the only means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of *Maximinus*, proclaimed *Gordianus*, at that time proconſul of *Africa*, emperor in his room.

Gordian proclaimed emperor in Africa.

Gordianus was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and univerſally beloved both at *Rome* and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but as he was ſtricken in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his houſe, and ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and begged with many tears they would ſuffer him to ſpend the poor remains of his life in quiet, and chuſe ſome other more able, on account of his age, to deliver the ſtate from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and at their head one *Mauricius*, a perſon of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former reſolution, *Gordianus* was in the end conſtrained to accept the enſigns and title of emperor; which he had no ſooner done, than, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the *Africans*, he took his ſon, who bore the ſame name, was then his lieutenant, and had been conſul, for his partner in the empire. From *Thyſdrus*, a city of no ſmall note in *Byzacene*, not far from *Adrumetum*, where this happened, *Gordianus* marched to *Carthage*, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, ſaluting him with the title of *Gordianus Africanus*. From *Carthage* he wrote to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had happened in *Africa*, and aſſuring them, that he had accepted of the empire againſt his will, and was ready to reſign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he ſent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly ſet up with the approbation of the ſenate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banithed the informers, promiſed large ſums to the people, and to the ſoldiery a greater largeſs than any emperor had ever given. At the ſame time, he wrote to all the great men in *Rome*,

He writes to the ſenate.

Rome, moſt of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion, and join him in reſcuing *Rome* from the inſupportable tyranny of *Maximinus*, which was the only motive that had prompted him in his old age to ſubmit to ſo heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to *Junius Syllanus*, then conſul, he charged that magiſtrate to diſpatch without delay *Vitalianus*, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in *Rome*, and was greatly attached to *Maximinus*, being of a no leſs cruel and ſavage temper than that tyrant. *Syllanus*, upon the receipt of this letter, ſent the quæſtor, attended by ſome reſolute men, with letters to *Vitalianus*, which he pretended to have juſt received from *Maximinus*, injoining them to draw him aſide, and diſpatch him while he was peruſing them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by *Maximinus*'s orders; which was believed; for thus he uſed to treat even his beſt friends. After this, the conſul *Syllanus* aſſembled at his houſe the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people, and attended by them, went to the ſenate, and there read, on the twenty-ſeventh day of *May*, the letters which *Gordianus* had written both to them and to him. Hereupon the ſenate, in great tranſports of joy, declared, without the leaſt heſitation, the two *Gordians* emperors, the two *Maximins* public enemies, and decreed a great reward to ſuch as ſhould kill either of them. At the ſame time, they named to the prætorſhip of the enſuing year a third *Gordian*, grandſon to the elder, tho' then only but twelve years old. Theſe proceedings, however, were kept ſecret, till ſuch time as the ſenate had taken the neceſſary meaſures for quaſhing at once the party of the *Maximins* in *Rome*; which was no ſooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two *Gordians* reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the ſoldiery, who being, after the death of *Vitalianus*, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted to the *Gordians*. As for the people, tranſported with rage againſt *Maximinus* hardly to be expreſſed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his ſtatues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations againſt the bloody tyrant and his ſon. At the ſame time, the ſenate enacted a decree, ſentencing to death all the friends of *Maximinus*, and the miniſters of his cruelty. Hereupon ſuch of them, as had not the good luck to eſcape, were maſſacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the common ſewer. Several innocent perſons periſhed with the guilty, many having loſt

Who acknowledge him emperor, and declare Maximinus a public enemy.

The friends of Maximinus are

of

of that opportunity to diſpatch their private enemies or creditors. *Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, endeavouring to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, had his brains daſhed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for ſome time in the public ſtreet [d].

The ſenate all to a man revolt from Maximinus.

In the mean time, it being publicly known, that *Maximinus* was ſtill alive, the ſenate iſſued a ſecond decree againſt him, declaring anew both him and his ſon public enemies, and at the ſame time diſpatched perſons of the greateſt intereſt and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconſuls, preſidents, lieutenants, tribunes, *&c.* exhorting them to join in the common cauſe, and exert themſelves in defence of their common liberties, againſt a raging tyrant and public enemy (S). They likewiſe choſe twenty ſenators, who had all been conſuls, and ſent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had paſſed at *Rome* might be tranſmitted to *Maximinus* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The letters of the ſenate were received in moſt cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the officers and friends of *Maximinus*. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or maſſacred, the deputies of the ſenate. At *Rome* perſons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crouded to the temples, beſeeching the gods, that they would never ſuffer the bloody tyrant to approach the

[d] Gordian. vit. p. 153, & ſeq. Max. vit. 143, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 595—598.

(S) The letter, which the ſenate wrote on this occaſion, was conceived in the following terms: "To all proconſuls, preſidents, "lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages "and caſtles, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, whoſe deliverance "from the tyranny of the cruel monſter *Maximin* is begun by the "*Gordians*, greeting: By the favour of the gods we have for em-"peror *Gordian*, a perſon of the greateſt merit and virtue. We "have proclaimed him emperor, and, for the greater ſecurity of "the ſtate, his ſon in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon "you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public "welfare and ſafety; in oppoſing the wicked deſigns of thoſe who "threaten us; and in purſuing to death the cruel tyrant *Maximin* "and his friends; for we have declared him and his ſon public "enemies (33)."

(33) *Vit. Max. p.* 143, 144.

city

city [e]. *Maximinus*, who was at this time either in *Thrace* or *Sarmatia*, ſoon received intelligence of what had paſſed at *Rome* and in *Africa*, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the ſenate; nay, a copy of the decree of the ſenate, declaring him a public enemy and ſetting a price upon his head, was tranſmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into ſuch a paſſion, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived: more like a wild beaſt than a human creature, ſays the author of his life, he beat his head againſt the wall, threw himſelf upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his ſword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces againſt the ſenate, fell upon thoſe who ſtood next to him, and would have killed his ſon, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refuſed to quit him and live at *Rome*; which the father adviſed him to do upon their firſt coming to the empire; and which would, in his opinion, have kept the ſenate and people in awe, and prevented the preſent revolt. In ſhort, ſuch was his fury and rage, that his friends looking upon him as a man bereft of his underſtanding, with much-ado ſnatched his arms from him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himſelf, he ſpent ſome days in deliberating with his council about the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at ſuch an important conjuncture. Then aſſembling his army, he acquainted them with the ſtate of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehenſion, and promiſing to diſtribute among them the eſtates of the ſenators and *African* rebels. Having ended his ſpeech, he gave his ſoldiers a great bounty, and without loſs of time began his march towards *Italy*. The troops not ſhewing ſo much ardour and forwardneſs as he expected, he wrote to his ſon, who was marching with a ſeparate body at ſome diſtance, to join him with all poſſible expedition, leſt the army ſhould, in his abſence attempt upon his life. At the ſame time, he diſpatched perſons to *Rome*, to publiſh there in his name a general pardon with reſpect to all paſt injuries, and with them letters to *Sabinus*, not being yet appriſed of his death, in which was incloſed a copy of the decree declaring him a public enemy; for he ſuppoſed *Sabinus*, who had abſented himſelf that day from the ſenate, to be altogether ignorant of what had paſſed there [f]. While *Maximinus* was marching towards *Italy*, the face of affairs was quite changed in *Africa*: A ſenator, by name *Capelianus*, had been appointed governor of *Mauritania* by *Maximinus*, with a con-

His rage upon the news of the revolt.

He marches for Italy.

[e] HERODIAN. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141. [f] Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. HERODIAN. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141.

ſiderable

siderable body of troops under his command, to make head against the *Moors* not subject to *Rome*, who infested with daily incursions the *Roman* territories. But *Gordianus*, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occasions opposed, immediately discharged him, and named another in his room. *Capelianus*, who was an officer of great valour and experience, instead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, assembled all his forces, levied several companies of *Moors*, and having with incredible dispatch drawn together a very considerable body of well-disciplined and resolute men, marched at the head of them strait to *Carthage*. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themselves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of *Gordianus* the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Gordianus*'s raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and most of them cut in pieces either in the battle or the pursuit. *Gordianus* himself was killed in the field; which, together with the loss of the battle and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself with his own girdles. Such was the end of the two *Gordians*, after having reigned, according to the most probable opinion [h], one month and six days. They were sprung from two of the most ancient and illustrious families in *Rome*. *Gordianus* the father, styled in most medals and inscriptions *M. Antonius Gordianus*, was the son of *Maecius Marullus*, descended from the *Gracchi*, and of *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the family of the emperor *Trajan*. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been consuls, and he himself twice discharged that honourable office, first with the emperor *Caracalla* in 213, and the second time with *Alexander Severus* in 229. His wealth was answerable to his quality; for he possessed, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, more land in the provinces, than any private man in *Rome* [i]. The same writer observes, that he was the first private person who had a consular habit of his own, the rest, and even some of the emperors, contenting themselves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol [k]. He was well-shaped, of a comely and majestic aspect, and thought to resemble the emperor *Augustus*. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Alexander*, who returned public thanks to the senate for preferring so

Capelianus raises forces against the Gordians.

Gordianus the two Gordians.

[g] Herod. l. vii p 602. 603 Gord vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145 [h] Vide Petav. doct temp. p. 337. [i] Gord. vit. p. 151, 152. [k] Idem, p. 152.

deserving

deſerving a perſon, to the government of *Africa*, ſtyling him in the letter which he wrote on that occaſion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, juſtice, moderation, integrity, goodneſs, *&c.* He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid ſuch reſpect to his wife's father, *Annius Severus*, that he never preſumed before he was prætor, to ſit down in his preſence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was conſul. He was very ſober in his diet, modeſt, but proper, in his dreſs, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any exceſs, or diſcompoſed by any paſſion [l]. He was well verſed in all the branches of literature, eſpecially in poetry, and wrote in his youth ſeveral poems, which were greatly eſteemed, and, among the reſt, one intitled *Antoniniades*, deſcribing in thirty books the lives and wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Antoninus Philoſophus*. He wrote likewiſe in proſe the praiſes of the *Antonini*. His chief entertainment was to read *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and the other antient authors. No one ever gave greater ſatisfaction to the people, or diſcharged the public offices with more generoſity, than *Gordianus*. During the year of his ædileſhip, he exhibited public ſhows once a month, ſometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never leſs than one hundred and fifty. He cauſed an incredible number of wild beaſts to be brought to *Rome*, for the diverſion of the people, from the moſt diſtant parts of the empire. In one day a thouſand bears were hunted and killed, and, in his other ſhows, ſuch numbers of wild beaſts of all kinds, as had never before been ſeen in *Rome*; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diverſions of that nature. After his ſecond conſulſhip, he was immediately ſent into *Africa*, in quality of proconſul; which office he diſcharged with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and more beloved by the people than any governor had ever been before him, ſome calling him a *Scipio*, ſome a *Cato*, ſome a *Mutius Scævola*, a *Rutilius*, a *Lælius*. He married *Fabia Oreſtilla*, the daughter of *Annius Severus*, and granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and had by her a daughter named *Mæcia Fauſtina*, who was married to *Junius Balbus*, a conſular; and a ſon ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions and medals *M. Antoninus Gordianus* [m], with the title of *pontifex*; whereas his father is diſtinguiſhed with that of *pontifex*

[l] Idem, p. 152, 153. [m] Goltz. p. 102.

maximus. The ſon was killed in the year 237, the forty-ſixth of his age [n], and conſequently was born in 191, the twelfth of the reign of *Commodus.* He had an extraordinary memory, and was well verſed in polite literature, having had *Serenus Sammonicus* for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, conſiſting of ſixty-two thouſand volumes; He wrote ſeveral pieces both in proſe and verſe; which ſhewed, ſays *Capitolinus* [o], that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well ſkilled in the law, and one of *Alexander*'s chief counſellors. He was univerſally beloved on account of his obliging carriage and extraordinary ſweet temper; but loved his pleaſures, and ſpent moſt of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept conſtantly twenty-two concubines, and is ſaid to have had by each of them three or four children; whence he was called the *Priamus*, and ſatirically the *Priapus*, of his time. *Ælius Cordus* writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and conſequently had no lawful iſſue. On the other hand, *Dexippus* tells us, that he married, and had by his wife *Gordian*, afterwards emperor [p]. But, according to *Herodian*, the emperor was not his, but his ſiſter's ſon. But of him hereafter. *Gordian*, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by *Heliogabalus*, as a young man addicted to his pleaſures, and by that prince raiſed to the quæſtorſhip. *Alexander* preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity and great abilities, to the prætorſhip, and ſoon after honoured him with the conſular dignity. In the reign of *Alexander* or *Maximinus* he was ſent into *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory. The diſmal tidings of the death of the two *Gordians* in *Africa* threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the cruel effects of *Maximinus*'s reſentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of ſo barbarous a tyrant, they reſolved, not to ſubmit to him, but to defend themſelves to the laſt. The ſenate therefore, aſſembling in the temple of *Concord*, choſe two new emperors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Cœlius Balbinus.* The former was a perſon of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to ſome, a cart-wright, according to others, a lock-ſmith; but the ſon raiſed himſelf, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the firſt em-

Pupienus and Balbinus proclaimed emperors.

[n] Vit. Gord. p. 158. [o] Idem, p. 160. [p] Idem ibid.

ployments

ployments in the empire. He ſerved firſt in quailty of a private ſoldier; but was ſoon preferred, as he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions, to the poſt of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of ſeveral legions, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was admitted into the ſenate, created prætor, honoured with the conſulſhip, and ſucceſſively appointed governor of *Bithynia*, *Greece*, and *Narbonne Gaul.* From *Gaul*, he was ſent to command the troops in *Illyricum*, where he gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and the forces in *Germany*, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Germans*. Upon his return from *Germany*, he was made governor of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himſelf with ſuch prudence, integrity, and diſcretion, that he was both eſteemed and beloved by perſons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and ſerious, and ſhewed no great complaiſance to any one; but was juſt, merciful, and never guilty of the leaſt action that ſavoured of inhumanity, but on the contrary always ready to forgive. He addicted himſelf to no party, was ſteady and inflexible in his reſolutions, and, without truſting to others, examined every thing himſelf with great care and attention. In ſhort, the ſenate entertained ſuch an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that in declaring him emperor, they ſolemnly proteſted, that, in the whole empire, they knew no perſon better qualified than he for ſuſtaining the name and dignity of a prince [q]. He is commonly called *Pupienus* by the *Latin* hiſtorians, and by the *Greek* writers *Maximus*, which has ſtrangely perplexed *Capitolinus*, who, after a long deſcant, concludes that they were two names of one and the ſame perſon: this trouble he might have ſaved himſelf by only looking upon one of that prince's coins. *Balbinus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Cornelius Balbus Thophanes*, a celebrated hiſtorian, and a man of the firſt rank in the iſland of *Leſbos*, who was made free of *Rome* by *Pompey the Great*. The preſent emperor had been twice conſul, and had governed without blame ſeveral provinces, *viz. Aſia*, *Africa*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Gaul.* He had likewiſe commanded armies; but, being ſomewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He poſſeſſed immenſe wealth, lived with great ſplendor, was addicted to pleaſures, but at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his integrity (for he injured no man but

The riſe and preferments of Pupienus.

The extraction and employments of Balbinus.

[q] Max. & Balb. vit. 166. 167.

himself), his humanity, sweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verses [r].

Maximus and *Balbinus* being, with the unanimous consent of the senate, raised to the sovereignty, and invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, went, at the breaking up of the assembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering there the usual sacrifices, the populace rose, and, armed with stones and clubs, declared, that they would not obey the new emperors, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by some young knights, attempted to open themselves a way through the croud, sword in hand; but were in the end, in spite of all their efforts, obliged to send for young *Gordian*, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud shouts, of joy, and carried to the capitol; where the senate to appease the multitude, declared him *Cæsar*, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire shewed him to the people; who thereupon dispersed, and retiring quietly to their houses, suffered the new emperors to take possession of the palace [s]; where they began to discharge the functions of sovereignty with deifying the two *Gordians*. When that ceremony was over, they appointed *Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, and *Pinarius Valens*, uncle by the father to *Maximus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and then, without loss of time, began to levy what forces they could, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field against *Maximinus*, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and destruction. As most of the provinces had espoused the party of the senate, troops were sent from all parts to reinforce the army of *Maximus*; who being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, set out from *Rome* soon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new raised-forces, to defend the city and awe the populace. After his departure, the senate dispatched the most considerable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, and supply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of provisions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or destroy the corn in the fields: to mow the grass, and lay waste the whole country, through which *Maximinus* was to march with his numerous army. At the same time, they sent circular letters into all the provinces,

The people mutiny.

Young Gordian *declared* Cæsar.

Maximus *marches against* Maximinus.

[r] Herodian. l. vii. p. 164. [s] Max. & Balb. p. 145.

declaring

declaring ſuch, as ſhould lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. *Maximus* had ſcarce left the city, when dreadful diſturbances aroſe there, occaſioned by the temerity of two ſenators, *Gallicanus* and *Mæcenas*; who ſeeing two ſoldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the ſenate was aſſembled, quitting their places, ruſhed upon them unexpectedly, and diſpatched them with their daggers; for in thoſe diſtracted times moſt ſenators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other ſoldiers of that corps who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themſelves to flight, but were purſued by *Gallicanus*, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as ſpies and partizans of the tyrant *Maximinus*. Some of them were wounded, but the reſt ſhut themſelves up in their camp, where they were attacked the ſame day by *Gallicanus*, at the head of the multitude (whom he had ſupplied with arms), and of all the gladiators he could draw together. The guards ſuſtained the attack with their uſual reſolution, repulſed the aſſailants, and falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This ſlaughter ſerved only to inſpre the multitude with new rage; and the ſenate eſpouſing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which *Maximus* had left to maintain peace and tranquility in the city, to march againſt the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great fury, but were after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of them periſhed, obliged to give over the attempt and retire. The incenſed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, bethought themſelves at laſt of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the ſoldiery to ſuch deſpair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they ruſhed unexpectedly upon the multitude, ſword in hand, and drove them after a long diſpute, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides, into the city; where the combat began anew, the people diſcharging from the tops of their houſes ſhowers of ſtones and tiles upon the ſoldiery, who in revenge ſet fire to their ſhops and ſtore-houſes, which conſumed the greateſt part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many perſons of all ranks [t]. *Herodian* does not inform us how the tumult ended; but *Capitolinus* writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houſes pillaged, the ſtreets covered with dead bodies, &c. that the emperor *Balbinus*, attempting to appeaſe the tumult and part the combatants, was dangerouſly wounded on the head; but at length having ſent for young

Dreadful diſturbances in Rome.

A battle between the prætorian guards and the people.

Dreadful diſorders committed in the city.

[t] HERODIAN. l. vii. p. 607, 608.

Gordian,

Gordian, and ſhewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury of both parties aſſwaged at once, hoſtilities ceaſed, the people retired to their houſes, and the ſoldiers to the camp. So great was the eſteem, reſpect, and veneration, both of the people and ſoldiery, for one ſprung from the *Gordians*, who had loſt their lives in the defence of the people of *Rome* [u].

Maximinus *purſues his march into* Italy.

THE next year, when *Annius Pius* or as others call him, *Ulpius*, and *Pontianus* were conſuls, *Maximinus* early in the ſpring purſued his march towards *Italy*, having with him, we may ſay, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the *Alps* that part *Italy* from *Illyricum*, he found the city of *Hemona* or *Æmona* abandoned by its inhabitants; which inſpired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withſtand him. *Herodian* calls *Æmona* the firſt city of *Italy*; but he ought rather to have ſtyled it the laſt of *Pannonia*; for in that province it is placed by all the antient and modern geographers. *Sanſon* ſuppoſes it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Laubach* ſtands, the capitol of *Carniola*; others place it in the neighbourhood of *Igg*, in the ſame country. *Maximinus*, leaving *Æmona*, paſſed the mountains without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreſhed, after paſſing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of proviſions in *Italy*, finding the country laid waſte far and wide, and themſelves deſtitute even of neceſſaries, began to mutiny; *Maximinus* puniſhed the ring-leaders of the tumult with great ſeverity, which only ſerved to exaſperate the reſt. However, he purſued his march; and being informed, that the city of *Aquileia* had ſhut its gates againſt a party, which he had ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place, he marched thither in perſon with all his forces, not doubting, but the inhabitants would ſubmit upon the approach of ſo formidable an army. But *Criſpinus* and *Menophilus*, two conſulars of great reſolution and intrepidity, to whom the ſenate had committed the defence of the city, anſwered the tribune ſent by *Maximinus* to ſummon them to ſurrender, that they were determined to hold out to the laſt, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their truſt, or yield to ſuch a cruel, bloody, and faithleſs, tyrant. At the ſame time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that *Apollo*, the tutelar god of the place, had aſſured them of victory; which diſpelled all fear, ſo that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence.

His ſoldiers begin to mutiny.

Maximinus ſummons the city of Aquileia to ſurrender.

[u] Vit. Max. & Balb. p. 168, 169.

In

In the mean while, *Maximinus* having ſpent ſome time in paſſing the river *Sontius*, now *Iſonzo*, about ſixteen miles from *Aquileia*, approached the city; and having cauſed all the vines and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to harraſs the beſieged with repeated aſſaults, which they ſuſtained with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. Even the women and children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their ſhare in the common danger; the women eſpecially ſignalized their zeal by yielding their hair to be employed in making ſtrings for the bows and other warlike machines. The ſenate, out of gratitude, after the death of *Maximinus*, cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected, which they conſecrated to *Venus calva*, or *Venus the bald:* on a medal of *Quintia Criſpilla*, wife to the emperor *Maximus*, is to be ſeen a temple with that legend and the figure of a bald woman [w]. The ſoldiers of *Maximinus*, in the beginning of the ſiege, ſhewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardſhips, rather than ſubmit. *Maximinus*, highly provoked at their backwardneſs, and beſides enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants againſt him and his ſon, as often as they approached the walls, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be publicly executed, aſcribing the coolneſs of the ſoldiers to want of courage in them. This exaſperated the ſoldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of proviſions, of which, and even of water, there was great ſcarcity in the camp. Beſides, a report was ſpread, that the whole empire was arming againſt *Maximinus*, and ready to fall upon thoſe who ſupported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the *Albanians*, that is, the ſoldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, took a ſudden reſolution to diſpatch the author of ſo many calamities; and, without further deliberation, went ſtrait, at noonday, to the tent of *Maximinus*, diſpatched both him and his ſon with many wounds, cut off their heads, and ſent them to *Rome*, and threw their bodies into the river. With them were killed *Anolinus*, their captain of the guards, and all their chief miniſters and friends [x]. Such was the end of the reign, or rather, of the tyranny, of the two *Maximins*, after it had laſted three years and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the ſon in the twenty-firſt.

The inhabitants ſuſtain a ſiege with great reſolution.

The ſoldiers of Maximinus *mutiny, and murder him and ſon.*

[w] Vide DE MENESTRIER medailles des emper. & imperatr. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642.

the

The *Pannonians*, *Thracians*, and ſome other troops, heard the news of their death with regret, but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army preſented themſelves unarmed before the gates of *Aquileia*, acquainted the beſieged with the death of *Maximinus*, and deſired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought adviſeable to open the gates to them; but after they had adored the images of *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordian*, placed for that purpoſe on the ramparts, a great quantity of proviſions was ſent to their camp; for they were almoſt famiſhed: and the next day they all took the uſual oaths to *Maximus* and *Balbinus* [y].

His death occaſions great joy at Rome.

An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to *Rome* with theſe joyful tidings, who paſſing through *Ravenna*, found the emperor *Maximus* there buſy in aſſembling his forces, in order to march againſt the tyrant. But when he underſtood, that both the *Maximins* were killed, that their army had ſubmitted, and ſworn fidelity to him and his collegue, tranſported with joy, and laying aſide all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for ſuch ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs. In the mean time, the expreſs purſuing his journey, and often changing horſes, reached *Rome* the fourth day, diſtant from *Aquileia* about two hundred and eighty miles, which no one, ſays our hiſtorian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found *Balbinus* and *Gordian* aſſiſting with the people at the public ſports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no ſooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, Maximinus *is killed*; and riſing up left the theatre, and crouded to the temples, whither *Balbinus* and *Gordian* followed. The ſenate immediately aſſembled; and after decreeing ſeveral honours to the three princes, appointed ſacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and ſolemn thankſgiving for their happy delivery. *Balbinus*, who uſed to tremble at the very name of *Maximinus*, offered an hecatomb, which was never done but upon ſome very extraordinary occaſion, and cauſed the ſame ſacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire [z]. Thoſe who brought the heads of the two *Maximins*, arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the courier; for they made what haſte they could. They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. They entered *Rome* with the heads ſtuck upon two lances, that every one might ſee them; and no ſight was ever more pleaſing. They re-

[x] Herod. l. viii. p: 614. [y] Herod. l. viii. p. 626, 627. Max. vit. p. 146. [z] Max. vit. p. 169, &c.

paired

paired again to the temples, offered new ſacrifices, and ſeemed no leſs tranſported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity [a]. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many inſults, burnt in the field of *Mars*. The names of the *Maximins* were, by a decree of the ſenate, eraſed out of all inſcriptions, their ſtatues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor *Maximus* haſtened from *Ravenna* to *Aquileia*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of *Maximinus*, among whom he diſtributed large ſums, and then ſent them back to their reſpective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a ſmall body of *Germans*, in whom chiefly he confided. During his ſtay at *Aquileia*, the ſenate, to do him honour, ſent a deputation to him, conſiſting of twenty of their body, who had been all conſuls, prætors, or quæſtors. With them he ſet out from *Aquileia*; and arriving at *Rome* with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, was there received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the ſenate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace [b]. The two emperors governed with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, maintained the military diſcipline with due rigour, paid great reſpect and deference to the ſenate, and conducted themſelves in all things with ſuch wiſdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the ſenate and people [c]. But the happineſs and tranquillity which they enjoyed, under theſe excellent princes, were ſhort-lived. The *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, paſſing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæſia*. The *Goths*, provoked perhaps by the death of *Maximinus*, invaded the *Roman* territories on the ſide of *Scythia*; and the *Perſians*, who had continued quiet ſince the year 233, when *Alexander* made war upon them, threatened the eaſtern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* ſhould march againſt the *Perſians*, *Balbinus* againſt the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain in the mean time at *Rome*. But while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, diſſatisfied to ſee princes, who had been created by the ſenate, ſo much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered againſt *Maximinus*, and reflected no ſmall diſhonour upon them, who had raiſed him

The wiſe adminiſtration of the two emperors.

The Carpi, Goths, *and* Perſians, *threaten the* Romans *with war.*

[a] Max. vit. p. 169. HEROD. p. 617. [b] HEROD. l. viii p. 620. Max & Balb. vit. p. 170.

The prætorian guards mutiny.

to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved ſo advantageous to them, was ſnatched out of their hands, and transferred to the ſenate. Beſides, they grew jealous of the *Germans*, whom *Maximus* had brought to *Rome* with him, with a deſign, as they imagined, to diſcharge the prætorian guards, as *Septimius Severus* had formerly done, and to take the *Germans* in their room. Being thus prejudiced againſt the two emperors, they reſolved to diſpatch them, and reſume their pretended authority, by ſetting up another in their room. Having taken this reſolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which ſoon offered; for the *Capitoline* games being celebrated a few days after, and moſt of the emperors guards and domeſtics reſorting thither, the diſcontented and mutinous ſoldiery marched ſtrait to the palace, where the two princes were left almoſt alone. *Maximus*, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the *Germans* to his aſſiſtance, but was therein oppoſed by *Balbinus*. For theſe two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealouſies. *Balbinus* was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the ſenate had heaped upon his collegue, as if the death of *Maximinus*, and bleſſings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and beſides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himſelf in birth and nobility. On the other hand, *Maximus*, knowing himſelf to be by far the better ſoldier and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that ſcore the chief authority. Theſe mutual jealouſies, though prudently concealed, and rather gueſſed at by others, than ſeen, bred ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and occaſioned in the end the ruin of both. For *Balbinus*, not giving credit to what he was told of the deſigns of the prætorian guards, but rather ſuſpecting that his collegue intended to employ the *Germans* againſt him, would not ſuffer *Maximus*, to whom they were greatly attached, to ſend for them. This occaſioned a warm diſpute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and diſperſe ſuch of the emperor's friends and domeſtics as offered to oppoſe them. When they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they ruſhed upon them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace with a deſign to carry them to their camp, wounded and inſulted them in a moſt outrageous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being in-

Jealouſies between the emperors.

[c] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 167, 171.

formed,

formed, that the *Germans* had taken arms, and were advancing to reſcue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both, and leaving their bodies in the ſtreet, retired to the camp, carrying with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appeaſe the populace, that they had killed thoſe whom the people had at firſt rejected, and ſet up in their room the perſon whom they had demanded. The *Germans*, informed that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hoſtilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus *Gordian* remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire [d]. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* had reigned about one year and two months.

They are both killed: Gordian proclaimed emperor.

OF the deſcent and birth of *Gordian* we have ſpoken above. He was, according to *Herodian*, the ſon of *Junius Balbus*, by the ſiſter of *Gordian* the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of *M. Antonius Gordianus*, as he is ſtyled in all the antient inſcriptions [e]. He was about thirteen years old when he came to the empire, and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 225, the fourth of *Alexander*'s reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aſpect, and exceeding ſweet diſpoſition, which gained him the love of all who approached him: *Capitolinus* tells us, that he was beloved by perſons of all ranks, more than any prince had ever been before him. The ſenate uſed to ſtyle him their ſon, the ſoldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to ſtudy and learning, and well inſtructed in moſt branches of polite literature. He had all the neceſſary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but as he wanted experience, and ſuch a mother to direct and adviſe him as *Mamæa*, in the beginning of his reign, he fell into the hands of one *Maurus* and ſome other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who playing booty, and abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, perſuaded him to do many things, which he ever after regretted. They ſoon drove all good men from the court, raiſed to the firſt employments perſons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the miſchief which wicked and avaricious miniſters are capable of doing [f]. In the beginning of the year, the young prince entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, to which he had been named in the reign of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and took for his collegue *Aviola*. This year he entertained the people with magnificent ſports, in order to make them forget their paſt heats and animoſities.

His excelling ſweet qualifications.

Is deceived and impoſed upon by his miniſters.

[d] HERON. p. 621. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170. [e] HEROD. l. vii. p. 605. Occo. GOLTZ. ONUPH. &c. [f] HERCD. l. viii. p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160—164.

The following year, when *Sabinus* was conſul; the ſecond time; with *Venuſtus*, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to ſuch ſtraits, that they delivered up *Sabinianus* to him, acknowledged their fault, and ſubmitted. All the partizans of *Sabinianus* were pardoned [e]; but what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip; having *Pompeianus Civica* for his collegue. The young prince married this year *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Miſitheus*; who was immediately honoured with the title of *Auguſta*; but whether he had any children by her, hiſtory does not inform us.

Miſitheus, *captain of the guards, and father-in-law to the emperor*

The emperor choſe *Miſitheus* for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wiſdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a perſon of his extraordinary talents with whom to adviſe, not daring to truſt to his own judgment. *Miſitheus* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that important employment, than he acquainted the emperor with the miſdemeanour of *Maurus*, and baſe practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs, who were thereupon all diſcharged and baniſhed the court. From a letter of *Miſitheus* to the emperor, quoted by *Capitolinus*, it appears, that the young prince had been ſtrangely miſled, and groſly impoſed upon by that infamous crew (T); and

[e] Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l. i. p. 640.

(T) This letter was conceived in the following terms: "It is "with the greateſt pleaſure I congratulate you upon the alteration "of times. Every thing was formerly bought and ſold by the "eunuchs, and ſuch as pretended to be your friends, but were in "reality your greateſt enemies. I am glad that this blot is removed from your reign; the more, becauſe you are glad of it yourſelf; which will convince the world, that the diſorders hitherto "complained of ought not to be imputed to you. All poſts in "the army have been diſpoſed of to perſons no-ways qualified for "them; others have been denied the rewards due to their ſervices; "innocent perſons have been condemned, and ſuch as were guilty "ſaved; the public revenues miſapplied, the exchequer plundered, &c. But theſe, and many other diſorders, will no longer "be imputed to you, but to thoſe who entered into cabals to deceive you, to remove from the court all perſons of virtue, honour, and integrity, and to introduce in their room men as wicked as themſelves, that they might make you a property to their "evil deſigns. But now your eyes are opened, you have begun to "reform the ſtate, and many diſorders have been already redreſſed. "I reckon it my greateſt happineſs to be father-in-law to ſo good "a prince;

and from the emperor's anſwer to it, that he was ſenſible of his former miſconduct, and deſirous to correct his faults; to know the truth, and to employ only ſuch perſons as would ſpeak it without flattery or diſguiſe (U). He reſpected *Miſitheus* as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his ſon, and returned thanks to the ſenate for diſtinguiſhing his father-in-law with the titles of *father of princes*, and *guardian of the republic* [a]; titles which he well deſerved, being one of the few miniſters who are ſaid to have had nothing in view, but the glory of their prince and the welfare of the ſtate [b]. This year, happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and deſtroyed an infinate number of people [c]. The following year, when *C. Vettius Auſidius Aticus* and *C. Aſinius Prætextatus* were conſuls, *Rome* was alarmed with news from the eaſt, where the *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy, had entered the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, reduced all *Meſopotamia*, with the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*; and entering *Syria*, committed moſt dreadful ravages in that pro-

Sapor. *king of* Perſia, *over-runs the* Roman *dominions in the eaſt.*

[a] Gord. vit. p. 161. [b] Idem, p. 163. [c] Idem, p. 162.

" a prince; a prince who, without truſting to others, examines " into every thing himſelf, and has baniſhed from his court thoſe, " who, conſulting not his honour, but their own intereſt, led him " aſtray (34)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following anſwer. " If the immortal gods had not protected the *Roman* em- " pire, I had been deluded, and, together with the empire, utter- " ly ruined by ſlaves and eunuchs. I am now fully convinced, " that *Felix* ought not to have been truſted with the command of " the guards, nor *Serapammo* with that of the fourth legion. But " not to mention all my errors, I own, that I have done many " things amiſs, and now return thanks to the gods for having by " your means diſcovered many things to me, which have been hi- " therto maliciouſly concealed from me. *Maurus* entering into " a confederacy with *Gaudianus*, *Reverendus*, and *Montanus*, who " confirmed whatever he ſaid, impoſed upon me; ſo that, what- " ever they approved or condemned, I accepted or rejected, rely- " ing intirely upon their integrity. Unhappy therefore is that " prince, who has not ſuch about him, as will tell him the truth " without diſguiſe. For, as he cannot immediately know what " paſſes among his people, he muſt underſtand it by the relation " of others, and take his meaſures according to their information " (35)."

(34) *Gord. vit. p.* 161. (35) *Idem ibidem.*

vince, putting all to fire and ſword. *Capitolinus* writes, that he had made himſelf maſter of *Antioch* itſelf, and threatened to over-run the other provinces; moſt of the *Romans* who defended them, having, through fear, lifted themſelves in his army. *Gordian* reſolved to march in perſon againſt ſo formidable an enemy; and accordingly having cauſed the temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the antient cuſtom, which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after practiſed, he ſet out from *Rome* this year 242, the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well-diſciplined army; and taking his rout through *Mœſia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who diſputed his paſſage, and obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and return to their reſpective countries [d]. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the *Alani*, in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* in *Macedon*, or, as others will have it, of *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* [e]. But the barbarians neglected, it ſeems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for *Gordian* purſued his march unmoleſted through *Thrace*, and, paſſing the *Helleſpont*, arrived ſafe in *Aſia*. To this paſſage perhaps alludes the ſhip, which is to be ſeen on ſome of his medals bearing no date [f]. From the *Helleſpont* he marched through *Aſia* into *Syria*, where he gained ſignal advantages over the enemy, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account. However, they all agree, that he overcame the *Perſians* in ſeveral battles; that he recovered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, whither he purſued him as far as *Cteſiphon* [g]. Theſe ſucceſſes were chiefly owing to the wiſe counſels and directions of the brave *Miſitheus*, as the emperor himſelf with great modeſty acknowledged, in a letter which he wrote to the ſenate upon his arrival at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*. In that letter he firſt acquaints the ſenate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in *Macedon* and *Thrace*; then coming to his victories over the *Perſians*, he tells them, that he had delivered the *Antiochians* from the *Perſian* yoke, recovered *Carrhæ* and other cities, and was arrived at *Niſibis*; whence he deſigned to proceed to *Cteſiphon*, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preſerve *Miſitheus*, my father, and captain of the guards, by whoſe wiſe conduct we have atchieved theſe, and hope to atchieve ſtill greater things. It is incumbent

He is defeated by Gordian, *and obliged to retire.*

[d] Idem, p. 163. [e] Idem, p. 165. [f] Birag. p. 339.
[g] Gord. vit. p. 162. Aur. Vict. Eutrop.

upon

upon you, conſcript fathers, to appoint public proceſſions to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to *Miſitheus.*

Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to *Miſitheus*, with a pompous inſcription, ſtyling him *the father of princes*, *captain of the guards*, and *the guardian of the republic* [h]. This inſcription, which was placed on the baſis of his triumphal ſtatue, is ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome* almoſt intire. But the happineſs which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of *Gordian*, and the wiſe adminiſtration of *Miſitheus*, was ſhort-lived. The latter died the following year, in the conſulſhip of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, and by his laſt will left the *Roman* people his heirs. We are told, that *Miſitheus* being ill of a flux, the phyſicians preſcribed him a remedy to ſtop it, which, by the contrivance of *Julius Philippus*, of whom hereafter, was exchanged, and another adminiſtered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, *Philip* was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief under the emperor of all the forces of the eaſt; for of him *Gordian* did not entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion [i]. The following year, when *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus* were conſuls, the emperor entered the *Perſian* dominions, in order to purſue the war, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun. *Plotinus*, the celebrated philoſopher, liſted himſelf in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the *Perſian* and *Indian* philoſophers [k]. The philoſopher was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrius*, the author of his life, anſwers the preſent year, the 243d of the chriſtian æra and ſixth of *Gordian*'s reign.

Gordian *is decreed a triumph, and* Miſitheus *a triumphal ſtatue.*

Miſitheus *dies.*

Philip no ſooner ſaw himſelf raiſed to the important poſt of captain of the guards, than he began to aſpire at the ſovereignty itſelf. As the ſoldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to leſſen their affection to him, he ſometimes led them into places where no proviſions could be found; at other times ſent in his name the veſſels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way, hoping that the troops, diſtreſſed for want of neceſſaries, would, notwithſtanding their attachment to *Gordian*, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the moſt turbulent among them, whom *Philip* had gained, whiſpering about in the mean time, that *Gordian*, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command ſuch powerful forces; that they wanted ſuch a general

Julius Philippus, *captain of the guards, in his room.*

[h] Idem, p. 160. [i] Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641. [k] Porphyr. vit. Plot. p. 2.

neral as *Philip*, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army [l]. *Gordian*, however, advanced againſt *Sapor*, and meeting him in *Meſopotamia*, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the *Aboras*, or *Aburas*, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the heart of his own dominions [m]. But while the young conqueror was purſuing the advantages of his victory, *Philip*, who had already gained the chief officers of the army, led the troops through barren and deſert countries, where, through want of proviſions, which they aſcribed to want of experience in *Gordian*, they openly mutinied, and demanded, that *Philip* might reign in conjunction with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to ſhed *Roman* blood, granted them their requeſt, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who ſeeing himſelf upon the level with his ſovereign, ſoon began to uſurp an authority over him, and to diſpoſe of all employments, as if he had been ſole emperor. This *Gordian* could not bear, and therefore attempted to depoſe him; but *Philip*'s party prevailing, he was himſelf depoſed, and in the end murdered by the uſurper. *Capitolinus* writes, that *Gordian*, finding himſelf reduced to a private life, offered to ſerve under *Philip* as captain of the guards, and even condeſcended to beg his life; at which demand, *Philip* began to relent; but afterwards, conſidering how dear the young prince was to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and not doubting, but they would uſe their utmoſt efforts to reinſtate him in the ſovereignty, he commanded him to be ſlain [n]. Other writers take no notice of theſe particulars, which, if true, betray great meanneſs and want of courage in *Gordian*; but only tell us, that *Philip* cauſed him to be murdered, and reigned in his room. His death happened, according to the moſt probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code [o], about the beginning of *March*, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the fartheſt borders of *Perſia*, in the place where his tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in the year 363, beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Aboras*, between the cities of *Circuſa*, which ſtood near the conflux of thoſe two rivers, and that of *Dura*, which ſtands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles diſtant from the former river. The place was called *Zantha* or *Zaïthe* [p]. There the ſoldiers erected to the me-

He induces the ſoldiers to mutiny.

Gordian depoſed.

And ſlain

His tomb and epitaph.

[l] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p. 641. [m] Ammian. l. xxiii. [n] Gord. vit. p. 163. 165. [o] Cod. Juſt l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 7. p. 813, &c. [p] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. Noris epiſt. d. 287.

mory

mory of the deceaſed emperor a ſtately tomb with the following epitaph in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Perſian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* tongues, that it might be read by all nations: *To the deified* Gordian, *who conquered the* Perſians, Goths, *and* Sarmatians, *ſuppreſſed the civil diſcords, ſubdued the* Germans, *but could not overcome the* Philips. The laſt words allude, according to *Capitolinus*, to his having been overcome by the *Alani* in the plains of *Philippi*, and his being killed by *Philip* [q]. But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor *Philip*. The ſame writer adds, that *Licinius*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Philip*, cauſed this epitaph to be taken down. *Victor* the younger writes, that the body of *Gordian* was interred in that tomb; but *Eutropius* and *Feſtus* aſſure us, that it was conveyed to *Rome*, where the deceaſed prince was with the uſual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The ſenate granted this extraordinary privilege to the *Gordian* family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unleſs it were by their own choice, guardianſhips, embaſſies, or any other public duty whatever [r]. All thoſe who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, periſhed ſoon after [s]. *Capitolinus* writes, that they diſpatched themſelves with the ſame ſwords which they had employed againſt him [t] (W).

Philip

[q] Gord. vit. p. 165. [r] Gord. vit. p. 164. [s] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 246. [t] Gord. vit. p. 165.

(W) The writers who flouriſhed under *Gordian* were *Cenſorinus*, who wrote, or rather finiſhed, his famous book, intitled *de die natali*, in the firſt year of that prince's reign, the ſecond of the 254th olympiad, the 991ſt of *Rome*, when the *Capitoline* games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (36). All theſe particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the abovementioned book, deſigning it as a preſent to one of his friends, by name *Q. Cerellius*, againſt his birth-day. Thence he takes occaſion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned obſervations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly eſteemed by, *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Caſſiodorus*, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by *Cenſorinus*, on *accents*; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times, quoted by *Priſcian*, who ſtyles *Cenſorinus* a very learned grammarian (37). He is, by the beſt critics, looked upon as the moſt exact writer of his time (38).

(36) *Cenſor. de die natal. c.* 8. *p.* 131, 132, & *c.* 21. *p.* 155, 156. (37) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c.* 3. (38) *Vide append. ad Cyprian. diſſert. c.* 9.

Birth and extraction of Philip.

Philip was by birth an *Arabian*, being born in *Bostra*, a city of *Arabia Petræa*. He was of a very mean descent; for his

Censorinus himself quotes, as a work of his own, a book intitled *indigitamentorum*, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (39). *Herodian* wrote, in eight books, the history of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to that of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. He assures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himself had seen; so that he must have died very old; for his work comprehends the space of sixty-eight or seventy years (40). All we know of his life is, that he was at *Rome* in the latter end of the reign of *Commodus* (41), and had several employments under the succeeding emperors (42). As for his history, *Photius* commends his style as noble and sublime, and at the same time clear, and free from all affectation (43). *Capitolinus*, who in many places only translates and copies him, bestows great encomiums upon his writings, but at the same time censures him, and with a great deal of reason, as too favourable to *Maximinus*, and highly prejudiced against *Alexander* (44). *Vossius* and others approve of this censure (45); whence, in our history of the reigns of these two princes, we have preferred the authority of *Capitolinus* to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in history and chronology, and seems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the rout, which he supposes the emperor *Alexander*'s forces to have taken, when that prince marched against the *Persians*. Under *Gordian* likewise flourished *Arrian*, a *Greek* historian, quoted by *Capitolinus* in his history of the reigns of *Maximinus* and *Gordian* (46); and *Ælius Junius Cordus*, often quoted by the *Augustine* historians (47). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from *Trajan* to the two *Gordians*; but filled his history, according to *Capitolinus*, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many suits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domestics, *&c.* (48). *Vossius* places him among the *Latin* historians, with *Ælius Sabinus*, who wrote the life of *Maximinus*, *Vulcanius Terentianus*, author of the lives of the three *Gordians*, in whose times they lived, and *Curius Fortunatianus*, who wrote the history of the reign of the two *Maximins* (49). Some pretend, that

(39) *Censor. c. 3. p. 17.* (40) *Herod. l. i. p. 465. & l. ii. p. 514.* (41) *Idem, l. i. p. 484.* (42) *Idem ibid. p. 465.* (43) *Phot. c. 99. p. 276.* (44) *Maximin. vit. p. 143. Alex. vit. p. 134.* (45) *Voss hist. Græc. l. ii. p. 239.* (46) *Voss. ibid. l. iv. p. 17. Maximin. vit. p. 150.* (47) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 179. Macrin. vit. p. 93.* (48) *Gord. vit. p. 152, 160.* (49) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Alex. vit. p. 150. Gord. vit. p. 160.*

the

his father is ſaid to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country [w]. In the antient inſcriptions he is ſtyled *M. Julius Philippus*, and his wife *Marcia Otacilia Severa*. He had a ſon, named likewiſe *Philip*, born in the year 237, and conſequently ſeven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himſelf was at that time, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [x], about forty; but *Aurelius Victor* ſuppoſes him to have been much older. Whether or no *Philip* was the firſt Chriſtian emperor, has been the ſubject of great diſputes among the learned. The affirmative ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, being maintained by the following writers, *viz. Jerom*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Rufinus*, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Syncellus*, *Oroſius*, *Jornandes*, the anonymous writer publiſhed by *Valeſius*, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the learned cardinal *Bona*, *Abulfaragius*, *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, and *Huetius*. The arguments which ſome modern critics have alledged in favour of the oppoſite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of ſo many eminent writers; nay, moſt of them have but little or no force in themſelves, and only prove, that *Philip* was guilty of ſeveral actions highly diſcountenanced by the chriſtian religion; ſuch as his murdering his ſovereign; his ſtyling him a god; his aſſiſting at the public ſhows, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies; and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been chriſtians, whoſe lives were a diſgrace to their profeſſion; and in that number ſome rank the preſent emperor, though there are not wanting writers of no ſmall account, who, bating the murder of *Gordian*, for which, they ſay, he atoned by ſubmitting to a public penance,

Whether the firſt chriſtian emperor.

[w] GORD. vit p. 163. ZONAR p. 229. VICT. epit. [x] Chron. Alexand. p. 630.

the hiſtory of *Fortunatianus* is ſtill extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in *Italy*. To this *Fortunatianus Voſſius* aſcribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of *Curius Fortunatianus Conſultus*, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned (50). In the reign of the emperor *Conſtantine* were ſtill extant ſome books of epigrams by *Fabilius* a *Greek* grammarian, and one of the preceptors of *Maximinus* the younger, and various poems written by *Toxotius*, a ſenator of the family of *Antoninus Pius*. He married *Junia Fadilla*, formerly betrothed to young *Maximinus*, and died ſoon after he had diſcharged the office of prætor (51).

(50) *Voſſ. ibid.* (51) *Maximin. vit. p.* 148.

think he did nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the religion which he profeſſed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the ſenate the apotheoſis of *Gordian*. He uſed indeed, as we read in *Capitolinus*, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of *divus*, *the deified Gordian*; but that title was given even by *Conſtantine* after his converſion, and by other chriſtian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their reſcripts. *Philip* is ſaid by *Victor* the younger to have been preſent at the public ſhows, that were exhibited on occaſion of the thouſandth year of *Rome*; but that he aſſiſted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies, which uſually preceded the ſports, we find no-where recorded. His being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the ſenate to moſt emperors: the ſame honour was conferred upon *Mamæa* the mother of *Alexander*; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that ſhe was not a chriſtian. But to proceed to the hiſtory of this prince's reign. Upon the death of *Gordian*, *Philip* was acknowledged emperor by the whole army, on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. The new prince no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than he declared his ſon *Cæſar*, and took him, though but ſeven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falſely aſcribed to a natural diſtemper, and with his own election [y]. Some authors write, that the ſenate believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without heſitation the choice of the ſoldiery; while others pretend, that the ſenate did not acknowledge *Philip*, till *M. Marcius*, and *L. Aurelius Severus Hoſtilianus*, two ſenators of great diſtinction, whom they ſucceſſively created emperors, were ſnatched away by ſudden deaths [z]. *Philip*, deſirous to return to *Rome*, immediately concluded a peace with the *Perſians*, and led back his army into *Syria*. *Zonaras* writes, that he yielded to *Sapor*, *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*; but ſoon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Romans*, both countries [a]. Be that as it will, he arrived at *Antioch* before *Eaſter*, which, according to *Euſebius* [b], was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of *April*, and went with the empreſs to aſſiſt at the prayers and ſacred ceremonies that were performed by the primitive Chriſtians the night preceding that great feſtival.

He takes his ſon for his partner in the empire.

He concludes a peace with the Perſians.

[y] Gord. vit. p. 164. Cedren. p. 257. [z] Zonar p 229. Onuph p. 260. [a] Zonar. ibid. [b] Euseb. l. vi. c. 34.

But

But *Babylas*, who was then biſhop of *Antioch*, and afterwards ſuffered martyrdom under *Decius*, appriſed of his coming, went out to meet him; reproached him with the murder of his ſovereign; declared him unworthy of being admitted into the congregation of the faithful; and ſtopping him with his hand, proteſted, that he would by no means ſuffer him to enter the ſacred place, unleſs he made a public confeſſion of his ſins, and ranked himſelf among the penitents. The emperor with great humility ſubmitted to both, and was thereupon by the holy biſhop admitted into the church. This St. *Chryſoſtom* [c] and ſeveral other writers relate as a thing altogether certain; but *Euſebius* ſpeaks of it as what in his time was *ſaid to have happened* [d]. It was probably on this occaſion that *Origen* wrote both to *Philip* and his wife *Severa*, which St. *Jerom* miſtakes for his mother, commending their piety, and putting them in mind of their duty [e]. Both theſe letters were ſtill extant in St. *Jerom*'s time [f]; that is, about the end of the fourth century. From *Syria* the emperor ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with the uſual demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people; whoſe affections, though they at firſt ſeemed averſe to him, he ſoon gained by his mild adminiſtration and obliging behaviour [g]. He appointed his brother *Priſcus* commander in chief of the troops in *Syria*, and *Severianus*, his father-in-law, of the forces in *Mæſia* and *Macedon*, perſons but ill qualified for thoſe important poſts [h]. As the works of *Trebellius Pollio* and others, who wrote the lives of *Philip* and his ſucceſſors to *Valerian*, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of *Zoſimus*; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a profeſſed and implacable enemy to the chriſtian religion, and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of *Philip*, and crying up his ſucceſſor *Decius*, by whom the church was moſt cruelly perſecuted.

He ſubmits to be ranked in the church among the penitents.

He gains the affections of the people at Rome.

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having *Titianus* for his collegue; and ſoon after, leaving the city, marched againſt the *Carpi*, who, paſſing the *Danube*, had invaded *Mœſia*, and laid waſte great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repaſs the *Danube*, and ſue for peace; which

Defeats the Carpi.

[c] CHRYSOS. de S. Babyla, contra Gentil. tom. 1. p. 656, 657. Pariſ. ann. 1636. [d] EUSEB. l. vi. c. 34. [e] Idem ibid. c. 36. VINCENT. LIRIN. c. 23. RUFIN. c. 26. [f] HIER. vit. illuſt. vir. c 54. p. 285. [g] AUR. VICT. Zos. l. i. p. 646. [h] Idem p. 642, 643.

he

he readily granted, and returned to *Rome* [j]. The next year, when *Præſens* and *Albinus* were conſuls, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity, except the burning by accidental fire of the theatre of *Pompey*, and another ſtately building called *Centum Columnæ*, or the *Hundred Pillars*. In the beginning of the following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue, whom he honoured with the title of *Auguſtus*, and inveſted with the tribunitial power [k]. Both princes retained the faſces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater pomp and magnificence the thouſandth year of *Rome*, begun on the twenty-firſt of *April* of the year 247 of the chriſtian æra, and fifth of *Philip*'s reign, according to the computation of *Varro*; which was then, and is ſtill, followed by moſt hiſtorians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*, ſhows of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beaſts, reſerved by *Gordian* for his triumph over the *Perſians*, killed and diſtributed among the people [l]. *Oroſius* writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary ſolemnity to the honour of Chriſt and his church [m]. We wiſh he had informed us in what manner.

The thouſandth year of Rome.

This year the emperor publiſhed an edict truly worthy of a chriſtian prince, forbidding under the ſevereſt penalties all manner of unnatural luſt, and thoſe infamous practices which had long prevailed in *Rome*, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good, princes [n]. The following year when *M. Æmilianus* was, the ſecond time, conſul with *Julius Aquilinus*, the eaſtern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of *Priſcus* their governor (we follow *Zoſimus* for want of a better guide), openly revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus*, or *Jotopianus*, emperor; but he was ſoon killed, and with his death put an end to the diſturbances on that ſide [o]. At the ſame time the provinces of *Mæſia* and *Pannonia* revolted, continues *Zoſimus*, and ſet up one *P. Corvilius Marinus*, who was but a centurion. Hereupon *Philip*, in great conſternation, beſought the ſenate either to enable him to quaſh the rebellion, or to depoſe him, if they were diſſatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected ſpeech ſurpriſed the ſenate; but *Decius*, while the other ſenators

Unnatural luſt ſuppreſſed at Rome.

Several rebellions.

[j] Idem. p. 641. [k] Onuph. p. 260. Goltz. p. 107. [l] Pagi, p. 247. Spanh. l. iii. p. 147. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 10. [n] Alex. vit. p. 121. Aur. Vict. [o] Zos. l. i. p. 642.

continued

continued ſilent, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had no reaſon to fear *Marinus*, whoſe preſumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would ſoon prove his ruin. What *Decius* had foretold, happened a few days after, when *Marinus* was killed by thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to the empire. Hereupon *Philip*, recalling his father-in-law *Severianus*, obliged *Decius*, much againſt his will, to accept of the government of *Mœſia* and *Pannonia* in his room. He no ſooner appeared there, than the ſoldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the ſovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he ſuffered himſelf to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him [p]. *Zonaras* tells us, that he immediately wrote to *Philip*, aſſuring him, that he deſigned to reſign the ſovereignty as ſoon as he reached *Rome* [q]. But *Philip*, without relying upon ſuch promiſes marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the uſurper, hoping to ſurpriſe him. His ſon he left at *Rome*, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. *Decius*, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle array. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which great numbers of *Philip*'s men were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he himſelf was killed by the army; whether by his own, or by that of *Decius*, we are not told. The news of his death no ſooner reached *Rome*, than the prætorian guards diſpatched his ſon, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor *Philip*, after he had reigned five years and ſome months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244, and killed after the ſeventeenth of *June*, of the year 249, as appears from the dates of his laws [r]. Both he and his ſon were, according to *Eutropius*, ranked among the gods; which, however injurious to the memory and religion of *Philip*, ſhews, that his adminiſtration was not diſpleaſing to the ſenate, though he had ſucceeded *Gordian*, a prince ſo much and ſo univerſally beloved. *Euſebius* and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who was raiſed to that ſee in his reign, tells us, that under him the chriſtian religion was publicly preached; that it flouriſhed and increaſed more than it had done under any other prince [s]; *and no wonder*,

Decius declared emperor by the troops in Illyricum.

Philip overcome and killed.

The chriſtian religion encouraged under him.

[p] Idem ibid. & p. 643 [q] Zonar. p. 220. [r] Cod. l. i. p. 643. Aur. Vict. Zonar. p. [illegible] tit. 32. leg. 6. p. 450 & l. [illegible] [s] Euseb. l. vi. c. 30. p. 232.

adds the former writer, without explaining himself any further; but meaning, as to us *seems* plain from the context, that he professed it himself [u]. *Gregory* of *Nyssa* writes, that, in the reign of *Philip*, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of *Neocesarea* in *Pontus* being converted to christianity, the idols were every-where overturned with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God [w]. Of *Philip* the son authors observe, that he was of *such* a grave, or rather melancholy, temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or smile; and add, that his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expressing his displeasure with a more grave and reserved look than usual [x]. Both he and his mother *Marcia Otacilia Severa* professed, according to St. *Jerom* [y] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [z], the christian religion; nay, *Petrus de Natalibus*, reckons the two *Philips* among the martyrs of the church [a], upon the authority of *Orosius*; who writes, that *Decius* put them to death, either because they were christians, or that he might, when they were removed, persecute the christian religion [b]. But the authority of *Orosius*, who lived many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unless confirmed by that of more ancient writers. *Eusebius* says, that *Decius* persecuted the church out of hatred to *Philip* [c]; but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put *Philip* to death on account of his religion. Of the authors who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (X).

Upon

[u] Idem, c. 41. p. 238. [w] Greg. Nyss. vit. Greg. Thaumat. tom. 3. p. 563. [x] Vict. epit. [y] Hier. chron. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 630. [a] Pet. de Natal. catalog. sanct. c. 92. p. 218. [b] Oros. l. vii. c. 21. [c] Euseb. l. vi. c. 39.

(X) Under *Philip* flourished *Nicagoras*, a celebrated sophist of *Athens*. He was the son of one *Mnesæus*, an orator, and wrote the lives of illustrious men (52). *Philostratus* reckons him and *Apsinas* among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (53). *Minucianus*, the son of *Neagoras*, published a book of rhetoric, on which *Porphyrius* wrote comments (54), and a small treatise on syllogisms, which has reached our times (55). *Apsinas* flourished at the same time, and is greatly commended by *Philostratus*, on account of his exactness in writing, and extraordi-

(52) *Suid. p.* 223. (53) *Philos. soph.* lix. *p.* 629. (54) *Suid. p.* 573. (55) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 6. *p.* 51. *Jons. l.* iii. *c.* 14.

nary

UPON the death of *Philip* and his ſon, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, firſt by the ſoldiery, and ſoon after by the ſenate and people, who wanted both ſtrength and courage to diſpute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, or *Budalia*, a borough in the territory of *Sirmium* in *Lower Pannonia*, and, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [d], raiſed to the empire in the fifty-ſeventh, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only in the forty-ſeventh, year of his age. He had by his wife *Herennia Etruſcilla* four ſons, *viz. Decius*, *Hoſtilianus*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan*. The name of *Meſſius* was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions *Caius Meſſius Quintus Trajanus Decius*. He was, according to *Zoſimus* his panegyriſt, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and *The birth and deſcent of* Decius.

His character.

[d] Chron. Alexand. p. 632.

nary memory (56). He was a native of *Phœnicia*; but ſpent great part of his life at *Athens*; and is thence by *Suidas* called an *Athenian* (57). *Onaſimus*, the *Athenian* ſophiſt, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another of the ſame name and profeſſion, born in *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, was the ſon of *Apſinas*, and father to another *Apſinas*, who ſeems to have flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* (58). *Suidas* mentions a third ſophiſt of this name, who flouriſhed under *Maximian*; but was a native of *Gadara* on the confines of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, and attained to the rank and title of conſular (59). *Major*, an *Arabian* ſophiſt, flouriſhed likewiſe under *Philip*, and publiſhed thirteen books of rhetoric (60), none of which have reached us. *Syncellus* mentions one *Theopompus* a philoſopher, who became very famous at *Cheronea* in *Bœotia* (61); but of him no notice is taken either by *Suidas*, or any other writer. *Aſinius Quadratus* wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in the *Ionic* dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of *Alexander*, ſays *Suidas* (62); but he muſt have brought it down to the fifth year of *Philip*'s reign, which was the thouſandth of *Rome*; for his book was intituled the χιλιας, or *the thouſand years* (63). This work is quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer, by the *Auguſtine* writers, by *Zoſimus*, and by *Xiphilin*; but has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the *Parthians*, often quoted by the ancients, and that of *Germany*. Of the former *Stephanus* cites the ninth book; and *Agathias*, ſpeaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of *Italy*, and wrote with great exactneſs (64).

(56) *Philoſ.* p. 623. (57) *Suid* p. 523. (58) *Idem ibid.* (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. p. 464. (61) *Syncel.* p. 362. (62) *Suid.* p. 1484. (63) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. p. 239. (64) *Agath. l.* i *p.* 17.

endowed with every good quality [e]. *Victor* the younger ſtyles him *the beſt of princes*, and *Vopiſcus* equals him to the moſt renowned commanders of antiquity [f]. He was no ſooner inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he declared his eldeſt ſon *Cæſar*, and *prince of the youth*. The ſame title he ſoon after beſtowed upon his three other ſons [g]. In the very beginning of his reign, he raiſed the moſt dreadful and bloody perſecution that had ever oppreſſed the church, prompted thereunto by his hatred to the deceaſed emperor, and his zeal for the cauſe of declining paganiſm, which he ſaw fatally undermined by the wonderful progreſs of chriſtianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be ſupported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted moſt cruel edicts againſt all who profeſſed the chriſtian religion; purſuant to which, the chriſtians were in all places driven from their habitations, ſtripped of their eſtates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trod under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to betray a chriſtian, and procure his death. It is eaſier, ſays *Nicephorus*, ſpeaking of this perſecution, to count the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, than the martyrs who ſuffered under *Decius*. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the biſhops, of whom many were ſeized, inhumanly racked and executed, and among the reſt *Fabian* biſhop of *Rome*, *Babylas* biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Alexander* biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Great numbers of chriſtians betook themſelves to barren mountains, rocks, and deſerts, chuſing rather to live among wild beaſts, than men who had diveſted themſelves of all reaſon and humanity. Among theſe was the celebrated hermit *Paul*, who, withdrawing into the deſerts of *Egypt*, led there a ſolitary life for the ſpace of ninety years at leaſt, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets [h]. This perſecution did not rage, at leaſt with its firſt violence, above a year, as appears from the epiſtles of St. *Cyprian* [i], the emperor and magiſtrates being, by the invaſion of ſeveral barbarous nations, diverted from ſearching after the chriſtians; for about the end of the firſt year of *De-*

His cruel perſecution of the church

[e] Zos. l. i. p. 641. [f] Aurel. Vict. p. 223. Goltz. p. 109. Onuph. p. 261. Occo. p 454. [g] Hier. vit. Paul. p. 237. Euseb. l. iii. c. 39. Lact. perſec. c. 4. Greg. Nyss. vit. Thaum. p. 567. Cyp. diſ. xi. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hilar. in Conſ. p. 113. Cyp. epiſt. 52. [i] Cyp. epiſt. 36, &c.

cius's

cius's reign, when he was conſul, for the ſecond time, with *Vicius Gratus*, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, having paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Cniva*, inveſted with ſeventy thouſand men the city of *Euſterium* in *Lower Mœſia*; but meeting there with a vigorous oppoſition from *Gallus*, who was afterwards emperor, they raiſed the ſiege of *Euſterium*, and ſat down before *Nicopolis*, another city in the ſame province. Againſt them *Decius* diſpatched his eldeſt ſon, at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mœſia* from *Thrace*. However, they ſoon recruited their army, and, entering *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*. Young *Decius* haſtened to the relief of the place; but while his troops were refreſhing themſelves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of *Berea*, a city of the ſame province, *Cniva*, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into *Mœſia*. *Cniva* then returned before *Philippopolis*; and having made himſelf maſter of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thouſand ſouls, ſays *Ammianus* [k], without diſtinction of ſex or age, to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon* [l], where *L. Priſcus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, inſtead of oppoſing, joined the enemy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon *Decius*, who had ſtaid at *Rome* to conſecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately ſet out for *Pannonia*; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip, and honoured with that dignity his eldeſt ſon, ſtyled in the inſcriptions of this year *Q. Herennius Decius Cæſar*; whence it is manifeſt, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus* [m].

Young Decius gains great advantages over the Goths.

But his army is in the end intirely cut off.

Decius overcame the *Goths*, ſays *Zoſimus*, in ſeveral engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions [n]. What that author writes is confirmed by ſeveral medals, mentioning his conqueſts in *Dacia*, and victories over the *Carpi*, who had probably joined the *Goths* [o]. *Priſcus* was declared by the ſenate a public enemy, and ſlain; but where, or in what manner, hiſtory does not inform us. From *Thrace* the emperor wrote

The Goths are overcome by the emperor.

[k] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 446. [l] Zos. l. i. p. 644. JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [m] SPANH. p. 234. [n] Zos. p. 643. [o] Occo. p. 450.

The office of cenſor re-eſtabliſhed.

to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he deſigned to re-eſtabliſh the office of cenſor, an ancient magiſtracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a perſon for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been aboliſhed by the emperors, who diſcharged the functions annexed to it, without aſſuming the title; for, ſince *Domitian*'s time, the title of *cenſor* had been quite laid aſide, and neglected by moſt of the princes who reigned before him [p]. The laſt private perſons who diſcharged that office, were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus*, in the year of *Rome* 732, the tenth of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and twenty-ſecond before the birth of Chriſt. The ſenate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, aſſembled in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and there, inſtead of waiting till their votes were aſked, cried out with one voice, as ſoon as the letter was read, *Let* Valerian *be cenſor*; *let him cenſure and correct the faults of others, who has no faults of his own.* Of *Valerian*, who was raiſed to the empire two years after, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. He was then in *Thrace* with *Decius*; who, upon his receiving the decree of the ſenate, cauſed it to be publicly read; exhorted *Valerian* not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with ſuch extraordinary marks of eſteem and diſtinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it; which, he ſaid, extended over all perſons civil and military, of what rank and condition ſoever, except the governor of *Rome*, the conſuls for the time being, the pontiff ſtyled *rex ſacrorum*, and the ſuperior of the veſtal virgins, ſo long as, mindful of her vow, ſhe preſerved herſelf undefiled. *Valerian*, ſays the author of his life, earneſtly beſought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every reſpect unequal [q]; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to ſubmit to it.

Valerian *choſen cenſor.*

Soon after the emperor marched againſt the *Goths*, overcame them, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraights, that they offered to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering *Rome* from ſo troubleſome an enemy, without hearkening to their propoſals, ſent *Trebonianus Gallus* with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and purſuing them cloſe with the reſt of the army, came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them a ſecond time. The *Goths*, knowing that

Decius *gains new advantages over the* Goths.

[p] Dio. l. liii. p. 598. [q] Valer. vit. p. 173, 174.

all

all lay at ſtake, fought like men in deſpair. Young *Decius* ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, and is ſaid to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horſe in the ſight of the whole army. The emperor, ſeeing him fall, cried out to his ſoldiers, without betraying the leaſt concern, *We have loſt but one man; let not, fellow-ſoldiers, ſo ſmall a loſs diſcourage you.* Having uttered theſe words, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but, inſtead of revenging the death of his ſon, he was himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, overpowered, and killed. Thus *Zoſimus* [r] and *Jornandes* [s]. But *Aurelius Victor* and *Zonaras* tell us, that *Gallus*, who kept a private correſpondence with the *Goths*, adviſed them to encamp behind a moraſs, in which the emperor, while he attempted to paſs it, purſuant to the treacherous counſel of the ſame *Gallus*, periſhed with his ſon and the greateſt number of the army, partly ſuffocated in the mud, and partly deſtroyed by the ſhowers of arrows, which the barbarians diſcharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire [t]. The ſame writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. *Euſebius* [u] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [w] only ſay, that the two *Decii* were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. *Lactantius* writes, that *Decius* having engaged the *Carpi*, was by them ſurrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beaſts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a perſecutor of his church, deſerved to periſh [x]. St. *Jerom* likewiſe [y], St. *Cyprian* [z], and *Conſtantine the Great* [a], aſcribe the unhappy end of *Decius* to divine vengeance. With him periſhed, according to *Euſebius*, three of his ſons, *viz. Decius*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan* [b]. He had reigned two years and ſome months [c], and was, after his death, ranked among the gods, with the uſual ceremonies.

Young Decius *is killed.*

And likewiſe the emperor.

THE *Goths*, after the death of *Decius*, purſued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus*; who, by pretending a great

The Roman *army cut in pieces.*

[r] Zos. l. i. p. 643. [s] JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c 18. p. 637. [t] ZONAR. p. 231. AUR. Vict. in Dec. [u] EUSEC. chron. p. 236. [w] Chron. Alexand. p. 251. [x] LACTANT. perſecut. c. 4. p. 4, 5. [y] HIER. in ZACH. xiv. p 285. [z] CYPR. epiſt. de lapſ. p. 238. [a] CONSTANT. orat. apud. eum. EUSEB. oper. c. 24. p. 600. [b] EUSEB. l. vii. c. 1. p. 250. [c] GOLTZ. p. 108.

great

great concern for the unfortunate end of *Decius*, and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march againſt the barbarians, gained the hearts of the ſoldiery, and was by them, with loud ſhouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his ſon *Voluſianus Cæſar*; married him to *Herennia Etruſcilla*, the daughter of the deceaſed prince; and, to remove all ſuſpicion of his being any-ways acceſſary to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted *Hoſtilianus*, his only ſurviving ſon; conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; inveſted him with the tribunitial power; and named him conſul for the enſuing year [d]. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, as he is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, was, according to *Victor* the younger, a native of the iſland of *Meninx*, on the coaſt of *Africa*, called afterwards *Garba*, and at preſent *Gerbi* and *Zarbi*. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of *Mœſia* in 250, and in the preſent year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, fifty-ſeven; but, according to *Victor* the younger, only forty-five, when raiſed to the empire. *Hoſtilia Severa*, honoured on ſome medals with the title of *Auguſta* [e], is ſuppoſed to have been his wife. His ſon is ſtyled in ſome inſcriptions *C. Vibius Voluſianus*, and in others *Annius Gallus Trebonianus* [f]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than, inſtead of revenging the death of *Decius* and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a diſhonourable peace with the *Goths*; ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty and priſoners, among whom were many *Romans* of great diſtinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [g]. After this ignominious peace, he returned to *Rome*; and in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been publiſhed by his predeceſſor againſt the chriſtians, and which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigour. At the ſame time, a dreadful plague, breaking out in *Ethiopia* on the confines of *Egypt*, ſpread in a ſhort time over all the provinces of the empire, and ſwept away incredible numbers of people, eſpecially at *Rome*, where it raged with great violence. Some authors write, that it

Gallus *proclaimed emperor.*

He concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Goths.

He perſecutes the chriſtians.

[d] Zos. l. i. p. 644. Goltz. p. 111. Zonar. p. 644.
[e] Goltz. p. 110. Occo. p. 457. [f] Goltz. ibid.
Sa[illegible] hiſt. de Genev. p. [illegible]. [g] Jornand. de reb. Goth.
[illegible] p. 644. Zos. p. 644.

carried

carried off among the reſt *Hoſtilianus*, the ſon of *Decius*, ſoon after he had been honoured with the title of *Auguſtus* [h]; but *Zoſimus* aſſures us, that *Gallus* cauſed him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague [i]. The ſame year was remarkable for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in moſt parts of the empire. *M. Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; but this revolt was ſoon quaſhed [k]; in what manner we are no-where told. The *Goths*, the *Borani*, and *Carpi*, the *Brugundi*, or *Burgundiones*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mæſia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Aſia*; and the *Perſians*, entering *Syria*, laid waſte that province, and even made themſelves maſters of *Antioch* [l]. *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Mæſia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the *Roman* dominions. Elated with this ſucceſs, and deſpiſing *Gallus*, who was wallowing in pleaſures at *Rome*, while his generals were expoſing their lives in defence of the empire, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted by the troops under his command, whoſe affections he had gained, with the titles of *Auguſtus* and *father of his country*. This rouzed *Gallus* from his lethargy, who immediately ordered *Valerian* to march with the *Gauliſh* and *German* legions againſt this new rival. But *Æmilianus*, without giving him time to aſſemble his troops, marched ſtrait to *Italy*, and, by long marches, arrived in a ſhort time at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus* and his ſon, at the head of a conſiderable army; but the troops of the latter, deſpiſing their leaders, flew them in the ſight of *Æmilianus*'s army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year and ſix months [m]. Mention is made on ſome medals of the apotheoſis of *Voluſianus* [n]; whence we may conclude, that *Gallus* was likewiſe deified. No ſooner was the news of their death brought to *Rome*, than the ſenate confirmed the election of the ſoldiery, and honoured the new prince with the uſual titles. *Æmilius Æmilianus*, as *Aurelius Victor* calls him, or *C. Julius Æmilianus*, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, was by nation a *Moor*, and of a very mean deſcent. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raiſed himſelf to the firſt employments in the ſtate; for he had

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor in Mœſia.

Gallus is killed by his own men.

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor.

[h] VICT. epit. [i] Zos. p. 644. [k] VICT. epit. Oct. p. 454. [l] Zos. ibid. ZONAR. p. 232. [m] Zos. p. 645. ZONAR. p. 242. SYNCEL. p. 376. [n] BIRAG. p. 362.

been

been conſul before he came to the empire [o]. In the letter which he wrote to the ſenate after the death of *Gallus*, he promiſed to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Perſians* out of *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*; to comport himſelf in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic; and to leave the exerciſe of the ſovereign power to the ſenate [p]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he diſagrees with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that he acted more like a ſoldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor [q]. Be that as it will, the troops, which *Valerian* was leading to the aſſiſtance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia* that he was dead, refuſed to ſubmit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who thereupon quickening his march, paſſed the mountains, and entered *Italy* at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army. *Æmilianus*'s army no ſooner underſtood, that *Valerian*, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, than they fell upon their own leader, and diſpatched him, to avoid, ſays *Zonaras*, a civil war, and the ſhedding of the blood of their fellow citizens [r]. *Æmilianus* was killed at *Spoletum*, now *Spoleti*, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood, which *Victor* the younger pretends to have been thence called *The bloody bridge*. He died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three, or, at moſt of four, months [s]. *Euſebius* does not even rank him among the emperors [t], and is therein followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria*, and that of *Nicephorus*, in which *Valerian* is placed immediately after *Gallus*. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Æmilianus* died a natural death [u]. In his reign *C. Virius Paulinus* was governor of *Rome* and *comes domeſticorum* [w]. This is the firſt time we find the latter employment, which in the fourth century became very famous, mentioned in hiſtory. *Pancirollus* takes the words *domeſtici* and *protectores* to be ſynonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's perſon, and, under the chriſtian emperors, to carry the great ſtandard with the croſs. They were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, and diſtinguiſhed with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men before *Juſtinian*'s time, who is ſaid to have increaſed them to the number of five thouſand five hundred. They were divided

He is killed by his own men, and Valerian *proclaimed emperor in his room.*

[o] Idem, p. 364. [p] Zonar. p. 233. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Hier. chron. Eutrop. Aur. Vict. [t] Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. p. 255. [u] Aur. Vict. in Æmil. [w] Onuph. in faſt. p. 262.

into

into ſeveral bands of horſe and foot, called *ſcholæ*, and commanded by ſome perſon of great diſtinction, ſtyled *comes domeſticorum* [x]. From ſeveral inſcriptions of this time, we learn, that the word *comes* was already a title of dignity; ſo that the title of *comes*, or *count*, does not, as ſome imagine, owe its original intirely to *Conſtantine*.

Æmilianus being killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, in the month of *Auguſt* of the year 253, the ſenate with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and conferred upon his ſon *Gallienus* the title of *Cæſar*. *Valerian* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, had commanded armies, and diſcharged with great reputation the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by perſons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modeſty, and extraordinary accompliſhments; for he was well verſed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in thoſe diſſolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedneſs and tyranny, a great admirer of the cuſtoms of the primitive *Romans*, and no-ways inferior to thoſe among them, who were moſt cried up for their love of virtue, and averſion to vice; inſomuch, that if every perſon in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the ſovereignty whom he pleaſed, no one, ſays the hiſtorian, would have thought of chuſing any but *Valerian* [y]. Thus he was univerſally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-ways equal to ſuch a mighty charge; whence moſt writers aſcribe to his want of activity, prudence, and reſolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his ſon's reign [z]. Before his acceſſion to the empire, he was prince of the ſenate, which gave him a right to vote before all the conſulars. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was by degrees raiſed to the firſt poſts in the army. He attended *Decius* in his wars with the *Goths*, and was, while he continued with him in *Thrace*, named by the ſenate to the cenſorſhip, in the manner we have related above. In the antient inſcriptions he is ſtyled *P. Licinius Valerianus*; to theſe names *Victor* the younger adds that of *Colobius*; and *Onuphrius* quotes an inſcription, in which he is named *P. Aurelius Licinius Valerius Valerianus* [a]. He married two wives, and had by the firſt, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, *Gallienus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire. By his ſecond

His deſcent employments, and character.

[x] PANCIR. in not. imp. Rom. c. 89. [y] Valer. vit. p. 173.
[z] VICT. epit. EUTROP. Zos. l. i. p 640. [a] ONUPH. ubi ſupra.

wife, named by ſome writers *Mariniana* [b], he had *Valerian*, who was twice conſul, *viz.* in 258, and 263, and honoured either by his father, or by his brother *Gallienus*, with the title of *Cæſar* [c]. He had other ſons, for *Gallienus* is ſaid to have married his brothers ſons, and to have ſtyled himſelf *the brother of many princes* [d]. *Valerian* began his reign with great applauſe, and behaved himſelf ſo as to gain the affections both of the ſenate and people, paying the utmoſt reſpect to the former, and eaſing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors. He enacted many excellent laws; and by that means ſuppreſſed moſt of the diſorders, which in thoſe unhappy times prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but all over the empire. Authors obſerve, that he employed only men of merit, and that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raiſed to the empire [k]. In the beginning of the following year 254, he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon *Gallienus* for his collegue. *Zoſimus* writes, that this very year, the firſt of his reign, he took *Gallienus* for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all ſides by the barbarians, was then expoſed [l]: for the *Germans* and the *Franks* committed great devaſtations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpi* invaded the provinces of *Mœſia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Perſians*, paſſing the *Euphrates*; over-ran *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks*, while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed ſeven hundred of them, took three hundred priſoners, whom he ſold for ſlaves, and obliged the reſt to quit their booty, and retire [m]. The country of the *Franks*, now for the firſt time mentioned in hiſtory, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the weſt by the ocean and the river *Rhone*; and on the ſouth by the *Weſer*: according to which deſcription, they poſſeſſed the modern countries of *Weſtphalia*, *Heſſe*, and ſome adjacent ſtates [n]. They were a motley multitude, conſiſting of various *German* nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of

He gains the affections of all.

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

[b] Birag. p. 369. [c] Val. vit. p. 175. Goltz. p. 114. [d] Idem ibid. [k] Aur. vit. p. 211. Trebel. Pollio. hiſt. trigint. tyrann. c. 9 p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. [l] Zos. l. i. p. 646. [m] Vit. Aur. p. 211. [n] Adrian. Voles. rer. Francicar. Buch. p. 209.

Franks,

Franks, the word *Frank* ſignifying in their language, as it ſtill does in ours, *free* [o]. Among them we find the following nations mentioned, *viz.* the *Actuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Friſii*, *Chauci*, *Anſibarii*, and *Catti* [p]. The *Franks* are ſometimes called *Sicambri*, becauſe they inhabited the country formerly poſſeſſed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by *Auguſtus*, as we have related in the thirteenth volume. The following year, *Valerian* being conſul the third time, and *Gallienus* the ſecond, a great victory was gained in *Germany* by the latter, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, as appears from ſeveral medals of this year [q]; but what nation he overcame, whether the *Franks* or the *Alemanni*, who inhabited the countries lying between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Danube*, hiſtory does not inform us. The next conſuls were *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Gallienus* with a body only of ten thouſand men, defeated, if *Zonaras*, is to be credited, three hundred thouſand *Alemanni* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*; overcame the *Heruli*, a *Gothic* nation, and with great ſucceſs made war upon the *Franks* [r]. We wiſh that writer had given us a more diſtinct account of theſe mighty exploits. In *Gaul*, *Poſthumius*, a commander of great proweſs and experience, gained great advantages over ſeveral *German* nations, who had invaded that province [s]. The following year, *Valerian* being conſul the fourth time, and *Gallienus* the third, a violent perſecution broke out againſt the chriſtians, *Macrianus*, a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, having ſeduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the chriſtian religion, by perſuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never proſper, till the pagan rites were reſtored, and the religion of the chriſtians ſo odious, to the gods, utterly aboliſhed. This perſecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, raged, throughout the whole empire, with no leſs fury than that under *Decius* had done. Perſons of all ranks, ſays *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were dragged to the tribunals, hurried to execution, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments, which the implacable hatred of their enemies could invent. This perſecution laſted three years; that is, from the preſent year 257, to the year 260, when *Valerian* was taken priſoner by the *Perſians*. The ſame year, *Aurelian*, being ſent to ſucceed *Ulpius Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and

The Germans defeated by Gallienus.

The chriſtians perſecuted.

[o] BUCH. ibid. & BUCH. p. 210. Gallien. p. 235.
[p] Vide ADRIAN. VALES. not. Gall. p. 201.
[q] BIRAG. p 367, & 371.
[r] ZONAR. vit.
[s] TREBEL. POL. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184.

The Goths *defeated by* Aurelian, *and the* Sarmatians *by* Probus.

The Goths *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of thoſe provinces, took an incredibe number of them priſoners, and purſuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Mœſia* loaded with booty [t]. At the ſame time, *Probus* paſſing the *Danube*, made war with great ſucceſs upon the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, and reſcued out of the hands of the latter *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth of a noble deſcent, and nearly related to the emperor, who rewarded *Probus* with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to ſuch as had ſaved the life of a citizen [u]. About the latter end of this year, the emperor leaving *Rome* ſet out for the eaſt, to made head aginſt the *Perſians*, who had invaded *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages in thoſe provinces. He reached *Byzantium* in the beginning of the following year, when *Memmius Tuſcus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls; and there held a council, at which aſſiſted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the meaſures to be ta en with reſpect to the *Perſian* war; for *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, had already ſeized all *Armenia*, made himſelf maſter of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*; and thence advancing into *Syria* at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken *Antioch* itſelf. His guide in this expedition was one *Cyriades*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedneſs; inſomuch, that, not able to bear the reproaches and wholſome admonitions of his father, he fled from home and retired into *Perſia*, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the ſervice of the *Perſian* king, ſtirred him up to make war upon the *Romans*, and ſerved him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Syria*. *Sapor*, after he had taken and plundered *Antioch*, returned into *Perſia*, to diſcharge his army of the immenſe booty, with which they were incumbered, and left *Cyriades* governor of the conquered countries: who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Cæſar*, and ſoon after that of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by moſt of the eaſtern provinces [w]. At the ſame time, the *Borani*, a *Scythian* nation, croſſing the *Euxine* ſea, ſurpriſed and plundered the cities of *Pytus* in *Boſporus*, and *Trapezus* in *Pontus*; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, croſſed over into *Aſia*, and ſurpriſed the cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicea*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, and ſeveral o-

The Perſians *overrun ſeveral provinces.*

The Scythians *commit great devaſtations in* Aſia

[t] Aurel. vit. p. 213. [u] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235. [w] Vit. triginta tyranni. p. 185.

ther

ther places; which they plundered, and then returned with an immenſe booty into their own country, before *Valerian* could come up with them [x]. The following year, when *Secularis* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Valerian* marched from *Cappadocia*, whither he had purſued the *Scythians*, into *Syria*, recovered *Antioch*, and thence advanced into *Meſopotamia*; where he met *Sapor*, engaged him, but, by the treachery of *Macrianus*, who perſuaded him to engage in a diſadvantageous poſt, loſt the flower of his troops in the engagement, and was himſelf taken priſoner [y]. Thus *Zonaras*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Agathias*; but *Zoſimus* writes, that *Valerian*, having after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in perſon with *Sapor*, was by that treacherous prince ſeized and carried into *Perſia*. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken priſoner, carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Perſia*, and there inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having ſhewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meaneſt ſlave, making him his foot-ſtool whenever he mounted on horſeback [z]. He was taken in the year 260, the ſeventieth of his age, and ſixth of his reign, and was ſtill alive in the year 263; nay, the chronicle of *Alexandria* tells us, that he did not die till the year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by *Sapor*'s orders, and preſerved in ſalt, and his ſkin dreſſed, dyed red, and expoſed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was ſhewn to all foreign princes and embaſſadors, as a laſting monument of the power of the *Perſian* monarch. *Agathias* writes, that *Valerian* was flayed alive [a]; but is therein contradicted by all the antient hiſtorians. We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy *Valerian* in his deplorable condition ſo much, as to ſee himſelf intirely neglected by his ſon *Gallienus*; who was ſo far from preſſing the *Perſian* king to ſet him at liberty, or offering to ranſom him, that, on the contrary, he expreſſed no ſmall joy when news was brought him of his captivity, though moſt foreign princes, nay, even thoſe who had aſſiſted *Sapor* in his wars againſt the *Romans*, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the *Roman* emperor his liberty; but the haughty

Valerian defeated by the Perſians, *and taken priſoner.*

[x] Zos. l. i. p. 648. [y] ZONAR. p. 234. VICT. epit. EUTROP. teſt. AGATH. l. iv. p. 153. [z] EUSEB. orat. Conſt. c. 24. LACT. perſecut. c. 5. OROS. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. [a] AGATH. l. iv. p. 233.

Perſian

Persian was too much elated with his ſucceſs, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the captivity of* Valerian, *to the reſignation of* Dioclesian.

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarous.

THE news of the defeat of the *Roman* army by the *Perſians*, and the captivity of *Valerian*, no ſooner reached the barbarous nations at war with *Rome*, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all ſides incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, threatened the empire and *Rome* itſelf with utter deſtruction. The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravaged anew *Pontus* and *Aſia*, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations: the *Germans*, that is, the *Alemanni* and the *Franks*, having over-run *Rhætia*, entered *Italy* itſelf, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and ſword; the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* ſeized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; and other barbarous nations invading *Spain*, made themſelves maſters of *Tarraco*, and other important places in that province [b]. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, hearing that the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had entered *Italy*, and were advancing towards *Rome*, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as ſome authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were driven back by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [c]. While *Regillianus* was employed againſt the barbarians, whom he had purſued into *Mœſia*, *Ingenuus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowledged by the inhabitants both of that province and of *Mœſia*; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and univerſally beloved both by the people and ſoldiery. *Gallienus* no ſooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, where he then was, into *Illyricum*, engaged *Ingenuus*, and put him to flight. Some authors write, that *Ingenuus* was killed after the battle by his own ſoldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid by

Ingenuus cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

But is defeated and killed.

[b] Zos. l. 1. c. 650. [c] Trig. tyrann. vit. p. 188.

that

that means falling into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy as *Gallienus*, who uſed his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled; commanding his ſoldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mœſia* they could meet with to the ſword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the uſurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to *Verianus Celer*, one of his officers: "I ſhall not be ſatisfied with your putting "to death ſuch only as have borne arms againſt me, and might "have fallen in the field: you muſt in every city deſtroy "all the males, old and young: ſpare none who have wiſhed "ill to me, none who have ſpoken ill of me, the ſon of *Valerian*, the father and brother of princes. *Ingenuus* empe"ror! tear, kill, cut in pieces without mercy: you underſtand me: do then as you know I would do, who have "written to you with my own hand [d]." Purſuant to theſe cruel orders, a moſt dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in ſeveral cities not one male child left alive. The troops who had formerly ſerved under *Ingenuus*, and the inhabitants of *Mœſia*, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, provoked by theſe cruelties, proclaimed *Q. Nonius Regillianus* emperor. He was a *Dacian* by nation, deſcended, as was ſaid, from the celebrated king *Decebalus*, whom *Trajan* had conquered, and had by ſeveral gallant actions gained great reputation in the *Roman* armies. *Claudius*, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* in *Mœſia*: "Happy is the republic in "having at this time ſuch a commander as you; happy *Gal*"*lienus*, though no one dares ſpeak truth to him, nor blame "or commend men according to their deſerts. *Bonitus* and "*Celſus*, two of the prince's life-guard-men, have given me "an account of your gallant behaviour in the neighbourhood "of *Scupi*, where you gained ſeveral victories over the bar"barians in one day. In antient times you would have been "thought worthy of a triumph; but at preſent I would have "you to conquer with more caution, mindful of a certain "perſon, to whom your victories may give umbrage, *&c.*" After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very conſiderable advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but was ſoon murdered by his own ſoldiers and the people of *Illyricum*, who had raiſed him to the empire, but, not long after his aſſumption, began to dread the effects of *Gallienus*'s cruelty. The *Roxolani*, who ſerved under him, revolted the firſt; and their example was ſoon followed by the reſt of the army and the people of

The cruelty of Gallienus.

Regillianus *emperor.*

He is murdered by his own men.

[d] Idem ibid. c. 8.

Illyricum.

Posthumius *revolts in* Gaul.

Illyricum [d]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he was overcome in battle by *Gallienus*. The ſame year, *M. Caſſius Labienus Poſthumius* revolted in *Gaul*. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the beſt commanders in the whole empire. *Valerian*, when he ſet out for the eaſt, committed to his care both his ſon *Gallienus* and the troops that were left in the weſtern provinces, declaring, that he loved and eſteemed *Poſthumius* above all officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and commander of the troops on the *Rhine*, he wrote on that occaſion a letter to the inhabitants of *Gaul*, in which he expreſſed his eſteem for *Poſthumius* in the following terms: "You will, I hope, be convinced, that I have particular "regard for you, ſince I have ſet over you ſuch a man as "*Poſthumius*. He is one whom I eſteem above the reſt, and "think the moſt worthy of all to repreſent the prince. If "I am deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will not "pretend to know any man [e]." When *Gallienus*, upon the news of his father's captivity, and the invaſion of the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, ſet out for *Italy*, he left his eldeſt ſon *Saloninus*, named alſo *Valerian*, then an infant, at *Cologn*, under the tuition, ſome ſay, of *Poſtumius*, and others, of *Sylvanus*, ordering all things to be tranſacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, *Poſthumius* having defeated ſome *German* nations who had invaded *Gaul*, *Sylvanus* obliged him to ſend all the booty to him and the young prince: which provoked the ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed *Poſthumius* emperor; who marching without loſs of time to *Cologn*, beſieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to ſuch ſtraights, that they were forced to deliver up to him both *Sylvanus* and *Saloninus*, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death. Thus *Zoſimus* [g]: but *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the revolt and the death of the young prince to the *Gauls*, who, hating *Gallienus*, and not able to brook the government of a child, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to murder him, and proclaim *Poſthumius* emperor [h]; who was with great joy acknowledged not only in *Gaul*, but in *Spain* and *Britain* [i]. He reigned ſeven years, during which time he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and even built ſeveral forts in their country, reſtored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with ſuch equity and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and honoured with the titles of

The ſon of Gallienus *murdered.*

Poſthumius *acknowledged by* Gaul, Spain, *and* Britain.

[e] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 189. [f] Idem, c. 2. p. 185. [g] Zos. p. 651. [h] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [i] Claud. vit. p. 204. Spanh. l. ix. p 843.

The

The reſtorer of Gaul, The defender of the empire; for had he not repulſed the *Germans*, they would, in thoſe diſtracted times, have over-run with great eaſe the whole empire [k]. On ſeveral of his medals mention is made of his victories over the *Germans*, that is, according to *Adrianus Valeſius* [l], over the *Franks*; and on ſome he is ſtyled *Germanicus Maximus* [m]. He had by his wife *Junia Donata*, perhaps the daughter of *Junius Donatus*, who was governor of *Rome* in the year 257, and this year conſul, at leaſt one ſon, ſtyled on the antient coins *C. Junius Coſſius Poſthumius*. The emperor *Valerian* appointed him tribune of a band or company of *Vocontii*, that is, of *Dauphinois*. His father afterwards created him *Cæſar*, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus* [n]. He was thought to have equalled in eloquence *Quintilian*, whom he ſtudied to imitate; whence his declamations were inſerted among thoſe of that excellent writer [o]; and the nineteen declamations, which paſs under the name of *Quintilian*, but ſeem not altogether worthy of him, are by ſome modern critics aſcribed to young *Poſthumius* [p]. *Gallienus*, though greatly concerned for the death of his ſon, whom he immediately cauſed to be ranked among the gods [q], did not march in perſon againſt the uſurper till ſome years after.

He delivers Gaul from the Germans.

DURING theſe diſturbances in the weſt, *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, elated with his late ſucceſs, over-ran moſt of the eaſtern provinces, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, and entering *Syria*, took *Antioch* the third, or at leaſt the ſecond time, and levelled with the ground all the public buildings of that ſtately metropolis. From *Syria* he led his army into *Cilicia*, took and plundered the city of *Tarſus*, the capital of that province; and advancing from thence into *Cappadocia*, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand in pieces, for having oppoſed him under the conduct of one *Demoſthenes*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the enemy, and made his eſcape [r]. Thus the *Perſian* over-ran all the provinces of the eaſt, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages. *Agathias* tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in paſſing over them on horſe-

The Perſians over-run and plunder all the eaſtern provinces.

[k] Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. BIRAG. p. 393. [l] VAL. rer. Franc l. i. p. 6. [m] BIRAG. p. 394. GOLTZ. p. 116. [n] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [o] Idem ibid. p. 186. [p] Vide VOSS. rhet. c. 15. p. 192. [q] BIRAG. p. 382. [r] ZONAR. p. 234.

back from one hill to another[r]. To the captives, whom he was pleaſed to ſpare, he allowed only what food was barely ſufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like ſo many cattle[s]. In the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had diſperſed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallying, choſe for their leader *Calliſtus*, or rather *Baliſta*, who had been captain of the guards to *Valerian*, and was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loſs of time, tranſported his forces in boats into *Cilicia*, and obliged the *Perſians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of that province, when it was upon the point of ſubmitting. From *Cilicia* he flew with great celerity into *Lycaonia*,, and there made a dreadful havock of the *Perſians*, whom he found buſied in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many priſoners, and among the reſt the wives of *Sapor*. From *Lycaonia* he retired with his booty and captives, before the *Perſians* could draw together their diſperſed forces; and embarking his army on the veſſels and boats he had aſſembled, landed ſome of his men at *Sebaſte*, and others at *Corycus*, two cities on the coaſt of *Cilicia*, and in both places ſurpriſed and cut in pieces above three thouſand *Perſians*[u]. *Baliſta* was well ſeconded in his attempts by *Odenatus*, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of theſe times on accoun. of the many victories he gained over the *Perſians*, and his ſaving the *Roman* empire in the eaſt. All authors agree, that he was a native of *Palmyra*, a city of *Phœnicia*, about one day's journey from the *Euphrates*; but ſome writers call him a citizen and decurion, while others ſtyle him prince of that place. *Procopius* gives him the title of prince of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and were allies of the *Romans*[w]. *Zoſimus* tells us, that his family had been long before diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of honour by the *Roman* emperors, and that he had troops of his own[x]. As *Palmyra* was at this time a *Roman* colony[y], *Odenatus* was prince, not of that city, but probably of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accuſtomed from his infancy to the manly exerciſes of hunting, he bore with great chearfulneſs and alacrity the toils of a military life[z]. Of his wife *Zenobia*, we ſhall have occaſi-

Baliſta *cuts many of them in pieces.*

Odenatus *of* Palmyra.

[r] Agath. l. iv. p. 134.. [s] Zonar. p. 234. [u] Zonar. p. 382. Syncell. p. 235. [w] Procop. p. 97. [x] Zoſ. p. 651. [y] Noris. de. epoch. Syromaced. p. 103. [z] Trig. tyrann. c. 14.

on

on to ſpeak hereafter. *Odenatus* was ſcarce known till the captivity of *Valerian*, when, dreading the power of that mighty conqueror, as he lived in amity with the *Romans*, he wrote to him a moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letter, proteſting that he had never borne arms againſt the *Perſians*, and at the ſame time ſent him ſeveral camels loaded with rich preſents. But *Sapor*, highly provoked at the arrogance of ſuch an inſignificant perſon, as he expreſſed himſelf, in preſuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his preſents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his embaſſadors, that he would teach their maſter the reſpect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and ſovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly deſtroy him, his whole family, and country; adding, that if he came and threw himſelf proſtrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps by that ſubmiſſion atone in ſome degree for his temerity and preſumption. *Odenatus*, reſenting, as it became a man of his ſpirit, this vile treatment, ſwore he would purſue the *Perſians* to the laſt with fire and ſword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or periſh in the attempt [a]. With this view, he immediately declared for the *Romans*; and joining *Baliſta* with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief, ſhare, in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the taking of *Sapor*'s wives [b]. The *Perſian*, greatly concerned for that loſs, and apprehending it might be attended with others ſtill greater, (for *Odenatus* and *Baliſta* purſued him cloſe) reſolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the *Euphrates*. But as he was marching through the province of *Euphrateſiana*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Palmyra*, *Odenatus*, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Euphrates* with great hurry and confuſion. Many periſhed in the river; and *Sapor* was glad to compound with the *Roman* gariſon in *Edeſſa*, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the *Syrian* money he had amaſſed in the plunder of ſo many cities [c]. *Zonaras* writes, that *Odenatus* found among the *Perſian* captives, and likewiſe among the dead, many women attired and armed like men [d]. After theſe victories, *Odenatus* aſſumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, which he likewiſe gave to his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, as he did that of queen to his wife *Zenobia*. *Gallienus*, to reward his eminent ſervices, ap-

How treated by Sapor.

He ſides with the Romans.

And gains great advantages over the Perſians.

Odenatus *aſſumes the title of king of* Palmyra.

[a] PETER. PATR. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29. [b] Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192. [c] PETR. PATR. ibid. p. 25. [d] ZONAR. p. 235.

pointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the eaſt; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better ſucceſs than any of the *Roman* generals. For the following year 261, when *Gallienus* was conſul, the fourth time, with *Petronius Voluſianus*, *Odenatus*, not ſatisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, entered *Meſopotamia*, and there recovered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Charræ*. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into the very heart of the *Perſian* dominions, being extremely deſirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. *Sapor* met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Perſians* were utterly defeated, and *Sapor* with his children obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Perſian* dominions. Thither *Odenatus* purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, after having deſtroyed with fire and ſword the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. The *Perſian* lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and country, armed all their vaſſals, and flew from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom to *Cteſiphon*. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which ſerved only to increaſe the number of *Odenatus*'s victories; many *Perſians* of great diſtinction were taken priſoners, and ſent by the conqueror to *Gallienus*; *Sapor* on one ſide, and the brave *Odenatus* on the other, exerted their utmoſt efforts, the latter to deliver *Valerian*, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him[e]. But here *Trebellius Pollio*, after having raiſed our expectation, drops at once both *Odenatus* and the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*; and, giving himſelf no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark as to the iſſue of ſo glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an hiſtorian. All we know for certain is, that *Sapor* was not taken, nor *Valerian* reſcued from his cruel bondage. Some writers ſeem to inſinuate, that the revolt of *Macrianus*, which, according to moſt hiſtorians, happened this year, obliged *Odenatus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*. *Macrianus* was of a mean deſcent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the higheſt poſts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great diſtinction, by whom he had two ſons *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, who had been raiſed to the rank of tribunes by *Valerian*, and were eſteemed two of the

Defeats Sapor *and beſieges* Cteſiphon

The riſe of Macrianus

[e] Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651.

beſt

beſt officers of the whole army [f]. The father is ſtyled by *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians [g]; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an *Egyptian*, and greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic. As the abominable myſteries of that art were abhorred and deſervedly cried down by the chriſtians, *Macrianus* thence became their implacable enemy, and inſpired *Valerian*, with whom he bore great ſway, with an irreconcileable hatred to them, which occaſioned the eighth perſecution, as we have hinted above [h]. Some authors write, that, abuſing the confidence *Valerian* repoſed in him, he betrayed that prince to the *Perſians* [i]; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his ſon; and having gained over *Baliſta*, was by his means acknowledged emperor by moſt of the troops who had ſerved under *Valerian*, but deſpiſed *Gallienus*. He immediately took his two ſons for his partners in the empire, and appointed *Baliſta* his captain of the guards. *Trebellius Pollio*, of all writers the leaſt exact, to ſay no more, does not inform us in what country *Macrianus* was created emperor, nor where, or how long he reigned; and as to the other hiſtorians, *Zonaras* is the only one among them who takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Aſia* received him with extraordinary marks of joy [k]. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in *Egypt*; and that his and his ſons reign ended before the ninth year of *Gallienus*, that is, before the *Auguſt* of the year 262 [l]. During his uſurpation happened, in all likelihood, at *Alexandria* the diſturbances deſcribed by that writer, who was biſhop of the place. Fury and diſcord, ſays he, raged there to ſuch a degree, that it was more eaſy to paſs from the eaſt to the moſt remote provinces of the weſt, than from one place of *Alexandria* to another: the inhabitants had no intercourſe but by letters, which with great difficulty were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to croſs the ſtreet, than the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas, the moſt dry and inhoſpitable deſerts: the port reſembled the ſhore of the red-ſea, ſtrewn with the carcaſſes of the drowned *Egyptians*; the ſea was dyed with blood, and the *Nile* choaked up with dead bodies [m]. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off

He is proclaimed emperor.

Egypt *ſubmits to him.*

Great diſturbances at Alexandria.

[f] Gall. vit. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 15. [g] Euseb. l. vii. c. 10.
[h] Idem ibid. [i] Trig. tyrann. p. 174. [k] Zonar. p. 230.
[l] Euseb. l. vii. c. 23.

great

great numbers of people, insomuch that there were then in *Alexandria* fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy [m]. Of such persons a register, it seems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn distributed among them.

Macrianus no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could assemble into the east, says *Pollio*, that is, as we conjecture, from *Egypt* into *Syria*. He engaged several times and defeated the *Persians*; but looked upon *P. Valerius Valens* as a far more formidable enemy. *Valens* had been sent by *Gallienus* into *Achaia*, or *Greece*, with the title of proconsul; but hearing there, that *Macrianus* had been proclaimed emperor, he assumed the same title. Hereupon *Macrianus* immediately detached *Piso*, with a competent force, to suppress this new usurper. But *Piso*, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive him, retired into *Thessaly*, and there assumed the title of emperor, with the surname of *Thessalicus*, as appears from his medals [o]. But he did not long enjoy that empty and seducing title, being soon after murdered by some soldiers sent by *Valens* for that purpose. *Valens* himself was slain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at *Rome* before the twenty-fifth of *June* [p]. *Piso*, who was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Rome*, was universally lamented there on account of the merits of his ancestors, as well as his own. He had been highly esteemed by the emperors, nay, and by *Valens* himself, who upon hearing the news of his death, *What account*, said he, *shall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of* Piso? *The* Roman *empire has not a person equal to* Piso. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the senate, that divine honours might be decreed to him as to a lawful prince; nay, some writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, *That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmness and constancy.* However that be, he was decreed a statue with a triumphal chariot: the statue was still to be seen in the time of *Constantine*; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of *Diocletian*, and was never after set up again [q]. About the same time that *Macrianus* usurped the empire in the east, *Manius Acilius Aureolus* was forced by the army, which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon

Valens *proclaimed emperor in* Achaia, *and* Piso *in* Thessaly; *but they are both killed.*

The character of Piso.

Aureolus made emperor in Illyricum.

[m] Idem ibid. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Biraq. p. 388.
[p] Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195. [q] Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20 p. 194.

him

him the ſovereignty; for the ſoldiers every-where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would only obey emperors ſet up by themſelves. *Aureolus* from *Illyricum* marched into *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Milan* [r]. *Gallienus*, after various unſucceſsful attempts to ſuppreſs him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his aſſiſtance againſt *Poſthumius*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. He was, according to *Zonaras*, a native of *Dacia*, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a ſhepherd; but liſting himſelf afterwards in the army, he was ſoon raiſed from the rank of a common ſoldier to the command of a body of horſe. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under *Gallienus* in the battle againſt *Ingenuus*; for ſome authors aſcribe to him the whole glory of that victory [r]. This year 261, the *Scythians* breaking anew into *Bithynia*, laid waſte the whole country a ſecond time, levelled with the ground ſeveral cities, plundered *Nicomedia*, and returned unmoleſted into their own country, with a great booty and many captives [s]. At the ſame time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from ſome ſignal calamity, the iſland of *Sicily*, leſs expoſed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miſerably haraſſed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devaſtations, and kindled a kind of ſervile war, which was not ſuppreſſed without much difficulty and bloodſhed [t]. The following year, *Gallienus* being conſul the fifth time, with *Fauſtianus*, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities, beſides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The ſun was overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs continued for ſeveral days together, attended with a violent earthquake, and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and ſwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The ſea, ſwelling beyond meaſure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities; the plague raged with great violence in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where it ſwept off for ſome time five thouſand perſons a day. The books of the *Sibyls* were conſulted, public proceſſions ordained, ſacrifices offered to *Jupiter the author of health*, &c. But all to no purpoſe; nay, to their other calamities were added the incurſions of the *Goths* in great ſwarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into *Aſia*. The former, having made themſelves maſters of *Thrace*, over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, the ca-

Bithynia *plundered by the* Scythians.

The empire afflicted with a plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

Nevv irruptions of the Scythians.

[r] Idem, c. 10. p. 189. VICT. epit.
[s] Gall. vit. p. 177.
[t] ZONAR. p. 235.
[u] Idem ibid.

pital

pital of that province, which threw all *Greece* into the utmoſt conſternation: troops were diſpatched to guard the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, ſo famous in hiſtory; the *Athenians* rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of *Sylla*; the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* ſhut up the iſthmus from ſea to ſea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, *Macrianus* arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter *Achaia*, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty [l]. At the ſame time, the *Scythians*, that is, another party of *Goths*, croſſing the *Helleſpont* under the conduct of one *Raſpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia*, burnt ſeveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, ſo much reſpected by the pagans, and ſo famous for its rich ornaments and immenſe wealth [m]. Thus was the deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious monuments of paganiſm begun by the *Goths*, who were themſelves pagans; and we ſhall ſee them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of *Chalcedon*, deſtroyed the poor remains of ancient *Troy*, and the famous *Ilium*; and, repaſſing the *Helleſpont*, laid waſte all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immenſe booty [n].

Who plunder the temple of Diana *at* Epheſus.

In the mean time, *Macrianus* having ſettled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his youngeſt ſon *Quietus*, with *Baliſta*, to guard that province againſt the *Perſians*; and ſet out for *Italy*, with his eldeſt ſon *Macrianus*, at the head of forty-five thouſand men, to try his fortune againſt *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former either in *Illyricum*, or on the borders of *Thrace*; whereupon a battle enſued, in which *Macrianus* and his ſon being killed, their whole army ſubmitted to *Aureolus*, and were incorporated in his troops [o]. The news of their defeat and death was no ſooner heard in the eaſt, than moſt cities there revolted from *Quietus*, who thereupon ſhut himſelf up with *Baliſta* in the city of *Emeſa*, whither *Aureolus*, to complete his victory, ſent ruffians to diſpatch him. But before their arrival, *Odenatus* had beſieged the place; which ſo terrified the inhabitants and the gariſon, that they killed *Quietus*, threw his head over the walls, and then ſubmitted to *Odena-*

Macrianus *and his eldeſt ſon defeated and killed by* Aureolus.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem, p. 177, 178. Jornand rer. Goth. c. 20. [n] Jornand. ibid. [o] Zonar. p. 236. Trig. tyran. c. 10. Gall vit. p. 174.

tus.

tus. Macrianus and his children being thus cut off, *Gallienus* was acknowledged anew in *Egypt* and *Syria*; for *Odenatus*, though maſter of almoſt all the eaſtern provinces, acted, or at leaſt pretended to act, in his name [c]. He had no ſooner withdrawn his troops from before *Emeſa*, than *Baliſta*, whom he had ſpared on account of his adviſing the inhabitants to murder *Quietus*, aſſumed the title of emperor, and put ſuch numbers of the citizens of *Emeſa* to the ſword, no doubt for refuſing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almoſt turned into a deſert [d]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him hereafter; for he ſeems to have reigned at *Emeſa* three years. About the ſame time, *Æmilianus*, ſtyled on the ancient medals *Tiberius Ceſtius Alexander Æmilianus* [e], commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from *Gallienus*, who was no leſs abhorred in *Egypt* than in the other provinces, to appeaſe the populace of *Alexandria*, who had riſen upon a very trifling occaſion, and inveſted the houſe where *Æmilianus* lodged, threatening him with preſent death. He no ſooner proclaimed himſelf emperor, in oppoſition to *Gallienus*, than the rage of the incenſed multitude aſſwaged, and the whole city of *Alexandria*, with loud acclamations, acknowledged him for their ſovereign. He immediately ſeized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that means occaſioned a famine in ſeveral provinces. He viſited in perſon the moſt diſtant parts of *Egypt*, redreſſed many grievances, repulſed with great vigour the neighbouring barbarians, which procured him the name of *Alexander*, and was preparing for an expedition into *India*, when the troops ſent againſt him by *Gallienus* arrived in *Egypt* [f], as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year, *Gallienus* agreeing with *Aureolus*, marched into *Gaul* with him and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, to make war upon *Poſthumius*, who had reigned three years undiſturbed. As *Poſthumius* was greatly beloved, and vigorouſly ſupported by the *Gauls*, the war laſted ſome years. *Gallienus* was defeated in the firſt general engagement of this year, and *Poſthumius* in the ſecond, after having loſt the flower of his troops. But *Aureolus*, who was ſent to purſue him, having ſuffered him to eſcape when he might have eaſily taken him, he levied new forces and began the war with freſh vigour [g]. *Gallienus*, however, quitting *Gaul*, the following year, when *Albinus*

Baliſta aſſumes the title of emperor.

And likewiſe Æmilianus.

Gallienus makes war upon Poſthumius in Gaul.

[c] Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig tyran. c. 14. [d] Gall. vit. p. 176. [e] GOLTZ. p. 115. [f] Trig. tyr. c. 21. [g] Gall. vit. p. 178 ZON p. 236.

and *Dexter* were conſuls, returned to *Rome*, and from thence haſtened into the eaſt, where he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*; but upon what provocation, *Trebellius Pollio*, who deſcribes the miſerable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that *Gallienus*, as ſoon as he appeared before it, loſt all hopes of ever being able to maſter it; but being nevertheleſs admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he cauſed the gariſon, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the ſword. Not one perſon, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was left alive in the place [h]. *Vorburgius* aſcribes this ſlaughter to the ſoldiers of *Gallienus*; and pretends, that the emperor left *Gaul*, and haſtened into the eaſt, on purpoſe to revenge the ſlaughter of the *Byzantines*, and puniſh the cruelty of the ſoldiers [i]. From *Byzantium*, *Gallienus* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock captives, dreſſed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Perſians*. During this ſhow, ſome perſons of humour, mixing with thoſe who perſonated the *Perſians*, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dreſs, and ſeemed to betray great ſurpriſe. Being in the end aſked, what they wanted? *We are looking*, ſaid they, *for the emperor's father*; which ſo incenſed *Gallienus*, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive [k]. This year, a new tyrant ſtarted up, by name *P. Sempronius Saturninus*. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. Hiſtory does not inform us where or how long he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his ſeverity, put to death by the ſame ſoldiers who had raiſed him to the empire. When he was firſt proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they *had loſt a good captain, and made a bad prince* [l]. Towards the end of the year, *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, diſpatched by *Gallienus* againſt *Æmilianus*, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's orders, ſtrangled in priſon, according to the ancient cuſtom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward *Theodotus*, deſigned to make *Egypt* a proconſular province, and honour him with that proconſulſhip; but was diverted from it by

The Byzantines *ſlaughtered by* Gallienus.

Saturninus *aſſumes the title of emperor, and is murdered by his ſoldiers.*

Æmilianus defeated, taken and ſtrangled.

[h] Gall. vit. p. 178, 179. [i] Vorb. hiſt. Rom. Germanic. p. 539. [k] Gall. vit. p. 179. [l] Trig. vit. c. 22. p. 196.

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the prieſts alledging a prediction, which had prevailed even in *Cicero*'s time, *viz.* that *Egypt* would recover its ancient liberty, when the faſces appeared there [m]. The faſces were carried, as is well known, before the proconſuls. At this time happened, as we conjecture, the ſiege of *Bruchium*, deſcribed by *Euſebius*; *Æmilianus* himſelf, or his partizans, having probably taken ſhelter there after the battle. *Bruchium*, or, as *Euſebius* ſtyles it, *Pyruchium*, was a quarter of the city of *Alexandria* near the ſea, on the ſide of the *Pharos*, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There ſtood the royal palace, the place where the *Egyptian* ſenate or council met, the public granaries, the muſeum, and the celebrated library of the *Egyptian* kings, containing once ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which four hundred thouſand were burnt in *Julius Cæſar*'s time. The *Roman* army, under the command of *Theodotus*, having taken the reſt of the city, laid ſiege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine [n]. This year the *Scythians* made a new irruption into *Aſia*, but were with great ſlaughter driven back into their own country by the *Roman* forces quartered in that province [o]. *Bruchium beſieged and taken.*

THE next conſuls were *Gallienus*, the ſixth time, and *Saturninus*. This year *Gallienus*, by the advice of his brother *Valerian* and his kinſman *Lucillus*, to reward the brave *Odenatus* for the many victories he had gained over the *Perſians*, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, and emperor, and all the badges of ſovereignty, and cauſed money to be coined with his name, on which he was repreſented leading the *Perſians* captive. The title of *Auguſta* was given to his wife, and that of *Cæſar* to his children [p]. This action of *Gallienus* was highly applauded by the ſenate, by the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire; for to his valour was intirely owing the preſervation of the eaſtern provinces, over-run and ſorely harraſſed by the *Perſians*. This year, 264, *Baliſta*, who had held ſome provinces in the eaſt ever ſince the death of *Macrinus* and his children, was at laſt killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, by a ſoldier ſent by *Odenatus* for that purpoſe [q]. *Gallienus*, in the ſpring of this year, left *Rome*, and marched a ſecond time in perſon againſt *Poſthumius*, who ſtill reigned in *Gaul*. At his approach, *Poſthumius* withdrew into a ſtrong hold, which the emperor immediately inveſted, Gallienus *declares his partner in the empire.* Baliſta *murdered.* Gallienus *goes into* Gaul.

[m] Idem ibid. c. 21. p. 195. [n] EUSEB. l. vii. c. 31. p. 285.
[o] GALL. vit. p. 178. [p] Gall. vit. p. 179. GOLTZ. p. 115.
[q] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193.

but ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow while he was viewing the walls[r]. On ſeveral medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Gaul*, and he is ſtyled the reſtorer of that province[s]. However, *Poſthumius* ſtill maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion of great part of that country; and this year being hard preſſed by *Gallienus*, he choſe for his collegue *M. Aurelius Piauvonius Victorinus*, as he is ſtyled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in *Julius Aterianus*, a writer of thoſe times: No one, in my opinion, ought to be preferred to *Victorinus*, who reigned ſome time in *Gaul*; he equalled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Veſpaſian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military diſcipline; but his unbridled luſt drowned all his good qualities, and caſt ſuch a blemiſh upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deſerved the doom which in the end overtook him[t]. Of this doom we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. The next year, *Valerian*, the emperor's brother, and *Lucillus*, his kinſman, being conſuls, the *Iſaurians*, revolting in *Aſia Minor*, choſe for their leader *C. Annius Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, cauſed money to be coined with his name, and reigned ſome time in *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn by *Cauſiſoleus*, the brother of *Theodotus*, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge into a plain, and there defeated and killed. The *Iſaurians* ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refuſing to ſubmit to *Gallienus*, whoſe cruelty they dreaded, maintained themſelves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at leaſt till the time of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia Minor*, and *Syria*[u]. While *Gaul*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were held either by a domeſtic or foreign enemy, *Africa* too had its tyrant, *viz.* *T. Cornelius Celſus*, ſet up by *Vibius Paſſienus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Fabius Pomponianus*, who commanded on the frontiers of *Libya*. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name *Galliena*, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great ſhare in this revolt. *Celſus* was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raiſed; but he held it a ſhort time, being killed the ſeventh day after his election. The inhabitants of *Sicca*, who had continued faithful to *Gal-*

Poſthumius takes Victorinus for his partner.

The Iſaurians revolt.

Celſus made emperor in Africa, and ſoon after murdered.

[r] Gall. vit. p. 177. [s] Birag. p. 376, 377. [t] Trig. tyrann. c. 5. p. 186, 187. [u] Idem, c. 25. p. 198.

lienus

lienus, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigie, which, as our historian obſerves, had never been practiſed before [o]. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign; we may reckon the loſs of all the conqueſts of *Trajan*, that is, of the whole province of *Dacia*, ſeized by the *Goths* and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the *Franks* in *Spain*. *Victor* is of opinion, that they entered that province on the ſide of *Gaul* [p]; but *Valeſius* proves, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Conſtantine*, that they conveyed themſelves thither by ſea [q]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered *Spain*, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by ſtorm, plundered, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which, for the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years, bore the marks of what it ſuffered at this time [r]. Some of the *Franks* from *Spain* croſſed over into *Africa* [s]; but what was the iſſue of that raſh undertaking, we are no-where told. *Spain plundered by the Franks.*

THE following year, *Gallienus* being conſul, the ſeventh time, with *Sabinillus*, the brave *Odenatus*, entering the *Perſian* territories, put all there to fire and ſword, over-came *Sapor* in ſeveral battles, beſieged a ſecond time, and, according to *Syncellus*, made himſelf maſter of, *Cteſiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths* entering *Aſia* by the *Euxine* ſea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, laying waſte the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives [t]. The next year, *Paternus* and *Arceſilaus* being conſuls, *Odenatus*, leaving *Cteſiphon*, haſtened back to the relief of *Aſia*; but the *Goths* not thinking it adviſeable to wait his arrival, reimbarqued at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the *Euxine* ſea by the *Roman* fleet. All authors agree, that *Odenatus* was killed about this time, but differ both as to the place and manner of his death. According to *Syncellus*, he was killed at *Heraclea* [u]; according to *Zoſimus*, at *Emeſa* [w]. *Trebellius Pollio* writes, that he was murdered by one *Maeonius*, his couſin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but ſoon after put to death. *Syncellus* aſcribes his death to another *Odenatus*, who was himſelf murdered by the guards [x]. Some writers ſuppoſe *Odenatus gains great advantages over the Perſians.* *He is murdered.*

[o] Idem, c 28 p. 198. [p] AUR. VICT. in Gall. [q] VAL. ter. Francic. l. i. p 3, 4. [r] OROS. l. vii. p. 223. HIER. chron. EUTROP. VICT. [s] VICT. & VAL. p. 5. [t] Gall. vit p. 179. [u] SYNCELL. p. 382. [w] ZOS. p. 651. Trig. tyr c 14, 16. [x] SYNCELL. p. 382.

Zenobia

Zenobia herſelf to have aſſiſted the conſpirators underhand, being provoked againſt her huſband for preferring his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, by a former wife, to the children he had by her [y]. It is certain, that *Herod* was killed with his father, who, according to ſome writers, had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of *Odenatus*, deſervedly ranked by hiſtorians among the greateſt princes that ever reigned in the eaſt. God, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was angry with the *Romans*, ſince he took *Valerian* from them, and did not long preſerve *Odenatus* [z]. He had begun, as appears from ſome medals [a], the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three ſons by *Zenobia*, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vabalath*, or, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals, *Hermias Vhaballat* [b]. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, *Zenobia* governed in their name with the title of *queen of the eaſt*, arrayed them with purple robes and other enſigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire preſented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the aſſemblies of the people [c]. It is uncertain, whether they were put to death by *Aurelian*, or died before [d]. From their medals it appears, that *Herennianus* reigned at leaſt two years, *Timolaus* three, and *Vhaballat* ſeven [e]. *Zenobia* did not, it ſeems, tread in the footſteps of her huſband, and keep up, as he had done, a good underſtanding with *Gallienus*. For we find, that *Heraclianus*, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of *Odenatus*, had ſent into the eaſt to make war upon the *Perſians*, was this very year defeated by *Zenobia*, and obliged to return to *Rome*. Towards the end of the year, one *L. Ælianus* aſſumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was ſoon overcome by *Poſthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who, thereupon mutinied, and, tranſported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young *Poſthumius* his ſon. *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus*, ſtyled on the antient coins *Spurius Servilius Lollianus* [f], was meanly born, but had raiſed himſelf in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, while *Victorinus*, whom *Poſthumius* had taken for his partner, held the reſt. But he did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, being murdered on account of his ſeve-

His wife Zenobia *governs in the name of her children.*

Poſthumius *murdered in* Gaul, *and* Lollianus *declared emperor.*

[y] Trig tyrann. c. 16. p. 193. [z] Idem, c. 14. p. 192. [a] Goltz. p 115. [b] Idem, p. 116. Birag. p. 386. [c] Trig. tyrann. c 26. p. 192. [d] Idem, ib'd. [e] Goltz. p. 116. [f] Idem, p. 117.

rity

rity by his own ſoldiers, ſtirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became ſole maſter of all *Gaul*, but was ſoon after mortally wounded at *Cologn*, by one whoſe wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his ſon *L. Aulerius Victorinus* his ſucceſſor, though then an infant. But the *Gauls*, not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him, and ſet up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour and extraordinary ſtrength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a ſoldier, who had formerly worked under him. The aſſaſſin ran him through with his ſword, telling him, that it was of his own making [g]. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed *P. Piveſus* or *Peſuvius Tetricus* emperor. He was a *Roman* ſenator, had been conſul, and was at this time governor of *Aquitaine*. He was acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*, and held thoſe provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of *Aurelian*'s reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince [h], as we ſhall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of *Cæſar* upon his ſon *C. Pacuvius Piveſus Tetricus*, who was then but an infant. All theſe uſurpers in *Gaul*, *viz. Poſthumius*, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, were ſet up by *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great intereſt in *Gaul*, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Gallienus*. She was honoured, probably by her ſon *Victorinus*, with the titles of *Auguſta*, and *The mother of the armies*. As ſhe was a woman of maſculine courage, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which ſhe liberally diſtributed among the ſoldiers, ſhe gave the empire of *Gaul* to whom ſhe pleaſed, and bore under all the uſurpers, who were but her creatures, an abſolute ſway. She died during the uſurpation of *Tetricus*; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for ſome writers ſeem to inſinuate, that ſhe was privately diſpatched by his orders [i].

Victorinus and his ſon murdered.

Marius declared emperor and murdered; and Tetricus *raiſed to the empire in his room.*

The ſame year, the *Scythians*, that is the *Goths*, ravaged anew the provinces of *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and thence carried back with them an immenſe booty; while the *Heruli*, paſſing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* ſea with five hundred veſſels, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryſopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobat*. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himſelf killed in the engagement. Notwithſtanding their defeat, inſtead of returning to their own

The irruptions of the Goths, *And the* Heruli.

[g] Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187. [h] Idem ibid. c. 23. p. 196.
[i] Idem, 30. p. 200.

country,

country, they croſſed the *Boſporus*; and ſteering their courſe towards *Cyzicus*, ſurpriſed and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of *Aſia*, and the iſlands of *Lemnos*, and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Then they ſailed towards *Greece*; and landing there, beſieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waſte all *Achaia*; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the hiſtorian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devaſtations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace* [k]. *Gallienus*, who was juſt then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, haſtened into *Illyricum*; and coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Naulobat*, their leader, was obliged to yield himſelf to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the conſulſhip, or the conſular ornaments [l], *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, *Oroſius*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, ſpeak of a great victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Illyricum* over the *Goths*, meaning no doubt the *Heruli*; for all the northern nations are by ſome writers ſtyled *Goths*, by others *Scythians*. After this victory, *Gallienus* haſtened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* in *Illyricum*, to purſue the war with the *Heruli*; which he did with no leſs courage than ſucceſs, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the reſt to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions [m]. The revolt of *Aureolus* was what obliged *Gallienus* to return in great haſte to *Italy*. For *Aureolus*, not ſatisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s abſence to march with all the troops under his command towards *Rome*, with a deſign to depoſe *Gallienus*, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed ſole emperor; for ſome writers tell us, that *Gallienus* had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others ſtyle him only the emperor's general. *Gallienus*, hearing of his march, and ſuſpecting his deſign, left *Illyricum*, and reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Milan*; which city *Gallienus* immediately inveſted. This happened in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, when *Paternus* was conſul, the ſecond time,

Who are defeated by Gallienus.

War between Aureolus *and* Gallienus.

[k] Gall. vit. p. 184. Syncell. p. 382. Zos. p. 651. [l] Gall. vit. p. 181. Syncell. ibid. [m] Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid.

with

with *Marinianus* [n]. All authors agree, that *Gallienus* was killed during this ſiege, but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The moſt probable opinion is, that *Marcianus*, who was returned from *Illyricum*, *Heraclianus*, and *Cecrops*, a native of *Mauritania*, and commander of the *Dalmatian* cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conſpired againſt him, and alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if *Aureolus* were ſallying out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his ſon *Gallienus*, and his two brothers, *Valerian* and *Egnatius*. The ſoldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and ſuſpecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but *Marcianus* diſtributing large ſums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man (for *Gallienus* always carried immenſe treaſures with him), the mutiny was appeaſed, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and took the uſual oaths to *Claudius*, whom the conſpirators propoſed to them as the beſt qualified man in the whole empire to ſuſtain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor [o]. Such was the end of *Gallienus*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, ſeven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*. The ſenate declared him a public enemy, ordered moſt of his friends, miniſters, and relations, to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, and cauſed his name to be erazed out of all public inſcriptions. He was one of the moſt wicked princes mentioned in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have equalled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heliogabalus* in lewdneſs. He paſſed his whole time in the company of the moſt infamous proſtitutes in *Rome*; and, laying aſide all care and thought of the public, ſuffered the *Roman* dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many uſurpers who ſtarted up in his time, ſhewing no more concern for the loſs of a province, to uſe the expreſſion of *Trebellius Pollio*, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly againſt the ſoldiers, of whom he is ſaid to have ſometimes ordered three or four thouſand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all ſenators from military employments, and would not even ſuffer any of that illuſtrious body to appear in the camp, or among the ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, eſpecially in oratory and poetry. His hiſtorian tells us, that on occaſion of the marriage of his brother's ſon, he made an extemporary epithala-

Gallienus *murdered.*

And moſt of his miniſters and friends condemned by the ſenate.

[n] Gall. vit. p. 181. [o] Idem, ibid.

Gallienus *generally abhorred, but deified.*

mium, which far excelled thoſe that were written at the ſame time, after many days ſtudy, by the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* poets then in *Rome* [p]. After his death *Claudius* cauſed him, though univerſally abhorred both by the ſenate and people, to be deified with the uſual ceremonies. His body was in all likelihood conveyed by *Claudius*'s orders to *Rome*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of his tomb on the *Appian* way, about nine miles from the city [q]. Of the few writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Y).

Claudius *proclaimed emperor.*

As ſoon as the tumult occaſioned by the death of *Gallienus* was appeaſed, the ſoldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor. The news of what had happened at *Milan* reaching *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *March*, the ſenate immediately aſſembled; and the letter which *Claudius* wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimouſly confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed *Claudius* empe-

[p] Idem, p. 180. [q] Ammian. p. 472.

(Y) *Palfurius Sura* wrote the hiſtory of the reign of *Gallienus* (65); and this is all we know of him. *Cæleſtinus* and *Mæonius Aſtyanax*, quoted by ſome of the *Auguſtine* writers, are equally unknown. They all flouriſhed under *Gallienus*; for of the tranſactions of his reign they ſpeak as of things happening in their time (66). *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians (67). *Suidas* mentions one *Ephorus* of *Cumæ*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Galenus*, or rather, as others read, *Gallienus* in twenty-ſeven books (68). *Voſſius* places him among the *Greek* hiſtorians, and takes him to have been a native of *Cumæ* in *Aſia* (69). He wrote other hiſtories; but none of them have reached us (70). *Trebellius Pollio* quotes a paſſage out of one *Julius Aterianus*, much to the credit and reputation of *Victorinus*, who uſurped the empire in *Gaul* (71). The ſame writer quotes another paſſage out of one *Gallus Antipater*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Aureolus*, and probably of the other tyrants: but he ſeems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him *a ſlave to honours*, and *the diſgrace of hiſtorians*, though the paſſage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deſerve ſuch a ſevere cenſure (72). Under *Gallienus* flouriſhed likewiſe *Lupercus* of *Berytus*, a celebrated grammarian, who wrote ſeveral grammatical pieces, and was in many things preferred to *Herodian* (73).

(65) *Gall. vit.* p. 183. (66) *Valer. vit.* p. 175, *Trigint. tyrann* c. 11. p. 190. (67) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* p. 182. (68) *Suid.* p. 1111. (69) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l* ii. c. 16. p. 240. (70) *Idem. l. i. c. 7. p.* 37. (71) *Trigint. tyrann. c.* 5. p. 187. (72) *Claud. vit.* p, 203. (73) *Suid. p.* 58. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c.* 16. p. 240.

ror,

ror, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, *That they had always wished to have* Claudius, *or such a person as* Claudius, *for emperor* [r]. He was a native of *Illyricum*, born, according to some, in *Dardania*, according to others, in *Dalmatia*. Of his father and ancestors, *Trebellius Pollio* owns, that he knows but very little, though, after his accession to the empire, some flattering genealogists pretended to derive his pedigree from *Dardanus* and the *Trojans* [s]. On most medals he is styled *M. Aurelius Claudius* [t]. He had no children, but two brothers, *Quintillus*, who succeeded him, and *Crispus*, the father of *Claudia*, who married *Eutropius*, and had by him *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*. The name of *Constantine* was, it seems, peculiar to the family of *Claudius*; for one of his sisters was called *Constantina*, a name hitherto never mentioned in history. The present emperor is by all writers, even by *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to *Constantine*, cried up as one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Valerian*, who first gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the request of the senate, appointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, *Mœsia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*. The same emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. *Gallienus* stood in great awe of him; and, being informed, that *Claudius* disapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his interest, sent him rich presents, and wrote to one *Venustus*, his particular friend, charging him by all means to gain *Claudius*, and remove from him all jealousies and suspicions [u]. In his letter he styled *Claudius his friend and kinsman*. *Claudius* attended him in his wars against *Posthumius* in *Gaul*, and the *Heruli* in *Illyricum*, and was sent by him, after the revolt of *Aureolus*, to defend the city of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. But, in the mean time, *Gallienus* being killed, he was, though, according to some writers, not privy to the conspiracy, proclaimed emperor [w]. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he attacked *Aureolus*, encamped at a small distance from *Milan*, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took the usurper himself prisoner. He designed to grant him his life; but the soldiers killed him without his orders. The emperor raised a monument to his memory, caused his body

His extraction and preferments.

Aureolus *defeated and killed.*

[r] Claud. vit. p. 203. [s] Idem, p. 206. [t] Goltz. p. 117. Birag. p. 402. [u] Claud. vit. p. 207. [w] Idem, p. 203.

to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the *Adda*, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called *Pons Aureoli*, *The bridge of* Aureolus; whence the preſent village of *Pontirolo*, on the *Adda*, between *Milan* and *Bergamo*, in all likelihood, took its name[x]. After the death of *Aureolus*, the troops that had ſerved under him acknowledged *Claudius*, who, without loſs of time, led them and the reſt of his army againſt the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Guarda*, near *Verona*. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged thoſe who outlived the general ſlaughter to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight into their own country, and returning to *Rome*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed the remaining part of the year in ſettling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and juſtice, redreſſing all grievances, and ſuppreſſing the many abuſes and diſorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

The Germans *defeated by* Claudius.

He marches againſt the Goths, *and other northern nations.*

In the beginning of the following year he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Paternus* for his collegue, and ſoon after ſet out from *Rome*, to make head againſt the *Goths* and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, beſides women, ſervants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages, laying waſte whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and ſword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through *Upper Mæſia*. As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the ſenate: "I am, conſcript fathers, in ſight of the "enemy, and ready to engage them: they are three hund-"red and twenty thouſand ſtrong. If I overcome them, you "will not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I ſhould not be at-"tended with ſucceſs, you will remember that I fight after "the reign of *Gallienus*. The whole empire is quite ſpent "and exhauſted, partly by him, and partly by the many ty-"rants, who, during his reign, uſurped the ſovereignty, and "laid waſte our provinces. We want even ſhields, ſwords, "and ſpears. The provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, the main "ſtrength of the empire, are in the hands of *Tetricus*. "Our archers, to our great ſhame, are with-held from us "by *Zenobia*. Whatever therefore we perform ſucceſsfully "in our preſent circumſtances, muſt be accounted great."

[x] Trigint. tyran. c. 10. p. 190.

But

But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, *Claudius* advanced boldly againſt the barbarians, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, gained one of the greateſt victories mentioned in hiſtory; for no fewer than three hundred thouſand of the enemy were killed or taken priſoners. The emperor himſelf gave the following account of this memorable victory in a letter, which he wrote after the battle, to *Junius Brocchus*, governor of *Illyricum*: "We have utterly defeated an ar- "my of three hundred and twenty thouſand *Goths*, and de- "ſtroyed their fleet, conſiſting of two thouſand ſail. The "fields and ſhores are covered with ſwords, ſhields, and "dead bodies. We have taken ſuch numbers of captives, "that, not to mention the men, two or three women will "fall to the ſhare of each ſoldier in our victorious army [x]." Among the priſoners were many princes and perſons of great diſtinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground, and every city could ſhew you, ſays *Pollio*, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible *Claudius* [y]. For this victory the emperor took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [z]. *And gains a memorable victory over them.*

While *Claudius* was thus employed againſt the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded ſome troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and, after a long ſiege, took and utterly deſtroyed *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, finding he could not by any other means eſcape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, diſpatched himſelf with his own ſword [a]. The following year, when *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* were conſuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, reſolved to march againſt *Zenobia*, who held all the provinces in the eaſt; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himſelf was in the end ſeized and carried off by the raging diſtemper at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, two years and one month [b]. In him centered, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, the moderation of *Auguſtus*, the valour of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him [c]. He may be truly ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed, during his ſhort but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have reſtored it to its former luſtre. The ſenate not only beſtowed divine ho- *Zenobia reduces Egypt.* *The death of Claudius.*

[x] Claud. vit. p. 204. [y] Idem ibid. [z] GOLTZ. p. 118.
[a] Zos. p. 654, 655. [b] Idem, p. 654. EUSEB. chron. p 138.
GRUTER p. 276. [c] Claud. vit. p. 203.

nous

Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the senate and people of Rome.

nours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they assembled a shield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This shield was still to be seen in the reign of *Constantine the Great.* The people erected to him at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten foot high, which they placed by that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and another of silver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes [d]. *Claudius*, and not *Gallienus*, as *Spanhemius* pretends [e], was the last emperor, who assumed on his medals the titles of *high pontiff*, and *tribune of the people* [f]. Upon the death of *Claudius*, the senate and people of *Rome* proclaimed his brother *Quintillus* emperor, who was then at *Aquileia*, in which city he was murdered by his soldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to restore with too much severity the discipline of the primitive times. Thus *Trebellius Pollio* [g]. But *Zosimus* [h] and *Zonaras* [i] tell us, that *Quintillus*, hearing *Aurelian* had been acknowledged emperor by the army in *Pannonia*, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and by that means put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as one in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death, the senate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. He was, according to most writers, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean descent, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under the emperors *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is said to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in several others nine hundred and fifty; whence songs were made upon his exploits, and sung publicly by the youth on festival days. As there were two *Aurelians* at the same time in the army, and both tribunes, the soldiers used to distinguish the present *Aurelian* with the surname of *Manu ad ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the sword*; so ready was he on all occasions to draw his sword, and encounter the enemy [k]. He was a most strict observer of the military discipline, and used to punish with the utmost severity the least neglect of duty; and the least injury offered by his soldiers to any of the inhabitants of

His brother Quintillus *proclaimed emperor; but dies soon after.*

Aurelian *raised to the empire.*

His extraction and preferments.

[d] Idem, p. 208. [e] Spanh. l. viii. p. 699. [f] Vide Biraghi. p. 402. Noris de Licinii nummo, c. 3. p. 49. [g] Claud. vit. p. 206. [h] Zos. p. 654. [i] Zonar. p. 239. [k] Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211.

the

the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which poſt he had raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier [1]. From *Sirmium*, where he was ſaluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of *Claudius*, he haſtened to *Rome*, and was received there, both by the ſenate and people, with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but, before he could ſettle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haſte to *Pannonia*, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late moſt dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle laſted, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, till night, when the enemy repaſſed the *Danube*, and the next day ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Aurelian* readily granted them, being informed, that the *Alemanni*, the *Juthongæ*, whoſe country bordered upon *Rhætia*, and the *Marcomanni*, threatened to invade *Italy* itſelf, and were committing dreadful ravages and devaſtations in ſeveral parts. Againſt them therefore *Aurelian* led the flower of his army, and meeting them in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the preſent *Bavaria* and great part of *Suevia*, he put them to flight, and cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to paſs the *Danube*. Hereupon they ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were allowed to return unmoleſted into their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmoſt deſpair. After various conſultations and debates among themſelves, they reſolved at length to enter *Italy*, ſince they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the paſſes unguarded (for *Aurelian* apprehended no attempt of that nature), they advanced before the emperor came up with them, as far as *Placentia*. There *Aurelian* attacked them; but, after having loſt moſt of his troops, was put to flight and utterly defeated. The barbarians, puffed up with ſo ſignal a victory, purſued their march, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to take *Rome* itſelf, as the *Gauls* had formerly done. But, in the mean time, *Aurelian* having rallied his diſperſed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as eſcap-

Concludes a peace with the Goths.

He defeats ſeveral German *nations;*

Who nevertheleſs enter Italy *and put the emperor to flight;*

[1] Idem, p. 211.

ed

ed from this firſt battle, were ſlain in two others, one of which was fought near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [m]. To this day is to be ſeen at *Peſaro*, a city about five miles from *Fano*, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by *Aurelian* over the *Germans* [n]. While the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, news was brought him, that the *Vandals* had paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings, and ſeveral other princes. This obliged him to haſten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The *Vandals* retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, purſued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hoſtages, the ſons of their two kings, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. He incorporated two thouſand of their beſt men in his army, and ordered the reſt to be ſupplied with proviſions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube* [o]. *Aurelian*, having thus happily ended the wars with the *Goths*, *Germans*, and *Vandals*, returned to *Rome*, and in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue, *Numerius Ceionius Virius Baſſus*. As ſeveral diſturbances had happened in *Rome* during his abſence, he puniſhed the authors of them with great ſeverity, and ſuch too as were accuſed of having blamed his conduct in the *German* war. *Trebellius Pollio* tells us, that tho' he was in other reſpects an excellent prince, he often ſuffered his paſſion to get the better of his reaſon, and puniſhed with exceſſive rigour faults, which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put ſeveral ſenators to death, upon the depoſition of a ſingle witneſs; and often gave ear to the accuſations of perſons, who deſerved no credit; which much leſſened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and eſtranged from him the minds both of the ſenate and people [p]. The emperor *Julian* charges him with having put many perſons to death unjuſtly [q]; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war, and pay his troops [r]. This year, with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate,

But are in the end all cut off.

The Vandals *defeated.*

Aurelian *eſtranges the minds of the ſenate and people with his ſeverity.*

[m] Idem, p. 215, 216. Dexipp. legat. p. 7—11. [n] Gruter. p. 276. [o] Dexipp. legat. p. 12. [p] Aurel. vit. p. 116. [q] Julian. Cæs. p. 16. [r] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 431.

he

he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewiſe extended; ſo that they were near fifty miles in compaſs [r]. This great work was not accompliſhed till the latter end of the reign of *Probus* [s].

THE following year, when *Quietus* and *Voldumianus* were conſuls, *Aurelian* having ſettled affairs in *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and at *Rome*, left the city anew, and ſet out for the eaſt, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great diſgrace of the empire, had held for ſeveral years moſt of the eaſtern provinces. This queen, one of the moſt illuſtrious women mentioned in hiſtory, is ſtyled on ſeveral medals *Septimia Zenobia* [u]; whence ſome writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor *Septimius Severus*. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the *Cleopatras* and *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and her family was reckoned one of the moſt conſpicuous in the eaſt. She was well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, underſtood thoroughly the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and in the knowledge of hiſtory excelled moſt men of her time. She is even ſaid to have compiled an abridgment of the *Egyptian* and *Oriental* hiſtorians, which was in great requeſt among the learned [w]. St. *Athanaſius* writes, that ſhe profeſſed the *Jewiſh* religion [x], and is therein followed by *Abulfarajius* [y]. She married the celebrated *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*. She had great ſhare in the many ſignal victories gained by her huſband over the *Perſians*, and is ſaid to have been no leſs courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, ſhe arrayed her three ſons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, cauſed them to be acknowledged by all the eaſtern provinces as joint emperors of *Rome*, and obliged them to conform to the *Roman* cuſtoms, and uſe not the *Greek*, which was ſpoken by other eaſtern princes, but the *Latin*, tongue. As they were under age, ſhe governed in their name, with the title of *queen of the eaſt*, for the ſpace of five, or, as others will have it, ſix years, diſcharging each duty of an excellent prince and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She ſhewed great wiſdom in her counſels, was ſteady in her reſolutions, kind and generous to perſons of merit, but inexorable when ſeverity was judged neceſſary.

He marches againſt Zenobia.

Her extraction, conduct, and adminiſtration.

[r] AUR. VICT. epit. Aurel. vit p. 216. [s] Zos. p. 655. Aur. vit. p. 219.
[u] BIRAG. p. 385. SPANH p. 937
[w] ATHAN. folit. p 857. [y] ABUL p. 81.

She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the *Perſian* monarchs, and cauſing all thoſe who approached her to fall proſtrate before her, after the manner of the *Perſian* court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with a helmet, and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them ſeveral miles on foot, uſing a horſe, and ſometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but ſeldom a litter. In imitation of the *Roman* emperors, ſhe gave magnificent entertainments, not ſcrupling on theſe occaſions to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the *Perſian* and *Armenian* embaſſadors, though otherwiſe very ſober and temperate [z]. In the reign of *Gallienus*, ſhe defeated *Heraclianus*, as we have related above, and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to which ſhe added *Egypt*, while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not ſatisfied with theſe acquiſitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, ſhe ſeized on great part of *Aſia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia* [a]. *Aurelian*, deſirous to put an end to her uſurpation, ordered all his forces to aſſemble in *Illyricum*, and ſetting out from *Rome*, early in the ſpring of this year 272, bent his march through *Thrace*, where he engaged and put to flight ſeveral barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even paſſed the *Danube*, and in an engagement with *Cannabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, ſlew him and five thouſand of his men [b]. Having thus defeated the *Goths*, he purſued his march to *Byzantium*, and croſſing the *Boſporus*, entered *Bithynia*, which was held by *Zenobia*, according to *Vopiſcus*, but immediately ſubmitted. From *Bithynia* he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where the inhabitants of *Tyana* ſhut their gates againſt him; which ſo incenſed *Aurelian*, that he ſwore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His ſoldiers attacked it with great fury; but were in their repeated aſſaults repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the inhabitants, till one of them, by name *Heraclammon*, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy. We are told by *Vopiſcus*, that the ghoſt of the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, appearing to *Aurelian*, warned him not to deſtroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to offer the leaſt injury to the inhabitants, anſwering them, when they put him in mind of his vow not to leave a dog alive in the place, that they might kill, if

Her exploits.

Aurelian *defeats the Goths, and kill. one of their kings.*

Takes Tyana *in* Cappadocia.

[z] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 198. [a] Zos. p. 655. [b] Aur. vit. p. 216.

they

they pleaſed, all the dogs, provided they ſpared the inhabitants. This anſwer was received with great applauſe by the ſoldiers themſelves, who were no leſs pleaſed, ſays *Vopiſcus*, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city [c]. *Heraclammon*, who betrayed the place, was the only perſon whom the emperor ſuffered to be put to death. Concerning him he wrote the following letter to *Mallius Chilo*, who was, it ſeems, the emperor's particular friend: "I have taken "*Tyana*, and ſuffered the perſon, by whoſe favour, and, as "it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut in pieces by "my ſoldiers. I have ſpared the reſt; but could not endure "ſuch a traitor. Would he ever have been faithful to me, "who betrayed his own country? He was rich, I own it; "but his eſtate I have given to his children, that no one "might accuſe me, as if I had put him to death for the ſake of "his wealth [d]." From *Tyana*, *Aurelian* led his army ſtrait to *Antioch*, defeated the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph the metropolis of *Syria*. This victory, however, coſt him dear; for the *Palmyrenians* (ſo the troops of *Zenobia* are ſtyled by hiſtorians) fought with incredible bravery, and the *Romans* owed the victory rather to art than valour; for obſerving the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themſelves to flight; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite ſpent with the long purſuit, put them eaſily in diſorder, and gained a complete victory [e]. From *Antioch Aurelian* purſued his march to *Emeſa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand men. Under her commanded one *Zabas*, or *Zabdas*, a man of great courage and experience, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Perſian* wars in the time of *Odenatus*. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with various ſucceſs, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Roman* horſe were put to flight at the firſt onſet; but their infantry, attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked and expoſed by the departure of their cavalry, who were purſuing the *Romans*, obliged them, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of *Emeſa*; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with *Zenobia* to *Palmyra*, whither *Aurelian* purſued them cloſe, though ſtrangely haraſſed in his march by the *Syrian* robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men. He immediately inveſted the place, hoping to carry it

Suffers the perſon who betrayed it to be put to death.

Zenobia army defeated.

Zenobia defeated a ſecond time

Palmyra beſieged.

[c] Idem, p. 217. [d] Idem, ibid. [e] Zos. p. 655.

it by repeated aſſaults; but all his efforts proving unſucceſsful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The beſieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulſed the aggreſſors with ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, but rallied them from the walls, without ſparing the emperor himſelf. *Aurelian* owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and reſolute enemy; and mentioning *Zenobia*, ſays, that ſhe did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldneſs of a man in deſpair. "It is incredible, adds "he, what thick ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones "ſhe diſcharges upon us; ſhe haraſſes us night and "day with fire from her engines, *&c.* However, I "hope the gods, who have never yet failed to ſecond our "endeavours, will not on this occaſion abandon the cauſe "of the *Roman* people." The emperor at length, quite tired out with the toils and fatigues of ſo long a ſiege, wrote a letter to *Zenobia*, exhorting her to ſurrender, and promiſing her her life. To this letter *Zenobia* returned the following anſwer: "No man ever before you made ſuch a "demand. It is not by letters, but valour, that you muſt "induce me to ſubmit. You cannot but know, that *Cleopa-*
"*tra* choſe rather to die, than live under *Auguſtus*, not-
Zenobia's answer to Aurelian, requiring her to submit.
"withſtanding the mighty promiſes he made her. I expect "daily the *Perſians*, *Saracens*, and *Armenians*, who are all "haſtening to my relief; and what will then become of you "and your army, whom the robbers of *Syria* have put to "flight? You will then lay aſide that pride and preſumption "with which you command me to ſurrender, as if you "were the conqueror of the univerſe[f]." *Aurelian*, piqued with this anſwer, immediately ordered a general aſſault; but was repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated, a few days after, the *Perſians*, who came to the relief of the place; and what by menaces, what by mighty promiſes, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens* to join him againſt the queen, whom they were come to aſſiſt. *Zenobia*, finding herſelf diſappointed as to the ſuccours, which ſhe had long expected, and deſpairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, reſolved to withdraw privately from the city into *Perſia*, and there ſolicit in perſon more powerful ſupplies. Accordingly ſhe ſet out in the dead of the night with a ſmall retinue on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treaſures. But *Aurelian*, who was very watchful, having

[f] Aur. vit. p. 218.

had

had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horſe after the fugitive queen; who coming up with her, as ſhe was ready to croſs the *Euphrates* in a boat, ſeized her, and carried her back to *Aurelian*, who from that moment began to look upon himſelf as the conqueror and ſole lord of the eaſt. When ſhe was brought into his preſence, he aſked her, What had prompted her to take up arms againſt, and inſult over, the emperors of *Rome*? To this queſtion the queen replied, with no leſs intrepidity than addreſs, That ſhe looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, and ſuch as reſembled them, ſhe had never thought them worthy of that name †.

Zenobia taken and brought to Aurelian.

THE city of *Palmyra* ſtill held out, and ſome were againſt ſubmitting upon any terms whatſoever; but others ſued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promiſing to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who ſpared the inhabitants, but ſtripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one *Sandarion* governor of the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command [g]. After this, the emperor returned to *Emeſa*, carrying with him the captive queen, whoſe death the ſoldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to ſpill the blood of a woman, the more, becauſe ſhe had with great care defended the eaſtern provinces againſt the *Perſians* and other neighbouring nations, ready to ſeize them during the domeſtic diſturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire [h]. The emperor likewiſe ſpared *Vhaballat*, the queen's youngeſt ſon [i]. As for the other two, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, *Pollio* tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death [k]; and elſewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother [l]. All writers agree, that *Aurelian* cauſed many perſons of diſtinction to be executed at *Emeſa* for ſiding with *Zenobia*, and ordered others to be thrown overboard when he croſſed over from *Chalcedon* to *Thrace*. Among the former was the celebrated philoſopher *Longinus*, of whom hereafter. The fame of this victory ſoon reached the moſt diſtant nations, and they all ſtrove, with ſolemn embaſſies and rich preſents, to gain the friendſhip of the conqueror of *Zenobia*. Among theſe are mentioned the *Blemyes*, the *Auxumites*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*,

The city of Palmyra ſubmits.

All the eaſtern and ſouthern nations court the friendſhip of Aurelian.

† Trigint. tyran. c. 29 p. 199. [g] Aur. vit. p 219. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Zos. p. 661. BIBAC. p. 385. [k] Trig. tyran. c. 26. p. 198. [l] Idem, c. 23. p. 196.

Albanians, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, and even the *Seres* or *Chineſe*. *Hormiſdas*, or, as *Eutychius* calls him, *Hormoz al Horri*, who had ſucceeded his father *Sapor* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, ſent to the emperor, amongſt other preſents, a chariot, covered all over with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and a ſcarlet mantle of ſuch a lively colour, that the *Romans* had never ſeen any but what came infinitely ſhort of it. *Aurelian*, and after him *Probus* and *Dioclefian*, taken with its extraordinary brightneſs and beauty, ſent, but to no effect, perſons into the eaſt, on purpoſe to diſcover the art of dying to ſuch an extraordinary perfection [m]. *Aurelian*, having thus recovered and ſettled in peace the eaſtern provinces, returned by *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium* into *Europe*, carrying with him his illuſtrious captive. He defeated, on his march through *Thrace*, the *Carpi*, who had broken into that province; but at the ſame time he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Palmyra* had revolted, put the *Roman* governor and gariſon to the ſword, and proclaimed a kinſman of *Zenobia*, named *Achilleus*, or, as *Zoſimus* calls him, *Antiochus*, their ſovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, haſtened back into *Syria*, and arriving at *Palmyra* before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without oppoſition, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition [n]. He had not yet quitted the eaſt, when news was brought him, that *Egypt* had revolted, and ſet up for emperor one *Firmus*, or rather *Firmius*, as he is ſtyled on ſuch of his medals as have reached our times [o]. He was a native of *Seleucia* in *Syria*; but poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate in *Egypt*, and carried on an advantageous trade with the *Saracens*, the *Blemyes*, a people of *Ethiopia*, and the inhabitants of *India*; for he uſed to brag, that with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. *Vopiſcus* relates wonderful things of his ſtrength and appetite. He was greatly attached to *Zenobia*, and, to keep up her party and intereſt, aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, and ſtopped the corn which it uſed to ſend yearly to *Rome*. *Aurelian* marched againſt him with that expedition which was peculiar to him, and, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, overcame the uſurper, ſtormed a ſtrong-hold to which he fled, and having taken him priſoner, cauſed him to be publicly executed [p]. Having thus ſuppreſſed all troubles in the eaſt, he returned the ſecond time to *Europe*, with a deſign to recover and

Palmyra revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword.

The revolt of Firmius

[m] Aur. vit. p. 218. [n] Aur. vit. p. 219. [o] Goltz p. 119. Spanh. l. vii. p. 599. [p] Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p. 661.

reunite

reunite to the empire the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were ſtill held by *Tetricus*. This he eaſily compaſſed, *Tetricus* himſelf, no longer able to bear the continual diſorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul* [q]. However, a battle was fought near *Chalon* on the *Marne*; during which, *Tetricus* voluntarily yielding to *Aurelian*, his troops, deſtitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was *Gaul*, after it had been held for the ſpace of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when *Tacitus*, afterwards emperor, and *Placidianus* were conſuls, *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the moſt magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and ſtately chariots: the firſt, which had belonged to *Odenatus*, was intirely covered with ſilver, gold, and jewels; another equally rich and magnificent, was a preſent to *Aurelian* from the king of *Perſia*; the third was *Zenobia*'s own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four ſtags, had been taken by *Aurelian* from a *Gothic* prince. In the latter the emperor himſelf made his entry. Theſe chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beaſts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, *viz.* *Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, *Alemans*, *Blemyes*, *Auxumites*, *Arabians*, *Eudæmonians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, ſuch of the *Palmyrenians* as had outlived the late ſlaughter, ſome *Egyptians* taken in the late rebellion of *Firmius*, and ten *Gothic* women, whom *Aurelian* had taken fighting in the habit of men. Theſe were followed by *Tetricus*, in a ſcarlet robe, and his ſon, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched *Zenobia*, whoſe uncommon beauty, noble ſtature, and majeſtic mien, attracted the eyes of the ſpectators, and ſeemed to eclipſe the grandeur and luſtre of the emperor himſelf. She was bound with chains of gold, which other perſons bore up, apparelled with the richeſt tiſſues and robes, and ſo loaded with pearls and precious ſtones, that ſhe was often obliged to halt, being ready to ſink under ſo great a burden. *Zenobia* was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the ſenate in a body, the people of *Rome* with their various ſtandards, and the victorious legions, horſe and foot, in rich and ſplendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the ſymbol of

Gaul *reduced.*

Aurelian's *triumph.*

[q] *Trig. tyran.* c. 23. p. 119.

victory,

victory, in their hands. The ſenate, however, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, betrayed no ſmall concern to ſee *Tetricus*, one of their own body, who had even been conſul, led in triumph. In the capitol *Aurelian* ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the four ſtags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol, he went to the palace, attended by the ſenate and ſuch crouds of people, that the day was far ſpent before he could reach it. The next and ſeveral following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, ſhows of gladiators, combats of wild beaſts, ſea-fights in the naumachia, and all ſorts of entertainments [r]. He treated his illuſtrious captives with great humanity and kindneſs. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, ſufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that eſtate ſhe lived, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, like a *Roman* matron, with her children, that is, according to *Zonaras*, with her daughters, whom *Aurelian* took under his protection, and married to perſons of the firſt quality in *Rome* [s]. The ſame writer adds, that *Aurelian* himſelf married one of them; which may, perhaps, be as true as what *Syncellus* had written before him, *viz.* that the emperor gave *Zenobia* herſelf in marriage to an illuſtrious ſenator [t]. Be that as it will, it is certain that her deſcendants lived ſtill at *Rome* in great ſplendor about the latter end of the fourth century [u]. *Baronius* takes the holy biſhop of *Florence*, *Zenobius*, who was contemporary with St. *Ambroſe*, to have been of her family [w]. As for her ſon *Vhaballat*, he retired into *Armenia*, where *Aurelian* gave him, it ſeems, a ſmall principality; for he coined money, and is ſtyled on ſome of his coins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, *Vhaballat of Armenia*, and on others, *Vhaballat king of the Verimi*, probably an obſcure people of *Armenia* [x]. The emperor ſhewed no leſs kindneſs to *Tetricus*, than to *Zenobia*. To make ſome amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, ſtyling him his collegue, his fellow-ſoldier, and even honouring him ſometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of *Lucania*, telling him pleaſantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of *Italy*, than to reign beyond the *Alps* [y]. He treated with the ſame humanity and good nature young *Tetricus*, whom he had led in triumph with his father, ſuffering

His humanity towards Zenobia *and her children;*

And towards Tetricus *and his ſon.*

[r] Aur. vit. p. 220. [s] Trig. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198. Zon p. 240. [t] Syncel. p. 385. [u] Hier. chron. [w] Baron. ad ann. 274. [x] Birac. p. 407. Goltz. p. 116.

ing

ing him to continue in the ſenate, and leaving his eſtate untouched, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who lived at *Rome*, under the ſucceeding princes, in great ſplendor, eſteemed and revered by perſons of all ranks [y]. In the houſe of the *Tetrici*, on mount *Cœlius*, was ſtill to be ſeen, in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, a moſt beautiful piece, repreſenting in moſaic work the father and ſon delivering up a ſceptre and crown to *Aurelian*, and *Aurelian* reſtoring to them the ſenatorial robes, and inveſting them in their former dignity [z].

THE next conſuls were *Aurelian*, the ſecond time, and *C. Julius Capitolinus*. This year, the emperor continued at *Rome*; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domeſtic wars, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed in the time of *Gallienus*, and which *Claudius* had not been able to obviate, during his ſhort reign. He made ſeveral regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had eſtranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of the emperors his predeceſſors, who had eſtabliſhed funds for diſtributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-fleſh to be given with the bread and oil; and increaſed the latter largeſs by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even deſigned to eſtabliſh a fund for diſtributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geeſe and chickens [a]. When he left *Rome* to make war upon *Zenobia*, he promiſed to give each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but when they challenged his promiſe, the emperor cauſed loaves to be made of the fineſt flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds, and diſtributed them daily among the people ſo long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths. He appointed, that *Egypt* ſhould ſupply the city of *Rome* yearly with a certain quantity of glaſs, paper, linen, and ſeveral other things, that were either the natural growth, or manufactured in that country [b]. He cauſed wharfs to be built along the banks of the *Tiber*, and the chanel of that river to be cleanſed and dug deeper. But nothing more obliged

Several regulations made by Aurelian.

[z] Trig. tyr. c. 23, 24. p. 16, 197. [a] AUR. L vit. 225. [b] Idem, p. 224.

puſh ns

perſons of all ranks, than his generouſly remitting whatever was owing this year by private perſons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of *Trajan* all the papers, bonds, and regiſters, relating to ſuch debts. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an act of oblivion with reſpect to all crimes committed againſt the ſtate to that day. From that time forward he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch as accuſed others, without being able to make good their charge [c]. He enacted many wholeſome laws, by which he is ſaid to have purged *Rome* of all profeſſed lewdneſs, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be ſold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each perſon might keep of ſuch ſlaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted moſt ſevere laws againſt adultery, and puniſhed with death one of his own domeſtics guilty of that crime. He would ſuffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domeſtics, freed-men, and ſlaves, he kept in great awe, cauſing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his preſence for the ſmalleſt faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws, to the civil magiſtrates [d]. He deſigned to forbid all tiſſue of gold, and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a ſtock of gold as of ſilver; and, that the former metal, if ſuch a prohibition ſhould take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not publiſhed by him, but by his ſucceſſor *Tacitus*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted it to him [e]. About this time, he built and conſecrated a moſt magnificent temple to the ſun, of which frequent mention is made in hiſtory, and embelliſhed it with moſt rich and coſtly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. It was one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures in *Rome*. The gold veſſels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewiſe inriched the capitol, and moſt of the temples in the city, with preſents of great value ſent him by foreign princes [f]. He extended the juriſdiction of the pontiffs, increaſed their revenues, and eſtabliſhed funds for the repairs of the temples, and the ſalaries of the inferior miniſters.

He builds a magnificent temple to the ſun.

A great ſedition in Rome.

Towards the end of the year, a dangerous ſedition was raiſed in *Rome* by the perſons employed in the mint, who having, by a notorious breach of truſt, coined a great quantity of falſe money, to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, joined in a body, and under the conduct of one *Felicifſimus*, formerly a ſlave, but appointed by *Aurelian* one of the receivers of the

[c] Idem, p. 222. [d] Idem, p. 224. [e] Idem ibid. & Tacit vit. p. 230. [f] Aur. vit. p. 217, 222. Zos. p. 661.

exchequer,

exchequer, raiſed ſuch diſturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march againſt them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount *Cælius*, killed ſeven thouſand of them, but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldneſs of men in deſpair, overcome, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, not to ſay, cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the falſe coin, and gave true money in its room [g]. Soon after this ſedition, he put ſeveral ſenators to death, and likewiſe the ſon, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own ſiſter, for faults not ſpecified in hiſtory, but only ſaid not to have deſerved ſuch a ſevere puniſhment [h]. Towards the cloſe of this, or the very beginning of the following, year, when *Aurelian* was conſul the third time, with *Marcellinus*, ſome diſturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged the emperor to quit *Rome*, and haſten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that *Gaul* was reſtored to its former tranquillity, and that the emperor, marching from that province into *Vindelicia*, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that ſide, to repaſs the *Danube* [i]. A modern writer [k] is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left *Gaul*, rebuilt the city of *Orleans*, which, at leaſt ever ſince the fifth century, has been called by the *Latin* writers *Aureliani urbs*, and *urbs Aurelianorum*: its antient name was *Genabum* or *Cenabum*. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that he likewiſe either built or fortified the city of *Dijon*, at preſent the capital of *Burgundy* [l]. From *Vindelicia* the emperor marched into *Illyricum*; and there finding the province of *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, who had ſeized it in the reign of *Gallienus*, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which he was well appriſed he could not maintain in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they ſtill held beyond the *Danube*, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the barbarians, part of *Mœſia* and *Dardania* to ſettle in. Thus out of theſe two countries he formed a new province, called by ſome the *Aurelian Dacia*, by others *New Dacia*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Trajan*'s *Dacia*, which lay beyond the *Danube*. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to *Sanſon*, comprehended the moſt diſtant parts of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was *Sardica*, now known to us by the name of *Sofia*, but called by the inhabitants *Tria-*

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appeaſe ſome diſturbances there.

He abandons to the barbarians the province of Dacia.

[g] AUR. vit. p. 222. ZOS. p. 665. [h] AUR. vit. ibid. AUR. VICT. epit. [i] AUR. vit. p 221. ZON. p. 240. [k] LE MAIRE, antiq. d' Orleans, c. 3. p. 9. [l] GREG. p. 172

dizza [m]. The *Goths*, it ſeems, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country, which the emperor had abandoned. From *Illyricum*, the emperor marched into *Thrace*, with a deſign to paſs the winter there, and early in the ſpring to croſs over into *Aſia*, and lead his army againſt the *Perſians*, upon what provocation hiſtory does not inform us. But while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vaſt deſigns. Hiſtorians give us the following account of his unhappy end. He ſuſpected *Mneſtheus*, one of his freed-men and ſecretaries, of ſome extortion, and had threatened to puniſh him. Hereupon *Mneſtheus*, probably conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, counterfeiting his maſter's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and among the reſt his own; and ſhewing it to thoſe whoſe names he had ſet down, he told them, that he had found it in the emperor's cloſet; that they were all doomed to deſtruction; and that only by ſome deſperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to ſee their ſervices thus rewarded, took, without heſitation, the reſolution ſuggeſted to them by *Mneſtheus*; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named *Cænophrurium*, that is, the *new-caſtle*, half way between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, they fell upon the emperor ſword in had, while he was attended only by a ſmall guard, and diſpatched him with many wounds. *Vopiſcus* writes, that he fell by the hand of *Mucapor*, who, it ſeems, was a man of rank, ſince he is ſtyled general; and a letter is ſtill extant written to him by *Aurelian*, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Zenobia* at the ſiege of *Palmyra* [n]. The emperor muſt have been killed about the latter end of *January*; for his death was known at *Rome* on the third of *February* of this year 275, ſo that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three [o]. His death did not remain unpuniſhed; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, ſoon after his death, that they had been impoſed upon by *Mneſtheus*, threw him to the wild beaſts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceaſed emperor in the place where

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

He is murdered.

[m] Aur. vit p. 222. Lactan. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Syncell. p. 385. [n] Aur vit p. 213. [o] Idem, p. 221. Aur. Vict. epit. Zoſ. p. 601.

he

he had been killed, the whole army ſolemnizing his obſequies with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. All thoſe who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the ſpot by the enraged ſoldiery, or afterwards executed under his ſucceſſors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. His death was much lamented by the ſenate, who, at the requeſt of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largeſſes, than any of his predeceſſors had done. *Aurelian* is commonly ſtyled the reſtorer of the empire, which after the evils it had ſuffered by the captivity of *Valerian* and indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was by *Aurelian* reſtored to its former ſtrength and luſtre. He delivered *Italy* from the incurſions of the *Alemanni*, reſcued the eaſt from the ſhameful yoke of a woman, humbled the *Perſians*, ſtill elated with the captivity of *Valerian*, re-united *Gaul* to the empire, and reſtored to *Rome*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, overrun and oppreſſed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendſhip courted, by the moſt diſtant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generoſity; but as his exceſſive cruelty over-balanced all his other good qualities, he is by *Vopiſcus* and moſt other writers ranked not among the good, but the uſeful, princes. In the beginning of his reign, he ſeems to have countenanced the true religion [p]; but being afterwards ſeduced by wicked counſellors, he reſolved utterly to extirpate the chriſtian name, and had already taken up the pen to ſign the bloody letters and edicts drawn up againſt them, when a ſudden flaſh of lightning ſtruck the pen out of his hand, and filled both him and all about him with terror and diſmay. However, as the effects of fear, which ſtops the hand without changing the heart, are but ſhort-lived, he returned to his former reſolution, and publiſhed againſt us, ſays *Lactantius*, edicts of blood and ſlaughter, which ſerved only to draw vengeance from heaven upon his own head [q]; for before his edicts reached the more diſtant provinces, he was aſſaſſinated in the manner we have related above. Hence this is not by the eccleſiaſtic writers reckoned one of the ten general perſecutions, though ſeveral champions of the faith ſuffered martyrdom in the provinces, where his edicts were publiſhed. Of *Aurelian*, *Victor* the younger obſerves, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. *Jornandes* writes, that *Dioclefian* was

His character.

[p] EUSEB. l. vii. c. 30. p. 282, 282. [q] LACT. perſec. c. 6. p. 6. EUSEB. ibid.

the

the firſt *Roman* emperor who preſumed to wear that royal ornament [r]. But that he, and not *Victor*, was miſtaken, appears from one of the duke of *Arſchot*'s medals, on which *Aurelian* is repreſented with a crown on his head reſembling our ducal crowns [s]. The ſucceeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of *Conſtantine*. Of the writers, who flouriſhed under this prince, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Z).

As

[r] Jorn. reg. c. 23. p. 445. [s] Arſchotana numiſm. Croii ducis, tab. 63. Antwerp. ann. 1604. Spanhem. l. viii. p. 682, 683.

(Z) Under *Aurelian* flouriſhed two celebrated philoſophers, *Longinus* and *Amelius*. The former, named *Caſſius Longinus*, and likewiſe *Dionyſius*, which name is prefixed to his treatiſe on the *ſublime*, is by moſt writers thought to have been a native of *Athens* (74). From *Vopiſcus* it appears, that he could not write in the *Syriac* tongue (75); and conſequently, that he was not by birth a *Syrian*, as ſome have aſſerted. His family, it ſeems, came originally from that country (76); for his mother *Frontonides* was ſiſter to *Fronto* of *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, who taught rhetoric at *Athens* in the reign of *Severus*, publiſhed many works, and dying in that city, bequeathed his eſtate to his nephew (77). *Longinus*, when he was yet very young, travelled with his father into ſeveral countries, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philoſophers of thoſe times. In one of his works, which *Porphyrius*, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names ſeveral philoſophers of different ſects, among whom the moſt famous are *Plotinus*, his diſciple *Amelius*, *Ammonius*, a chriſtian philoſopher, and one *Origenes*. *Longinus* was a long time the diſciple of the two latter (78). He profeſſed and taught the philoſophy of *Plato*, and had the celebrated philoſopher *Porphyrius* for his diſciple, who tells us, that he and ſome other philoſophers were feaſted at *Athens* by *Longinus* on *Plato*'s birth-day (79). *Longinus* was not only a great philoſopher, but the beſt critic and orator of his age, and ſo well verſed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly ſtyled a *treaſure of knowledge*, and *a living library* (80). He was a man, ſays *Eunapius*, of an extraordinary diſcernment in diſcovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein ſurpaſſed all men (81). He was charged, ſays that writer, without telling us

(74) *Zoſim.* l. iii. c. 14. p. 204. (75) *Aur. vit.* p. 210. (76) *Suid.* voc. (77) *Idem ibid.* (78) *Plot. vit.* p. 13. (79) *Euſeb. præpar. evang.* l. xi. c. 3. p. 461. *Plot. vit.* p. 14. (80) *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 15. *Plot. vit.* p. 13. (81) *Eunap.* c. 2 p. 16, 17.

by

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*, the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved,

by whom, to write critical diſſertations on the works of the antients, and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the ſame ſubject before him (82). He taught *Zenobia* the *Greek* tongue, eſpouſed her cauſe with great warmth againſt *Aurelian*, and was ſuppoſed to have dictated the letter which that princeſs wrote to the emperor during the ſiege of *Palmyra*. That letter ſo provoked *Aurelian*, that, upon the reduction of the place, he cauſed the ſuppoſed author of it to be put to death; which he ſuffered with great firmneſs and intrepidity, comforting thoſe who were affected with his misfortune. This baſe revenge reflected no ſmall diſhonour on *Aurelian* (83); for the loſs of ſo great a man was looked upon as a public calamity (84). He left many works behind him very uſeful, ſays *Zoſimus* (85), to ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed in the ſciences, and which were admired by all the world. He muſt have begun to write very early, if what *Porphyrius* aſſerted be true, *viz.* that *Origen*, who died in 253, read with application his works (86). *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage out of one of his works, ſhewing the abſurdity of the opinion of the *Stoics*, concerning the ſoul (87). *Porphyrius* mentions a work of his upon *vehemence*, inſcribed to *Porphyrius* himſelf, and to one *Cleodamus* (88); and the preface of another upon the *Supreme Being*, addreſſed to one *Marcellus*, wherein he confuted the opinions of *Plotinus* and *Amelius* (89), quoting a work which he had written againſt *Porphyrius* himſelf, for his having preferred the opinion of *Plotinus* to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the ſame preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written, to *Amelius* againſt ſome particular ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and upon *Plato*'s opinion touching juſtice (90). *Porphyrius* gives us the abſtract of a letter, which *Longinus* wrote to him about the year 270, deſiring him to ſend him the works of *Plotinus*, and to leave *Sicily*, where *Porphyrius* then was, and come to him in *Phœnicia*. *Porphyrius* adds, that if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, *Longinus* would have better underſtood the ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and ſaved himſelf the trouble of confuting them (91). The ſame writer quotes three other works of *Longinus*, viz. on *principles, or firſt cauſes*, on *the love of antiquity*, and on *men of letters* (92). *Suidas* mentions ſeveral philological pieces publiſhed by *Longinus* (93);

(82) *Idem ibid.* (83) *Aur. vit. p.* 219. *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 659. (84) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17. (85) *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 659. (86) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (87) *Idem præp. evang l.* xv. *c.* 20. *p.* 822. (88) *Plot vit. p.* 10. (89) *Idem, p.* 13, 14. (90) *Idem ibid.* (91) *Plot. vit. p.* 15. (92) *Idem, p.* 9. *Fabric. l.* 3. *c.* 14 *p.* 234. (93) *Suid.* λ. *p.* 50.

has

beloved, not able to prevail upon themſelves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with

but takes no notice of his treatiſe on *the ſublime*, the only intire work of *Longinus* which has reached our times, and fully anſwers the great idea which the antients raiſe in us of its author. *Cæcilius*, who flouriſhed in the time of *Auguſtus*, wrote a treatiſe on the ſublime; but contented himſelf only with ſhewing in what true ſublimeneſs conſiſted, without preſcribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief ſubject of *Longinus*'s treatiſe, handled in a manner worthy of ſo great a writer. Among the inſtances he alledges of thoſe who have written in a a ſtyle truly ſublime, and ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſubject, he ſpeaks of *Moſes* thus: *The* Jewiſh *legiſlator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with ſublime notions of the grandeur and power of God, expreſſed them at the beginning of his laws in a ſtyle anſwering the mighty ſubject*; *God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light*; *let the earth appear, and it was ſo* (94). *Longinus* inſcribed this work to one *Poſthumius Terentianus*, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom ſome writers take to be the ſame perſon with *Terentianus Maurus*, who publiſhed ſeveral works, ſome of which have reached our times. But of him we have ſpoken in the reign of *Domitian* (95); for he flouriſhed according to *Voſſius*, under that prince.

Amelius, againſt whom *Longinus* wrote, was a philoſopher of great note among the *Platonics* (96). *Suidas* ſays he was of *Apamea*, but *Porphyrius* aſſures us, that he was born in *Hetruria*: perhaps his family came originally from *Apamea* in *Syria*, and ſettled in *Hetruria*. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* ſuppoſes *Amelius* and *Gentilianus* to have been one and the ſame perſon; and quotes for that *Porphyrius*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Amelius* was likewiſe called *Gentilianus* (97). He was diſciple to *Plotinus*, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at *Rome*, from the third year of *Philip* to the firſt of *Claudius*, that is, from the year 246, to the beginning of 269 (98). He had ſtudied before under *Lyſimachus*, a ſtoic philoſopher (99). He was at *Apamea* in *Syria* at the beginning of the year 270, when *Plotinus* died. He was a very laborious man, and is ſaid to have compoſed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of *Plotinus* in the frequent conferences that philoſopher had held with him and others of the ſame ſect (100). In the year 263, he had not yet publiſhed any thing of his own; but before the death of *Plotinus*, he wrote forty books againſt magic, and the heretics

(94) *Long.* c. 8. p. 20. (95) *See Vol.* XIV. p. 453, *not.* (96) *Euſeb. præpar. l.* xi *c.* 18. *p.* 540. (97) *Cyrill. in Jul. l.* viii. *c* 6. *p.* 283. *Plot. vit. p.* 5. (98) *Plot. vit. p.* 3, 6. (99) *Idem, p.* 13. (100) *Idem, p.* 3.

called

with the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, *Tacitus*,

called *Gnoſtics* (1). He compoſed one in three days time, ſhewing in what chiefly the doctrine of *Plotinus* differed from that of *Numenes*. This piece he inſcribed to *Porphyrius* by a letter, which is ſtill extant (2). To him he likewiſe addreſſed ſome other works, to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of *Plotinus*. *Amelius* and *Plotinus* were, in the opinion of *Longinus*, the only philoſophers who, in his time, publiſhed works worth peruſing (3). The tenets of theſe two philoſophers were the ſame, but *Amelius* explained them more, perhaps too much, at length; and hence probably it was that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the *Platonics* themſelves. about the latter end of the following century (4). *Euſebius* (5), *Theodoret* (6), and *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* (7), produce a paſſage out of his works, wherein he quotes the beginning of St. *John*'s goſpel. *Theodoret* calls him the chief of the ſchool of *Porphyrius*, that is, of *Plotinus*, whoſe tenets were held by *Porphyrius* (8). *Suidas* writes, that *Porphyrius* was inſtructed by him, in the principles of the *Platonic* philoſophy (9). About the ſame time flouriſhed one *Androclides*, author of a piece upon the ſophiſts, who made extemporary ſpeeches: in that work he mentions *Porphyrius*; whence *Suidas* concludes him to have flouriſhed at the ſame time. He was the ſon of one *Syneſius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* (10).

Some hiſtorians too flouriſhed under *Aurelian*, viz. *Callicrates* of *Tyre*, whom *Vopiſcus* ſtyles the moſt learned of all the *Greek* hiſtorians of his time (11); and *Theolius*, or *Theon*, of *Chios*, as ſome critics conjecture (12). Both theſe hiſtorians wrote the life of *Aurelian*; but dwelt, it ſeems, too much on moſt trifling incidents (13). *Nicomachus*, another *Greek* hiſtorian, wrote at the ſame time; for *Vopiſcus* tells us, that he copied from him the letter which *Zenobia* wrote to *Aurelian*; that *Zenobia* dictated it in the *Syriac* language; and that *Nicomachus* tranſlated it into *Greek*, in which language it was ſent to *Aurelian*, who had written to her in the ſame dialect (14). *Voſſius* takes this to be the *Nicomachus* who tranſcribed, as we read in *Sidonius* (15), and corrected, the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, in confronting it with the original of *Philoſtratus* (16). *Aurelianus Feſtivus*, a freedman of the empe-

(1) *Idem*, p. 10. (2) *Idem*, p. 11. (3) *Idem*, p. 13. (4) *Euſeb. præp. l.* xi. *c* 11. *c.* 9. *p.* 140. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Theod. de curand Græcor affect. p.* 500. (7) *Cyr. in Jul. l* viii. *p.* 28. (8) *Theod. ibid.* (9) *Suid. α. p.* 198. (10) *Idem, α, p* 201. (11) *Vit. Aurel p.* 209. (12) *Vide Voſſ hiſt. Græc l.* iv. *c.* 17, *p* 485. (13) *Aur. vit. p.* 210. (14) *Idem, p.* 218. (15) *Sidon. l.* viii. *epiſt.* 3. *p.* 214. (16) *Voſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *p* 214.

The army refer the election of a new prince to the senate, and the senate to the army.

tus, who was at that time prince of the senate, and voted the first, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the senate: *For what disputes*, said he, *and disturbances will inevitably ensue, should not the army approve of the person whom we name?* The senate acquiesced to his proposal; but the soldiers referred the choice a second and a third time to the senate, as the senate did to the soldiers; so that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable dispute between the senate and army, remained near eight months without a head,

ror *Aurelian*, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of *Firmus*, who usurped the title of emperor in *Egypt* (17). *Vossius* ranks him, *Cornelius Capitolinus*, who wrote the history of *Zenobia*, and *Gellius Fuscus*, who wrote the life of *Tetricus* tyrant of *Gaul*, among the *Latin* writers, no doubt, on account of their names; for *Vopiscus*, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, tells us, that some *Greek*, but no *Latin* author, had undertaken before him to write the history of *Aurelian*'s reign (18). *Erennius Dexippus*, by birth an *Athenian*, by profession an orator, the son of another *Dexippus*, flourished under *Aurelian*, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators *Greece* had ever produced (19). His style, says *Photius*, was grave and majestic; his words expressive; his phrases proper, and well suited to the subject; so that he may be called a second *Thucydides*; but in clearness he far excels the first (20). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with success at the head of his countrymen against the *Goths*, or *Heruli*, in the year 267 (21). He wrote the history of the *Roman* emperors from *Alexander* to *Claudius*, with no less conciseness, says *Capitolinus* (22), than sincerity; whence he is often quoted by him and *Trebellius Pollio*, who style his history, *the history of the times*. He wrote a separate history of the wars of the *Romans* with the *Scythians*, which he intitled *Scythica*. This *Photius* preferred, for the elegance of style, to all his other works (23). He likewise wrote in four books the history of the successors of *Alexander the Great* (24). *Vossius* ascribes to him the book on *Aristotle*'s categories, which has reached our times (25). But others maintain, that *Dexippus*, the author of that work, was disciple to *Iamblichus*, who flourished in the reign of *Julian* the apostate (26). We ought perhaps to distinguish likewise *Dexippus*, the author of some comedies (27), from the historian, though *Vossius* confounds them (28).

(17) *Firm. vit. p.* 244. (18) *Aur. vit. p.* 209. (19) *Suid. d. p.* 659. *Eunap c.* 2 *p.* 21. (20) *Phot c* 82. *p.* 200. (21) *Gallien. vit. p* 181. (22) *Capit. p.* 150. (23) *Phot. c.* 82. *p.* 200. (24) *Idem ibid p.* 201. (25) *Voss p.* 243. (26) *Johns. l.* iii. *p* 299. (27) *Suid p.* 1516. (28) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16 *p.* 243.

and

and nevertheleſs no uſurper ſtarted up during that time; no diſturbances happened, either at *Rome* or in the provinces. But the barbarians, in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themſelves in motion. The *Germans*, that is, the *Lyges*, the *Franks*, the *Burgundiones*, and the *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul*; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum*; and every one expected that the *Perſians*, againſt whom *Aurelian* had declared war, would not continue long quiet. Theſe things *Velius Cornificius Gordianus*, then conſul, laid before the ſenate on the twenty-fifth of *September*, and earneſtly preſſed them to proceed, without further delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his ſpeech by telling them, That the empire could no longer ſubſiſt without a head, and that the army would either accept the prince whom they choſe, or, rejecting him, chuſe another. There had been ſome talk before of raiſing *Tacitus* to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into *Campania*, and lived there two months in retirement; but being recalled by the ſenate, he was preſent at this meeting held on the twenty-fifth of *September*; and after the conſul *Gordianus* had ended his ſpeech, he roſe up to deliver his opinion firſt, as prince of the ſenate; but before he had uttered a ſingle word, the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice, *We ſalute you*, Tacitus, *emperor: to you we commit the care of the ſtate, and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the ſenate: your rank, your character, your paſt conduct, deſerve it.* He attempted to excuſe himſelf in regard of his great age (for he was then ſeventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, ſtricken in years, had governed with great applauſe; that they wanted not a ſoldier, but an emperor; not a ſtrong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this was taken the ſuffrage of each ſenator in particular, when *Metius Falconius Nicomachus*, the eldeſt conſular, after having in an elegant ſpeech beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon *Tacitus*, inlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the adminiſtration of young and unexperienced princes, and conjured *Tacitus*, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his ſons, who were yet children, but to name for his ſucceſſor a perſon, whom he judged equal to ſo great a truſt, if the ſtate were, by the immutable decrees of the *Fates*, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that to diſpoſe of the ſenate, the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire, in the ſame manner as he diſpoſed of his houſes, lands, and ſlaves, was repugnant to the laws of juſtice and equity; and that nothing would ſo much

Tacitus unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate.

much commend his name to all future ages, as to ſhew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and iſſue [t].

When *Metius* had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators all to a man cried out, *Tacitus is emperor.* The decree was accordingly drawn up, inveſting him with the ſovereign power, and ſigned by all the ſenators, even by *Tacitus* himſelf. From the ſenate they all went to the field of *Mars*, where *Ælius Ceſetianus*, then governor of *Rome*, declared to the ſoldiers and people aſſembled there the election of *Tacitus*, which was received with the uſual acclamations [u].

THE preſent emperor, named on his coins *M. Claudius Tacitus*, but, by *Vopiſcus*, *Aurelianus*, or *Aurelius, Tacitus*, acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, for his kinſman; and therefore, to ſecure his inimitable performance againſt the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be tranſcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but notwithſtanding his care, only a ſmall part of what that excellent hiſtorian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was ſtricken in years, but had ſeveral children, who were very young. *Florianus*, named on the antient coins *M. Annius Florianus*, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been conſul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the ſenate. He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his immenſe eſtate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying of the temples. What ready money he had by him, he diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves he had at *Rome*, and cauſed his houſe to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it ſtood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy and care of the public money, his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, are much commended by the authors of his life. In the firſt ſpeech he made to the ſenate he declared, that he would tranſact nothing without their conſent and authority; and then propoſed the two following laws, which were received with great applauſe, and confirmed by a decree; *viz.* that whoever ſhould mix metals with a baſer ſort ſhould forfeit his eſtate and life; that ſlaves ſhould not be admitted as witneſſes againſt their maſters, even in caſes of treaſon. In the ſame ſpeech he deſired the conſulſhip for his brother *Florianus*; but the ſenate did not think fit

His preferments.

Two of his laws.

[t] Tacit. vit. p. 227—231. [u] Idem ibid.

to

to grant him his requeſt; which he was ſo far from reſenting, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed highly pleaſed with the liberty they had taken, ſaying, *I am glad they know him.* From the very beginning of his reign he applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes which ſtill prevailed in *Rome*. By one edict he put down all the brothel-houſes; by another he ordered all the public baths to be ſhut up at ſunſet; and by a third prohibited all ſorts of gold tiſſue and gilding. He reſpected the memory of the good emperors, and cauſed a temple to be built to their honour, and ſacrifices to be offered to them on their ſeveral anniverſaries. He paid a particular regard to *Aurelian*, and prevailed upon the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue of gold, to be ſet up in the capitol, and others of ſilver, to be placed in the ſenate, in the temple of the ſun, and in the ſquare of *Trajan* [w]. The ſenate, overjoyed for the recovery of their antient right of creating emperors, ordered public proceſſions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feaſted their friends, and wrote letters to all the ſtates and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length reſtored to their former authority; that the kings and princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconſuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of *Rome*, from whom they might appeal to the ſenate [x]. The new prince was ſcarce well ſettled in the empire, when news was brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the *Palus Mæotis* through *Colchis*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian* to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*. *Tacitus* immediately left *Rome*, and arriving in *Thrace*, where he was received by the army with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed from thence over into *Aſia*, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country [y]. The following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Æmilianus* for his collegue; and having paſſed the winter in *Cilicia*, was preparing to return to *Italy*, when he was, according to ſome writers, ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, killed by his own ſoldiers [z]. He died at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, or, as others write, at *Tiana* in *Cappadocia*, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and

Tacitus marches againſt the barbarians and defeats them.

His death.

[w] Idem, p. 232. [x] Idem, p. 231, 232. [y] ZONAR. p. 240. ZOS. p. 662. [z] Tacit. vit. p. 230.

Florianus was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; but the legions quartered in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*, declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed commander of all the forces in the eaſt. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all ſides. *Florianus* gained at firſt ſome advantages over his competitor; but as the troops under his command were more addicted to *Probus* than to him, they began to mutiny, and, at the approach of *Probus*, who was reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined *Probus*. This happened in the neighbourhood of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. The death of *Florianus* was no ſooner known in *Europe* and *Africa*, than the armies every-where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the ſenate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the title, of *Auguſtus*, *father of his country*, *high pontiff*, &c. and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his juſtice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a perſon in every reſpect qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt: and truly, if *Vopiſcus* is to be credited, he was one of the beſt and greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. That writer, prefers him to *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Claudius*, nay, and to *Auguſtus* himſelf. He was, ſays he, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in ſhort, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince [m]. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. His father, by name *Maximus*, was, in his youth, by profeſſion a gardener; but afterwards liſting himſelf among the troops, he was raiſed to the poſt of tribune; and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one ſon, the preſent emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. *Probus* entered into the army when very young, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*, he was by theſe princes raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the army, and employed, always with ſucceſs, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians [n]. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, when preferred to the empire. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*. He paſſed the winter in *Pannonia*, and having there taken upon him his

assumes the empire; but is murdered by his own men.

Probus *proclaimed emperor.*

His character.

Extraction and preferments.

[m] Prob. vit. p. 233, 234, 241. [n] Idem. p. 235—237.

first

firſt conſulſhip, and named *M. Aurelius Paulinus* for his colleague, he ſet out in the ſpring for *Gaul*, where the *Franks* and other *German* nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is ſaid to have fought in that province many ſucceſsful battles, to have killed near four hundred thouſand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the reſt to quit the booty they had taken, and ſave themſelves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. Having thus reſtored *Gaul* to its former tranquillity, he paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater ſucceſs than any of his predeceſſors had ever done, as appears from the account which he himſelf tranſmitted to the ſenate in the following letter: "I return thanks to the immortal gods, "conſcript fathers, who have given manifeſt tokens of their "approving your choice in raiſing me to the empire. *Germany*, that wide and extenſive country, is intirely ſubdued. "Nine kings of different nations have thrown themſelves "proſtrate at my feet, or rather at yours. All the barbarians now plough and ſow for you, nay, and fight for you. "Return therefore thanks to the gods for ſo ſignal a conqueſt. Four hundred thouſand of the enemy have been "cut in pieces; ſixteen thouſand have been incorporated in "our troops. We have recovered ſixty great cities which "they had taken, and delivered *Gaul* from the yoke under "which it groaned. The crowns of gold, with which the "cities of *Gaul* have preſented me, I have tranſmitted to "you, to be conſecrated, and, by your hands, offered to "the great *Jupiter*, and to the other gods and goddeſſes. "We have not only recovered the booty which they had "taken, but inriched ourſelves with their ſpoils. The fields "of *Gaul* are ploughed with the cattle of the barbarians; "their ſheep are incloſed in our folds, and our magazines "are filled with their corn: in ſhort, we have left them nothing but the bare ſoil. I have had ſome thoughts of reducing *Germany* to a *Roman* province; but the republic, "exhauſted with ſo many wars, is not perhaps at preſent in "a condition to maintain the additional troops which muſt "be raiſed for that purpoſe [o]." *Vopiſcus* adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the *Elb* and the *Necker*, and built a great many forts in the country lying between thoſe rivers and the *Rhine*, which he might have eaſily reduced to a *Roman* province; but did not think it adviſeable to burden the republic with new troops, which he muſt have raiſed, and left there,

He delivers Gaul from the barbarians and reduces great part of Germany.

[o] Idem, p. 239.

to

to keep thoſe warlike nations in awe. *Zoſimus* tells us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the *Logi*, a *German* nation, probably the ſame people whom *Tacitus* calls *Lyges*, laſted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined ſometimes to the *Romans*, and ſometimes to the *Germans*, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at length prevailed, by the bravery of *Probus*, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name *Semnon*, priſoner, with his ſons, and the flower of their nobility; whom, however, the emperor afterwards ſet at liberty, upon their reſtoring to him all the booty and priſoners they had taken [q]. The ſame writer adds, that in another engagement with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, he took their king *Igillus* priſoner, with many others of thoſe two nations, whom he tranſplanted into *Britain*, where they proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* upon all ſeditions and inſurrections [r]. They ſettled perhaps in *Cambridgeſhire*; for *Gervaſius Tilburienſis* mentions an old *vallum* in that county, which he calls *Vandelſburg*, and ſays, it was the work of the *Vandals* [s].

He overcomes the Logi, *the* Burgundians, *and the* Vandals.

The following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Lupus* for his collegue, and early in the ſpring ſet out from *Gaul*; and bending his march through *Rhætia*, he arrived in *Illyricum*, whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving their booty behind them. From *Illyricum* he purſued his march into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, ſent by their reſpective ſtates and princes to ſue for peace, and court his friendſhip [t]. Having thus ſettled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of *Europe*, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, and entering *Iſauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the *Iſaurian* robbers, and *Palfurius* their leader, whom he took and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, tranſplanted the inhabitants into diſtant provinces, and divided *Iſauria* among his veterans, upon condition that they ſhould ſend their ſons, as ſoon as they attained the age of eighteen, to ſerve in the army, leſt, truſting to their rocks and mountains, they ſhould follow the example of the antient inhabitants, and turn robbers [u]. From *Iſauria* the emperor marched into *Syria*, where he entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Pa-*

The Goths *ſue for peace.*

Iſauria *reduced.*

[q] Zos. l. i. p. 864. [r] Idem ibid. p. 865. [s] Vide Camd. Britain. p. 130. & Buch. Belg. l. vii. p 218. [t] Prob. vit. p. 239. [u] Idem ibid

ternus

ternus for his collegue, and early in the ſpring led his army againſt the *Blemyes*, a barbarous nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Thebais*, and ſtruck terror into the neighbouring countries. *Probus* defeated them with great ſlaughter, recovered the avove-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians priſoners, and ſent them to *Rome*, where their extraordinary figure, ſays *Vopiſcus*, raiſed great admiration in the *Roman* people [u]. *Pliny* had deſcribed them, many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breaſts [w]. Some writers think, that the ſhortneſs of their necks gave riſe to this fable. The king of *Perſia*, *Varanes* II. alarmed at the fame of the victories gained by *Probus* over ſo fierce and warlike a nation, ſent embaſſadors to him, with rich preſents, to ſue for peace; but the emperor, not ſatisfied with their propoſals, refuſed the preſents, and ſent back the deputies; which ſo terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms [x]. The eaſtern provinces being thus ſettled in peace, the emperor returned to *Thrace*, where he allotted lands to one hundred thouſand *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, and *Vandals*, to whom he allotted lands in the ſame province, revolted while the emperor was engaged in domeſtic wars, which broke out the following year. From *Thrace* the emperor returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed over the *Germans* and *Blemyes* [y], and diverted the people for ſeveral days together with all ſorts of ſhows, combats, and entertainments. And now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invaſion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by domeſtic broils, which firſt broke out in the eaſt, where *Sext. Julius Saturninus*, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to ſome, a native of *Mauritania*, according to others, of *Gaul*, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars; for he is ſaid to have reſtored tranquillity to *Gaul*, to have recovered *Africa* from the *Moors*, and appeaſed the diſturbances that had long prevailed in *Spain* [z]. The emperor *Aurelian* had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eaſtern provinces, and at the ſame time ordered him never to ſet foot in *Egypt*, fearing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, as he was well

The Blemyes *defeated.*

The Perſians *ſue for peace.*

Probus *triumphs.*

Saturninus *revolts.*

[u] Idem ibid. [w] PLIN. l. v. c. 8. [x] Prob. vit. p. 239. [y] Idem, p. 240. [z] Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zos. p. 663. GOLTZ. p. 116. BIRAG. p. 309.

acquainted with the ambitious temper of the *Gauls*, and the ſtrange inclination of the *Egyptians* to novelty, leſt he might be prompted by them to aſſume the ſovereignty. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, *Saturninus* being led by his curioſity to viſit *Egypt*, he no ſooner appeared at *Alexandria*, than he was by that turbulent and reſtleſs people proclaimed emperor. He declined at firſt that dignity, and, quitting *Alexandria*, returned in great haſte to *Paleſtine*: but afterwards, apprehending, that what had already happened might give *Probus* no ſmall umbrage, and occaſion his ruin, he ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, ſhedding many tears amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiery and populace [a]. *Zonaras* writes, that *Probus*, who had a great kindneſs for him, not believing he had revolted, cauſed the perſon to be puniſhed who brought him the firſt news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote ſeveral kind letters to him; but his ſoldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them.

He is overcome, and killed.

Hereupon *Probus* diſpatched ſome troops againſt them, which being joined by others in the eaſt, engaged *Saturninus*, put him to flight, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by ſtorm, and put the whole gariſon, together with *Saturninus*, to the ſword. The emperor, who deſigned to pardon him, ſhewed no ſmall concern for his death [b]. The following year *Meſſala* and *Gratus* being conſuls, two uſurpers ſtarted up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonoſus*. The former was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, ſubject to the republic of *Genoa*. His anceſtors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immenſe wealth; for *Proculus* is ſaid to have armed two thouſand ſlaves of his own when he revolted. In his youth he had been himſelf a robber; but entering afterwards into the army, he had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of ſeveral legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called firſt *Viturgia*, and afterwards *Sampſo*, a woman of great ambition and a manly courage, and by the inhabitants of *Lyons*, who had been treated with great ſeverity by *Aurelian*, and apprehended the like treatment from *Probus*. He was proclaimed emperor at *Cologn*, and acknowledged, according to *Vopiſcus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*. The ſame writer tells us, that he defeated the *Alemanni* in ſeveral battles; but was himſelf at laſt overcome by *Probus*, and forced to take refuge among the *Franks*,

Proculus *revolts.*

[a] Sat. vit. p. 249. [b] Idem ibid.

from

from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The *Franks* promiſed him their aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of performing their promiſe, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was puniſhed according to his deſerts [c]. *Bonoſus*, or as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, *Q. Bonoſius*, was deſcended of a *Spaniſh* family, but born in *Britain*. His father kept a public ſchool, and taught children the firſt rudiments of the *Latin* tongue. The ſon entered early into the army, and raiſed himſelf by degrees from the low rank of a common ſoldier to the poſt of general, and was employed as ſuch to guard the frontiers of *Rhætia*; but having ſuffered the *Germans* to ſurpriſe and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his dread of being puniſhed for this neglect, prompted him to aſſume the ſovereignty, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himſelf in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought ſeveral battles with *Probus*; but being at length reduced to great ſtraits, he choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror. Authors obſerve of him, that he could drink as much as ten men, without being in the leaſt diſordered; and that by drinking with the embaſſadors of the barbarians, he often diſcovered the ſecrets with which they were intruſted. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that the emperor *Aurelian* married to him a princeſs of the royal blood of the *Goths*, by name *Humila*, whom he had taken priſoner, that *Bonoſus* might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the *Goths*, and diſcover, in drinking with them, their ſecret views and deſigns [d]. *Humila* was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore *Probus*, upon the death of her huſband, not only ſpared her, and the two ſons ſhe had by *Bonoſus*, but ſettled an annual penſion upon the mother, and ſuffered the children to enjoy their paternal eſtate [e]. *Zoſimus* [f] and *Zonaras* [g] ſpeak of the revolt of the governor of *Britain*, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the emperor complaining of him to a *Moor*, named *Victorinus*, upon whoſe recommendation he had preferred him to that government, the *Moor* begged and obtained leave to go into *Britain*, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a ſenſe of his duty. Upon his arrival he was received by the uſurper with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in *Britain*. We are not told whether or no *Probus* approved of this treachery.

Is betrayed by the Franks, *and put to death.*

Bonoſus proclaimed emperor.

Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himſelf.

The governor of Britain *revolts, and is murdered.*

[c] Idem, p. 245—247. [d] Bonoſ. vit. p. 247. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Zos. l. i. p. 663. [g] ZONAR. p. 246.

The following year the emperor entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Tiberianus* for his collegue. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domeſtic troubles were happily appeaſed, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of *Probus*'s mighty atchievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themſelves to idleneſs, he took care to employ them in many uſeful works, ſaying, That ſince they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As *Hannibal* therefore, to find ſome employment for his ſoldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees planted by them, ſo *Probus*, for his valour ſtyled by many a ſecond *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæſia*, allowing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Britons*, full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleaſed; which had been denied them ever ſince the time of *Domitian*[y]. The emperor *Julian* writes, that *Probus*, during his ſhort reign, either rebuilt or repaired ſeventy cities[z]. As the city of *Sirmium*, the place of his nativity, ſtood in a low marſhy ground, he employed great numbers of his ſoldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the ſea. This incenſed them againſt him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehenſion they were under of being ſoon diſbanded; for the emperor had ſaid, That he hoped in a ſhort time there would be no occaſion for ſoldiers or armies. This they could not bear, and therefore the following year, when *Probus* was conſul the fifth time with *Victorinus*, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himſelf had built, to obſerve from thence the ſoldiers while they were at work. But thither the incenſed multitude purſued him, and having eaſily ſtormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned ſix years and four months. His death is aſcribed by many to *Carus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but *Vopiſcus* endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raiſed a ſtately monument to the honour of the deceaſed prince, with the following epitaph: *Here lies the emperor* Probus, *whoſe life and manners anſwered his name. He ſubdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants who ſtarted up in his time.* The loſs of ſo good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the ſenate and people of *Rome*,

How Probus *employed his ſoldiers in time of peace.*

He is murdered by the mutinous ſoldiery.

[y] Prob. vit. p. 240. [z] Jul. Cæs. p. 17.

but

but by the barbarians themſelves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and juſtice. His ſucceſſors honoured his memory with all poſſible marks of reſpect and eſteem, ranking him among the gods, conſecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniverſary, *&c.* He was, without all doubt, one of the beſt, as well as of the greateſt, princes, that ever reigned at *Rome* [a]. After his death, his family withdrew from *Rome*, probably not to give umbrage to his ſucceſſors, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Verona* [b]. As for the few writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (A).

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous conſent of the army, raiſed to the empire, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified to ſucceed ſo good a prince, ſo great a warrior. The ſenate were well pleaſed with the election of *Carus*; but dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his ſon *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the ſoldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and deſirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity eſtabliſhed by *Probus*, they at laſt acknowledged *Carus*, and conferred upon him the uſual titles and honours *. Of his family and anceſtors

Carus *proclaimed emperor.*

[a] Prob. vit. p. 241. [b] Idem ibid. * Car. vit. p. 243.

(A) Under *Probus* flouriſhed *Turdulus Gallicanus*, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by *Vopiſcus* in his life of *Probus*, who ſtyles the author of it a man of honour and ſincerity (29). He likewiſe cites *M. Salvidienus*, from whom he copied the ſpeech made by *Saturninus*, when he put on the purple, and aſſumed the title of emperor (30); which prompts us to believe, that *Salvidienus* wrote the hiſtory of that uſurper. *Oneſimus* publiſhed the life of *Probus* done, according to *Vopiſcus*, with great exactneſs (31), and likewiſe that of the emperor *Carus* (32). *Voſſius* ranks them all three among the *Latin* hiſtorians (33), and mentions a *Greek* hiſtorian, by name *Onaſimus*, a native of *Sparta* or *Cyprus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, under *Conſtantine*, and was both a ſophiſt and hiſtorian. Perhaps *Oneſimus* and *Onaſimus* were one and the ſame perſon, there having paſſed but twenty-four years between *Probus* and *Conſtantine*. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Onaſimus* ſeveral philological and other works (34). About the ſame time flouriſhed another ſophiſt, named likewiſe *Onaſimus*, but who was a native of *Athens* (35).

(29) *Prob. vit. p.* 233. (30) *Saturn. vit. p.* 245. (31) *Bonos. vit. p.* 246. & *Car. vit. p.* 250. (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. ii. c.* 4. *p.* 184. (34) *Suid. p.* 523. (35) *Idem ibid.*

His extraction and preferments.

we know but very little. Some ſay, that he was by birth a *Roman*, but by deſcent an *Illyrican*; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal, quoted by *Vopiſcus*, he is ſtyled a native of *Milan* [c]. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and ſeveral others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himſelf pretended, that his anceſtors were originally *Romans* [d]. He raiſed himſelf by degrees to the chief employments in the ſtate, both civil and military. He had been conſul; for the conſulſhip, which he took after his acceſſion to the empire, is called his ſecond conſulſhip. *Probus*, after having employed him in moſt of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that, upon the death of *Probus*, they all agreed to raiſe him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, juſtice, and integrity of *Carus*, as appears from a letter quoted by *Vopiſcus*, which he wrote to the ſenate in his behalf, deſiring them to reward his eminent ſervices, by erecting to him an equeſtrian ſtatue, and building him an houſe at the public charge, for which the emperor himſelf promiſed to ſupply the neceſſary marble [e].

He creates his two ſons Cæſars.

Carus was no ſooner ſettled in the empire, than he gave the title of *Cæſar* to his two ſons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, and the latter endowed with every good quality requiſite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the ſame time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himſelf; but on the medals of this year 282, the firſt of *Carus*'s reign, his two ſons are only ſtyled *Cæſars* [f]. The *Sarmatians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran thoſe countries, and threatened *Italy* itſelf. Hereupon *Carus*, drawing together his forces, marched againſt the barbarians, and coming, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes to a general engagement with them, cut ſixteen thouſand of them in pieces, took twenty thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire into their own country, whither he would have purſued them, had he not been informed, that the *Perſians* were ready to invade the eaſtern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king *Varanes* II. a warlike prince, who had lately ſignalized himſelf againſt the *Segetani*, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this in-

Defeats the Sarmatians.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem p. 249. [e] Idem p. 242. [f] Birag. p. 426.

telligence,

telligence, *Carus*, committing the care of the weſtern provinces to his eldeſt ſon *Carinus*, and taking with him *Numerianus*, left *Thrace*, and, croſſing over into *Aſia*, marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, and thence into *Meſopotamia*; which the *Perſians*, who, it ſeems, had already ſeized that province, abandoned at his approach. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into *Perſia*, laid waſte the country far and wide; and meeting with no oppoſition, as the *Perſians* were then engaged in a civil war, he beſieged and took the famous cities of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, with *Coche*, which was a place of great ſtrength on the other ſide the *Tigris*, and, as it were, the citadel of *Cteſiphon* [g]. For theſe conqueſts he took the ſurname of *Perſicus*, which we read on moſt of his coins [h]. He was bent upon utterly ruining the *Perſian* monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in that great deſign, the *Perſians* being then divided among themſelves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Cteſiphon*, while he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were by an ancient oracle forbidden to do. *Junius Galpurnius*, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of *Rome*; "While *Carus*, our truly dear prince, lay "ſick in his tent, a violent ſtorm broke out, attended with "dreadful flaſhes of lightning, and claps of thunder. Day "was all on a ſudden turned into night, and the air darken-"ed to ſuch a degree, that we could not diſcern one ano-"ther. While we were under the utmoſt conſternation, "frightened and diſmayed, after a clap of thunder more "loud and terrible than all the reſt, we heard one cry out, "*The emperor is dead.* Soon after, his chamberlains, diſ-"tracted with grief, ſet fire to his tent; which gave riſe "to the report, that he was killed with lightning; but it is "certain, that he died of his illneſs." Thus one of his ſecretaries, whoſe letter *Vopiſcus* produces, to confute thoſe who aſcribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his attempting to extend his conqueſts beyond *Cteſiphon* [i]. However, the two *Victors*, *Eutropius Rufus*, *Feſtus*, *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius*, *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Zonaras*, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the ſecond year of his reign, and his death happened betwen the eighth of *December* of this year 283, and the twelfth of *January* of the year enſuing; for

Gains great advantages over the Perſians, *and takes* Seleucia *and* Cteſiphon

His death.

[g] Car. vit. p. 250. GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 115. [h] BIRAG. p. 419. SPANH. l. v. p. 419. [i] Car. Vit. p. 256.

his

his name is prefixed to all the laws that are publiſhed till the eighth of *December*, and thoſe of *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to a law dated the twelfth of *January* of the year 284 [k]. He reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, a year and four months. He was conſul when he died, and had his ſon *Carinus* for his collegue in that dignity. Upon the death of *Carus*, his ſon *Numerianus* was immediately ſaluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other ſon, *Carinus*, he was then in *Gaul*, and had been raiſed by his father to the ſovereignty before he ſet out for the *Perſian* war. *Numerianus*, grieved beyond expreſſion for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had ſhed, could not bear the light, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a cloſe litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law and captain of the guards, who had free acceſs to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the empire. The body of the deceaſed prince he left in the litter, telling the ſoldiers who wanted to ſee their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and ſtriving in the mean time to gain them over to his own intereſt. The dead body was thus carried three days; but as it began in the end to be offenſive to the ſmell, the crime was diſcovered ſooner than *Aper* expected, and he immediately ſeized, no one doubting, but he had been the author of the murder. Upon the death of *Numerianus*, the army with one voice proclaimed *Diocleſian* emperor. Such was the unhappy end of *Numerianus*, after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, as he was leading his army back into *Italy*. All the ancients ſpeak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a perſon of his rank. He was an excellent orator, and is ſaid to have once ſent ſuch an eloquent ſpeech to the ſenate, that a ſtatue was decreed him, to be ſet up in the *Ulpian* library, with this inſcription, *To* Numerianus Cæſar, *the moſt eloquent orator of his age*. In poetry he far ſurpaſſed all the writers of his time, and left ſeveral pieces behind him, both in verſe and proſe, which were mightily cried up by the learned [l]. He had often declared in public, that it was probably of him that *Calphurnius*, a celebrated poet of thoſe times, ſaid, That he diverted himſelf with pleading, while he was ſtill in his mother's arms [m]; that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father

Numerianus proclaimed emperor.

He is murdered.

Diocleſian *raiſed to the empire.*

[k] Cyprian. p. 45. Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 71. leg. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 3. p. 804. Noris. de Diocleſ. c. 1. p. 9. [l] Num. vit. p. 231. [m] Calph. eclog. i. ver. 45.

Carus

Carus were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them &c. It appears, from ſome medals, that the latter had impiouſly aſſumed the title of god before his death [n]. Some writers flouriſhed in his time, of whom in note (B).

Hisextraction preferments &c.

Diocleſian was deſcended of a mean and obſcure family in *Dalmatia*, being, according to ſome, the ſon of a notary, and of a ſlave, according to others; nay, *Victor* the younger tells us, that he was *himſelf in his youth* ſlave to a ſenator, named *Anulinus*, who afterwards gave him his liberty [o]. The name both of his mother and the place of his birth was *Dioclea*; whence he was called *Diocles* till his acceſſion to the empire, when he gave his name a *Latin* ſound and termination, calling himſelf *Diocleſianus* [p]. He entered early into

[n] SPANH. l. v. p. 419. [o] VICT. epit. p. 542.
[p] Idem, ibid.

(B) *Vopiſcus* tells us, that the life of *Carus* and his children was written, before the year 300, by *Fabius Cerilianus*, whoſe diligence and exactneſs he commends (36); and that of *Carinus* in particular by *Fulvius Aſprianus*, whoſe ſcrupulous exactneſs, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (37). *Aurelius Apollinaris* likewiſe wrote the life of *Carus*, probably in Iambics; for he was a poet, and is ſaid to have taken delight in that kind of verſe (38). *Voſſius* ranks theſe three among the *Latin* writers (39). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by *M. Olympius Nemeſianus*, has reached our times. He likewiſe wrote ſome pieces on fiſhing and navigation, and was highly eſteemed in thoſe days (40). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of *Carthage*, where his works, in the time of *Hincmar*, were publicly read in the ſchools (41). He inſcribed his poem on the chace to *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that time, been at court, nor ſeen *Rome* (42). Four other eclogues have reached our times, ſuppoſed to have been written by *T. Calphurnius*, or *Calpurnius*, a native of *Sicily*, and to have been inſcribed to *Nemeſianus*. In the firſt mention is made of declamations made by a prince, ſuppoſed to be *Numerianus*, almoſt in his infancy (43). *Scaliger* takes the ſports that were exhibited by *Carinus* and *Numerian* to be the ſubject of the laſt eclogue (44). Perhaps *Junius Calphurnius*, ſecretary to *Carus*, and the above-mentioned poet were one and the ſame perſon.

(36) *Car. vit* p 249. 250. (37) *Idem* p 254. (38) *Idem*, p 251. (39) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat* l ii. c. 4. p 184. (40) *Nemeſ.* p 508, 511. *Car vit.* p 251. (41) *Voſſ. poet. Lat* p 73. (42) *Nemeſ. cyn. ver.* 64. p. 500 & *ver* 77, 81. (43) *Calphur.* p. 501 (44) *Scalig in Euſeb chron.* p 253.

the army, and by degrees raiſed himſelf to the firſt military employments. We are told, that while he yet ſerved in an inferior poſt, a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, in whoſe houſe he lodged, upbraiding him with covetouſneſs, he anſwered her in jeſt, *I ſhall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking*, Diocles, replied the *Druid*; *but I tell you in good earneſt, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar.* This is ſuppoſed to have happened in the city of *Tongres*, in the preſent biſhopric of *Liege* [q]. *Dioclesian* ſerved with great credit under *Probus*, who gave him the command of the troops quartered in *Mœſia* [r]. He attended *Carus* in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that war. *Syncellus* tells us, that he was raiſed by that prince to the conſulſhip [s]. He had, at the time of *Numerianus*'s death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's perſon, and were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have obſerved above. He was a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt at foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, naturally inclined to violent meaſures, but at the ſame time maſter of his temper; an enemy to all uſeleſs expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never applied himſelf to any ſtudy but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of ancient times [t]. *Lactantius* charges him with cowardice, and ſays, that he avoided, as much as he well could, expoſing his perſon to dangers [w]. He was, according to *Eutropius*, naturally covetous, and bent upon amaſſing riches by any means whatever [x]. By his wife *Priſca* he had a daughter, named *Galeria Valeria*, who was married to *Maximinus Galerius*; but proved barren [y]. Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to *Lactantius*, once profeſſed, the chriſtian religion; for that writer reckons them among the firſt, who, terrified with the menaces of *Dioclesian*, defiled themſelves with impure ſacrifices [z]. *Dioclesian* being, by the unanimous conſent of the army proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above, aſcended the tribunal; and after having harangued the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had been no-ways acceſſary or privy to the death of *Numerianus*, he cauſed *Aper* to be brought

[q] Car. vit. p. 252. [r] Zonar. tom. 2. p. 243. [s] Syncel. p. 387. [t] Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p 96. Carin. vit. p 251. [w] Lactant. perſecut. c. 7. & 9. [x] Eutrop. p. 586. [y] Lact. ibid: p. 44. Birag. p. 444. [z] Lact. ibid. c. 15. p. 12, 13.

before

before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and ſon-in-law, and then, deſcending from the tribunal, drew his ſword, and buried it in his breaſt, ſaying, *You ſhall have the honour*, O Aper, *to fall by an illuſtrious hand*. The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that favoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the *Druid*, the word *aper* ſignifiing in the *Latin* tongue a boar, ; whence, in ſeeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, *I have at length killed the fatal boar*. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he ſtrove always in hunting to kill the boars with his own hand ; and adds, that when he ſaw *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and his two ſons, raiſed to the empire before him, he uſed pleaſantly to ſay before *Maximian* and our hiſtorian's grandfather (for to thoſe two alone he imparted the prophecy), *That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar* [a]. *Dioclefian* was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the ſeventeenth of *September* of the year 284, which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, *The æra of* Diocleſian, and ſometimes, *The æra of martyrs*, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is ſtill in uſe among the *Cophts* in *Egypt*, the *Abiſſines*, and ſome other *African* nations. The firſt year of this æra begins with the *Egyptian* year on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt* of 284 [b]. *Dioclefian* made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the twenty-ſeventh of *September* of this year, and ſpent the remaining months in making the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe *Carinus*, who, hearing of his brother's death and the aſſumption of *Dioclefian*, had left *Gaul*, and was haſtening, at the head of a powerful army, into *Illyricum*. The following year, *Carinus* took upon him his third conſulſhip, having *Ariſtobulus*, his captain of the guards, for his collegue ; and arriving in *Venetia*, overcame there and ſlew one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [c]. Elated with this victory, he advanced into *Illyricum*, where he fought ſeveral battles with *Dioclefian*, whom he intirely defeated in a general engagement near *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia* ; but while he was purſuing the enemy, he was killed by ſome of his own men, ſtirred up againſt him by a tribune, whoſe wife he had debauched. Thus *Aurelius Victor* [d]. But *Eutropius* writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and

He puts Aper to death.

The æra of Diocleſian

The death of Carinus

[a] Car. vit. p. 252. [b] EUTYCH. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. [c] AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. [d] Idem ibid.

killed by *Diocleſian* [e]. Be that as it will, *Diocleſian*, ſeeing himſelf, by the death of his rival, become ſole maſter of the empire, marched to *Rome*; and having eſtabliſhed his authority there, ſet out ſoon after for *Germany*, where he gained ſeveral advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The ſame year, his generals fought with ſucceſs againſt the inhabitants of *Britain*, who, it ſeems, had attempted to ſhake off the yoke. For theſe victories he aſſumed the ſurnames of *Germannicus* and *Britannicus*, as appears from an inſcription dated the ſecond year of his reign [f]. From *Germany* he returned through *Illyricum* into the eaſt; for he was at *Sirmium* on the firſt day of the following year [g]; and at *Nicomedia* on the twenty-firſt of *January* [h]. The next conſuls were *Junius Maximus*, the ſecond time, and *Vettius Aquilinus*. This year *Diocleſian* took *Maximian*, ſtyled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*, for his collegue, and partner in the empire. *Maximian* was born of obſcure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; but entering early into the army, had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits; and was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time. All the antients paint him as a man of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedneſs; but at the ſame time extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to *Diocleſian*, with whom he had lived many years in great friendſhip. The emperor therefore, who had no iſſue-male, and repoſed an intire confidence in *Maximian*, choſe him for his partner in the empire, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus*. Some authors write, that *Diocleſian* not only took him for his collegue in the ſovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reſerving to himſelf the eaſtern provinces, and leaving to *Maximian Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and the reſt of the weſtern countries [i]. *Maximian* had by his wife; *Galeria Valeria Eutropia*, by birth a *Syrian*, *Maxentius*, who uſurped the empire at *Rome*, and *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine the Great*. *Maxentius* was by ſome thought to have been a ſuppoſititious child [k]. *Eutropia* had by a former huſband a daughter, ſtyled on the antient coins *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, whom *Maximian* married to *Conſtantius*

Diocleſian *takes* Maximian *for his partner in the empire.*

[e] Eutrop. p. 585. [f] Noris de Diocleſ. num. c. 4. p. 19; 20. [g] Cod. Juſtin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. [h] Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530. [i] Noris de Diocleſ. num. Lactan. perſec. c. 8 p. 8. Pagi, p. 157. [k] Vict. epit. p. 542. Julian. orat. i. p. 9.

Chlorus,

Chlorus [l], of whom hereafter. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Diocleſian* was induced to take *Maximian* for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the diſturbances which happened this year in *Gaul*, where two commanders, *Aulus Pomponius Ælianus* and *Cn. Salvius Amandus*, having aſſembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peaſants, cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed emperors. *Maximian*, leaving *Diocleſian* in *Nicomedia*, haſtened into *Gaul*, and there, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and reſtored the province to its former tranquillity [m]. The revolted peaſants were called *Bacaudæ*, or *Bagaudæ*, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the beſt antiquaries. *S. Maure de Foſſes*, about three ſhort miles from *Paris*, was formerly called the *caſtle of the* Bagaudæ, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the ſeventh century, by *Julius Cæſar*, in the peninſula formed by the *Marne*, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The *Bagaudæ* are ſaid to have held out there a long time againſt *Maximian*, who at length made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, levelled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its preſent name [n]. While *Maximian* was employed againſt the rebels in *Gaul*, *Diocleſian* was making great preparations in the eaſt, in order to recover *Meſopotamia* from the *Perſians*, who, after the death of *Carinus*, had ſeized that province. But *Varanes* II. at that time king of *Perſia*, choſe rather to reſtore what he had taken from the *Romans*, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous [o]. Mention is made of ſome advantages gained this year by *Diocleſian* over the *Saracens* [p]. He was the laſt day of this year at *Tiberias* in *Paleſtine*, as appears from the date of ſome laws in the code [q]. The following year, 287, *Diocleſian* entered upon his third conſulſhip, and *Maximian* upon his firſt. The former from *Paleſtine* paſſed into *Pannonia*, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws enacted this year [r]; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for *Maximian*, he was attacked in *Gaul* by the *Alemanni*, the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, whom *Bucherius* places on the coaſts of the *Baltic* ſea, and by ſeveral other barbarous nations, who were

A rebellion in Gaul *ſuppreſſed by* Maximian.

He utterly defeats ſeveral German *nations.*

[l] EUTROP. p. 585. [m] AUR. VICT. p. 524. [n] Vide DU CANGE gloſſar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662. [o] PANEGYR. orat. x. p. 125—132. [p] PANEGYR p. 132. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 40 leg. 3. p. 311. [r] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 42. leg. 3. p. 487.

were all overcome by *Maximian*, and deſtroyed either by the ſword, or by famine. *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that, of ſuch an immenſe multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow [r]. The ſame year, *Carauſius*, a native of *Gaul*, having by *Maximian*'s orders built a fleet at *Boulogne*, gained great advantages over the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who began to infeſt the ſeas with piracies, and, in ſeveral engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the *German* nations that had broke into *Celtic Gaul*. However, as he kept and applied to his own uſe the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, inſtead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian* reſolved to put him to death; but *Carauſius*, having timely notice of his deſign, paſſed over into *Britain* with the fleet under his command, and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that iſland [s]. He afterwards cauſed a great number of veſſels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his aſſiſtance, and, by inſtructing them how to work their ſhips and fight by ſea, maintained himſelf a long time in poſſeſſion of the iſland, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of *Maximian*.

Carauſius revolts, and ſeizes Britain.

The following year *Maximian* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Januarius*. *Mamertinus*, his panegyriſt, tells us, that on the firſt day of his conſulſhip, news being brought to *Treves*, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into *Gaul*, and were but at a ſmall diſtance from that city, he immediately quitted his conſular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horſe, marched againſt the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces, and the ſame day re-entered *Treves* in triumph [u]. Soon after he croſſed the *Rhine*; and, entering *Germany*, laid waſte the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty [w]. The fame of his name ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobaud*, ſubmitted to him, deſiring him to confirm them in their reſpective kingdoms [x]. From an antient inſcription it appears, that both *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* took the ſurnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus* [y]. *Mamertinus* ſpeaks of ſome victories gained by *Maximian*'s generals over a *fickle and deceitful nation*, meaning, no doubt, the *Franks*; for

Maximian defeats the barbarians a ſecond time.

Gains great advantages over the Franks.

[r] Panegyr. 10. p. 125. [s] Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. p. 524. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [u] Panegyr. p. 125. [w] Idem ibid. p. 126. [x] Vales. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. [y] Idem ibid.

ſuch

ſuch was, at leaſt in thoſe times, the character of that people [a]. *Dioclesian* likewiſe entered *Germany* this year on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and is ſaid to have extended the bounds of the empire to the ſprings of the *Danube* [a]. The next year, *Baſſus* being conſul the ſecond time, with *Quintianus*, *Claudius Mamertinus* pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor *Maximian* in the city of *Treves*, as is commonly believed, the emperor himſelf being preſent. As he was then aſſembling on the coaſt of *Gaul* the ſhips, which he had cauſed to be built in ſeveral parts, with a deſign to attack *Carauſius* in *Britain*, his panegyriſt promiſes him certain victory over that rebel [b]. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for *Carauſius*'s men, who had been trained to ſea-ſervice, eaſily put to flight thoſe who were ſent againſt them, diſperſed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coaſt of *Gaul*, where moſt of them were daſhed to pieces. *Maximian*, to cover the diſgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the ſea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient ſeaſon. But, in the mean time, he began a treaty with *Carauſius*, wherein it was concluded, that he ſhould enjoy the government of *Britain*, as the more proper perſon, on account of his ſkill in ſea-affairs, to defend the iſland againſt the invaſions of the barbarians [c]. This agreement is marked on all *Carauſius*'s coins, which repreſent two emperors ſhaking hands, with this legend, *Concordia Augg.* [d]. Thus was *Britain*, by treaty, given up to *Carauſius*, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what to us ſeems moſt probable, from the time he firſt ſeized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of *Severus*, and gained ſome advantages over the barbarians [e]. The ſame year *Dioclesian* gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, the *Vithungæ*, or rather *Jugunthæ*, and the *Quadi* [f]. *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off; and the province of *Dacia*, which they had ſeized, re-united to the empire [g]. For theſe victories *Dioclesian* aſſumed the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from ſeveral ancient coins and inſcriptions [h]. The next conſuls were *Dioclesian* the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third.

Britain *given up to* Carauſius.

Dioclesian *defeats the* Sarmatians.

[a] Paneg. 10. p. 127. [a] Idem, p. 126. [b] Idem, p. 128. [c] EUTROP. p. 586. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [d] NORIS de Diocleſ. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23. ALFORD. annal. Brit. p. 285. [e] USSER. rer. Brit. p. 586. [f] Paneg. 11. p. 132, 133. [g] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. [h] NORIS, ibid. c. 4. d. 23. BIRAG. p. 426.

The

The former gained this year ſome conſiderable advantages over the *Saracens* [i]; and then, leaving the eaſtern provinces, returned to *Illyricum*, and from *Illyricum* entered *Italy* by the *Alpes Juliæ* in the depth of winter. *Maximian* at the ſame time left *Gaul*; and, paſſing the *Alpes Cottiæ*, met *Dioclefian* at *Milan*, where the two emperors held ſeveral private conferences, the ſubject whereof is not mentioned by hiſtorians, and then returned to their reſpective armies; for they came attended only by a ſmall guard, but were received, in all the cities through which they paſſed, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. The following year, *Tiberianus* and *Dion*, the ſon, or rather grandſon, as is conjectured, of the celebrated hiſtorian, being conſuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the north and in *Africa*. The *Goths*, having overcome the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the *Burgundians* were powerfully ſupported by the *Alani* and the *Tervingæ*. Another *Gothic* nation, entering into a confederacy with the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and the *Gepidæ*. In *Africa* the *Blemyes* were at war with the *Ethiopians*, and the *Moors* were engaged in a civil war. Neither was *Perſia* exempt from civil diſturbances, raiſed by *Hormiſda*, who, revolting from his brother *Varanes* II. endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and ſeize it for himſelf, being ſupported in his unjuſt pretenſions by ſeveral *Perſian* lords, and ſome foreign nations [k]. The barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces ſubject to *Rome* enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but ſhort-lived; for the following year, 292, when *Annibalianus* and *Aſclepiodotus* were conſuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign, as well as domeſtic, enemies. Not to mention *Carauſius*, who ſtill held *Britain*, the *Perſians*, delivered from their inteſtine broils, broke into *Meſopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*. The *Quinquegentiani*, perhaps ſo called becauſe they were *quinque gentes*, that is, *five nations*, joined in confederacy againſt the *Romans*, over-ran *Africa*; *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; the ſame title was aſſumed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* by *Achilleus*, ſtyled on his coins *L. Epidius Achilleus* [l]. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking them-

The two emperors meet at Milan.

The empire threatened on all ſides

[i] Paneg. II. p. 132. [k] Paneg. II. p. 131—137. [l] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 585. Birag. p. 430. Goltz. p. 122.

ſelves

ſelves alone able to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to ſtrengthen their intereſt with the aſſiſtance of others, and to name each of them a *Cæſar*, who ſhould ſucceed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend the *Roman* dominions, both againſt foreign invaders, and domeſtic uſurpers. Purſuant to this reſolution and agreement, *Dioclesian* choſe *Maximinus Galerus*, and *Maximian Conſtantius*, ſurnamed *Chlorus*, who were each of them inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured with the titles of *emperor*, *father of their country*, *high pontiff*, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the ſovereign [m]. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their *Cæſars*, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which *Conſtantius* married *Theodora*, daughter-in-law to *Maximian*, and *Galerus Valeria* the daughter of *Dioclesian* [n]. Some authors write, that both the *Cæſars* were named by *Dioclesian*, and by him inveſted in that dignity with great ſolemnity the firſt day of *March* of this year 292, on a riſing ground, about three miles from *Nicomedia*, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a ſtatue conſecrated to *Jupiter* [o]. But moſt writers ſuppoſe *Galerius* to have been choſen by *Dioclesian*, and *Conſtantius* by *Maximian*; and all agree, that *Galerius* was adopted by the former, and *Conſtantius* by the latter. After the nomination of the two *Cæſars*, the empire was divided into four parts; *Dioclesian* choſe for himſelf the countries beyond the *Ægean* ſea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent iſlands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, with *Mauritania*, *Tingitana*, to *Conſtantius*. Each of theſe princes governed the provinces that fell to their ſhare with an abſolute ſway; but the other three paid great deference to *Dioclesian*, acknowledging themſelves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to aſſume any ſuperiority over the reſt, or to give the leaſt motive of jealouſy or umbrage to his collegues [*]. From this time forward, the empire continued almoſt conſtantly divided; but at the ſame time each emperor was looked upon as maſter of the whole. Hence to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his collegues; and likewiſe to all the

The two emperors chuſe two Cæſars.

The empire divided into four parts.

[m] EUTROP. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. GRUT p. 166. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [n] VICT. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 586. [o] LACT. perſ. c. 19. p. 18. Chron. Alex. p. 640.
[*] EUSEB. Vit. C. l. ibid.

The evils attending this diviſion.

requeſts and petitions that were preſented to them. This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniencies, and is therefore much exclaimed againſt by *Lactantius*, who aſcribes it to the cowardice of *Dioclesian*, unwilling to expoſe his own perſon to danger [p]. As each of the four ſovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the ſame number of forces, as had been maintained by the ſtate when governed only by one emperor, there were more ſoldiers to pay, than people to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. Hence the taxes and impoſts were increaſed beyond meaſure, the inhabitants in the ſeveral provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilled for want of hands, &c. In proportion as the people grew leſs able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increaſed to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almoſt quite ruined [q]. *Italy* itſelf, which had hitherto only ſupplied with proviſions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the ſame tribute as the provinces; which reduced it in proceſs of time to a deplorable condition [r].

Birth, education, preferments, &c. of Galerius Cæſar.

Galerius, whom *Dioclesian* named to the dignity of *Cæſar*, is ſtyled on moſt of his coins, *Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*. He was born in a village near *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*; his mother, by name *Romula*, having retired thither from *Old Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, while that country was over-run by the *Carpi*. *Galerius*, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of *Romulianum* to the place of his nativity [s]. As *Romula* was a profeſſed enemy to the chriſtians, ſhe inſpired her ſon with the ſame hatred to them; which chiefly gave riſe to the bloody perſecution which broke out in the latter end of *Dioclesian*'s reign. *Galerius* was deſcended of an obſcure family; for both he and his ſiſter's ſon *Maximinus*, whom he afterwards created *Cæſar*, are ſaid to have been in their youth cow-herds; whence *Galerius* was nick-named *Armentarius*, from the *Latin* word *armentum*, ſignifying a drove of cattle. He was a perſon altogether illiterate; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the mean condition of a common ſoldier to the chief poſts in the army, having given ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus* [t]. *Lactantius* reckons him amongſt the worſt emperors, and ſpeaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, naturally

[p] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 6. [q] Idem p. 6, 8. [r] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [s] Idem ibid. Eutrop. p. 581. [t] Vict. epit. p. 543.

inclined

inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning and men of letters[u]. The ſame writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was ſomething ſhocking and offenſive, apt to inſpire thoſe who approached him, rather with terror and averſion, than with eſteem or affection. *Aurelius Victor*, who ſeems to have been no-ways prejudiced againſt him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and ſavage temper, and that his ruſtic, haughty, and diſobliging behaviour drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been improved by a polite and liberal education[w]. He had no children by *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*; but a ſon, named *Candidianus*, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian*[x]. Of *Conſtantius*, the other *Cæſar*, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. *Galerius* was no ſooner created *Cæſar*, than he marched, with all the troops he could aſſemble, againſt the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing, either in this or the three following years, againſt the enemies of *Rome*, which hiſtorians have judged worth tranſmitting to poſterity. He cauſed ſeveral large foreſts to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be diſcharged into the *Danube*; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he ſtyled *Valeria*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Drau*, and known in future ages by the name of *Pannonia Secunda*. The chief cities of this new province were, *Murſa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria*[y]. *Maximian* paſſed this year over into *Africa*, where he gained a complete victory over the *Quinquegentiani*, and reduced *Julianus* (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in *Italy*, as we have hinted above, and afterwards croſſed over into *Africa*) to ſuch ſtraights, that he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword[z]. *Conſtantius* was no ſooner inveſted with his new dignity, than he haſtened into *Gaul*; and arriving at *Geſſoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, which was held by the troops of *Carauſius*, inveſted the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great ſtones like a rampart[a]. The gariſon being by this means prevented from returning into

Pannonia Secunda, *a new province.*

Conſtantius *takes* Geſſoriacum.

[u] LACT. perſ. c 9. p. 8. [w] AUR. VICT. p. 526.
[x] LACT. perſ. p. 401. 44. 19. 16. [y] AUR. VICT. p. 525, 526.
EAUDRAN. p. 305. [z] AUR. VICT. ibid. [a] Panegyr. 7, 8. p 93, 105.

Britain, and deprived of all hopes of relief, ſubmitted to *Conſtantius*, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for ſeveral days, was quite disjointed by the firſt tide after the ſurrender of the city, and broken to pieces. *Conſtantius*, notwithſtanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of *Britain*, not thinking himſelf furniſhed with a ſufficient number of ſhips for ſo great an undertaking. Where *Dioclesian* was this year, or what he performed, we are no-where told. The following year, *Dioclesian* being conſul the fifth time, and *Maximian* the fourth, *Carauſius* was treacherouſly murdered by *Allectus*, his boſom friend and prime miniſter, who thereupon uſurped the government, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [b]. *Conſtantius*, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the *Britiſh* expedition, cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks*, who had ſeized on that country, and tranſplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and to ſupply, when required, a certain number of troops [c]. The emperor *Julian* tells us, that *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity [d]. It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Conſtantius* aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inſcription of the following year 194, quoted by *Lactantius* [e]. *Eumenes*, the panegyriſt, tells us, that *Conſtantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated ſeveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reſtored many provinces, pillaged and laid waſte *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation priſoner [f]. He reſtored to its antient ſplendor the city of *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almoſt utterly ruined in the year 269, by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, and moſt of the houſes belonging to private perſons, were, at an immenſe charge, rebuilt by *Conſtantius*, who moreover em-

Caraufius murdered by Allectus *who aſſumes the government of* Britain.

Conſtantius drives the Franks *out of* Batavia.

He reſtores the city of Autun.

[b] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [c] Panegyr. 1, 3, 7, 8. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. [d] Julian. p. 12. [e] Lact. perſ. p. 366. [f] Paneg. 8. p. 103, 107.

bellished

bellished the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, supplied it with plenty of water, transplanted thither the most conspicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himself a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and instructing their youth, and, in short, did all that lay in his power to raise *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul* [g].

THE following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls, two strong castles were built by the latter on the *Danube*, in the country of the *Sarmatians*; the one over-against *Acincum*, or *Aquincum*, now *Strigonium*, or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*; the other opposite to *Bononia*, which stood between the *Draw* and *Save*, and is at present known by the name of *Bonmoster*. From the date of several laws, published this and the preceding year, it appears, that *Diocletian* spent them both in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; which provinces belonged to *Galerius*, whom perhaps he was come to assist against the barbarians on the other side of the *Danube*: in the same manner we shall see *Maximian* enter *Gaul* to defend that province against the incursions of the barbarians, while *Constantius* was employed in *Britain*. The next consuls were *Tyscus* and *Annulinus*. This year, the *Carpi*, after having long maintained themselves in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, were at length intirely reduced by *Galerius*, and by *Diocletian* transplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into *Pannonia* [h]. From an inscription of this year, we learn, that the emperors caused the walls of *Vitodurum*, now *Winterthur*, in the canton of *Zurich*, between *Zurich* and *Constance*, to be rebuilt. *Aurelius Proculus*, who commanded in the country of the *Sequani*, had the superintendency of the work. In that inscription, *Diocletian* is styled *imperator* the tenth time, and *Maximian* the eighth [i]. The following year 296, *Diocletian* being consul the sixth time, and *Constantius* the second, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of *Britain*. *Eumenes* the panegyrist pretends, that the *Romans* were every-where victorious; that they had recovered whatever they had formerly possessed (he ought at least to have excepted antient *Dacia*); and that having overcome

The Carpi *intirely subdued.*

Constantius *invades* Britain.

[g] Paneg. 6, 8, 9. p. 85, 112, 114. [h] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. JORN. rer. Goth c. 16. p. 634. AUR. VICT p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. [i] GRUTER. p. 166. VALES. not. Gall. p. 615. FERRAR. de ant. Italic. p. 332.

the

the reſt of their enemies, they deemed it a great diſgrace, that ſuch a wealthy province as *Britain*, which ſupplied them with many valuable commodities, ſhould ſtill be held by an aſſaſſin and uſurper [k]. *Conſtantius* therefore, without further delay, reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*; and *Maximian*, to whom he imparted his reſolution, haſtened into *Gaul*, to prevent the barbarians beyond the *Rhine* from breaking into the empire, while he was employed againſt the rebels in *Britain*. *Conſtantius* had equipped ſeveral fleets, and in different ports, that the enemy, not knowing where to expect him, might be obliged to divide their powerful navy. One of his fleets, commanded by *Aſclepiodotus*, his captain of the guards, to whom hiſtorians aſcribe the whole glory of the victory, ſet ſail from *Boulogne*; and eſcaping, by the help of a fog, the *Britiſh* navy, which lay off the iſle of *Wight*, and was ready to engage them, landed their men without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Aſclepiodotus* had no ſooner put his army aſhore, than he ſet fire to his fleet, that there might be no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. *Conſtantius*, who had ſailed with another ſquadron from the mouth of the *Seine*, landed at another place, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and was received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. *Allectus* was encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the place where *Conſtantius* landed; but either not daring to engage him in perſon, or hoping to overcome *Aſclepiodotus* before the two armies joined, he quitted his poſt, and marched with great ſpeed againſt the latter. *Conſtantius* followed him, but did not arrive, notwithſtanding all the expedition he could uſe, till after the battle, in which *Allectus*, who had engaged, hurried on by fear and deſpair, before the arrival of the *Roman* troops who obeyed him, was killed; and his army, conſiſting only of foreign auxiliaries, either diſperſed or cut in pieces. Before the battle he quitted the imperial robes, that they might not diſcover him; ſo that the conquerors, with much ado, diſcovered his body among the heaps of the barbarians who lay ſlain in the field [l]. Part of *Conſtantius*'s fleet, ſeparating from the reſt during the fog, entered the *Thames*; and ſailing up that river, arrived at *London*. This accident, which might have been attended with bad conſequences, occaſioned a new victory. For ſuch of the auxiliaries of *Allectus* as had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to *London*, with a deſign to plunder that wealthy city, and return to their reſpective countries with the booty. But *Conſtantius*'s

His army lands in the iſland.

Allectus *overcome and ſlain.*

[k] Paneg. 8. p. 107. [l] Idem paneg. 7. p. 99. & 8. p. 109—111. Aur. Vic. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Euseb. chron.

men

men, landing luckily in the port of *London* at the ſame time, fell upon the barbarians; and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in all parts of the city; which was by that means, to the great joy of the inhabitants, happily preſerved. *Conſtantius* granted a general pardon to the partizans of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*, and cauſed his own men to reſtore whatever they had taken from the natives upon their firſt landing, ſaying, that he was not come to oppreſs; but to deliver the people from oppreſſion [m]. Thus was *Britain* reunited to the empire, after it had been held ſeven years by *Carauſius*, and three by *Allectus*. Of this victory, *Eumenius* the panegyriſt ſpeaks thus: "O important victory! worthy of many triumphs! By this "*Britain* is reſtored; by this the *Franks* are utterly defeated; "and other nations in that rebellious confederacy reduced "to obedience. To conclude, the ſea itſelf is ſcoured, to "eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity in thoſe provinces. You, "great *Cæſar*, for your part, may with juſtice triumph in "this conqueſt of a new world; and, by reſtoring the na-"val glory of *Rome*, may boaſt, that you have added to the "empire a larger element than all its former dominions.---- "*Britain* is now ſo perfectly reduced, that all the neigh-"bouring nations are under abſolute ſubjection [n]." Thus *Eumenius*, a greater friend to *Conſtantius*, as will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory, than to truth; for the brave *Caledonians* were not by him brought under the yoke, but ſtill maintained their antient liberties. The ſame writer obſerves, that from *Britain Conſtantius* ſent ſeveral workmen to be employed in rebuilding and embelliſhing the city of *Autun* [o]. *Conſtantius*, having thus ſettled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*; and tranſplanting great numbers of *Franks* into that province, peopled with them the countries of *Amiens*, *Beauvois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging the new comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the uſual tributes, and ſupply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops [p]. The ſame year *Dioclefian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the ſpace of near ſix years [q]. *Dioclefian* marched againſt him this year in perſon, overcame him without much trouble, and puniſhed him according to his deſerts. Thus *Aurelius Victor* [r]. But *Eutropius* writes, that he ſuſtained an eight

London *ſaved by* Conſtantius's *men from being plundered.*

Britain *reunited to the empire.*

Part of Gaul *peopled by the* Franks.

Achilleus *overcome, and* Egypt *reduced by* Dioclefian

[m] Paneg. 8. p. 110, 111. EUTROP. p. 586. [n] Paneg. 8. p. 111, 112. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] VALES. rer. Franc l. i. p. 15. BUCH. Belg. p. 227. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [q] GOLTZ. p. 121. BIRAG. p. 430. [r] AUR. VICT. p. 525.

month

months ſiege in *Alexandria* [r]; and *Euſebius*, that great numbers were killed on both ſides during the ſiege [s]. *Dioclesian* not only puniſhed with death the ringleaders of the revolt, but filled *Egypt* with murders and proſcriptions [u]; and even gave up, according to *Oroſius* [w], the city of *Alexandria* to be plundered by his greedy and enraged ſoldiery. If what theſe authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the ſincerity of *Eumenius*, who tells us, that *Dioclesian*, by his extraordinary clemency, reſtored tranquillity to *Egypt* [x]. Some writers obſerve, that he made a ſtrict ſearch after all the books of chymiſtry, written formerly by the *Egyptians*, and cauſed them all to be publicly burnt, leſt the *Egyptians*, inriched by that art, ſhould be tempted to ſhake off the yoke anew [y]. *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*, attended *Dioclesian* in this war; for *Euſebius* tells us, that he ſaw him as he paſſed with the emperor through *Paleſtine* [z]. The city of *Coptos* and *Buſiris* in *Thebais*, having ſided in this war with *Achilleus*, were by *Dioclesian* utterly ruined [a]. *Zonaras* ſuppoſes theſe cities to have been deſtroyed by *Dioclesian* ſome time before the revolt of *Achilleus*, for having attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke [b]. *Eumenius* tells us, that the victories gained by *Dioclesian* in *Egypt*, ſtruck terror into the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* [c]. However, the emperor was ſo far from taking any advantage of that conſternation, and extending the limits of the empire on that ſide, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the *Nubians*, who uſed to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of *Oaſis*, yielding to them a large country, as much, ſays *Procopius*, as a traveller could go through in ſeven days, on condition that they prevented the *Blemyes*, and other barbarians, from breaking into *Egypt* on the ſide of *Ethiopia*. The ſame writer adds, that *Dioclesian* cauſed a caſtle to be built in an iſland formed by the *Nile* in the neighbourhood of *Elephantis*, and a temple, in which ſacrifices were offered, both by the *Roman* and *Nubian* prieſts, for the proſperity of both nations. By this means the emperor hoped to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the *Romans* and thoſe barbarians; and therefore called the caſtle *Philas*, that is, *friendſhip*. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the penſion which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the *Blemyes*, and which was ſtill paid in the time of *Juſtinian*, was ſufficient to re-

Dioclesian *yields part of* Egypt *to the* Nubians.

[r] Eutrop. p. 586. [s] Euseb. chron. [u] Eutrop. p. 586. Johann. Antioch. p. 834. [w] Oros. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215. [x] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. [y] Suid. p. 741. Johann. Antioch. ibid. [z] Euseb. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 19 p. 417. [a] Theoph. chronograph. p. 4, 6. [b] Zonar. p. 243. [c] Panegyr. 8. p. 105.

ſtrain

ſtrain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the *Roman* troops [d].

THE next conſuls were *Maximianus*, the fifth time, and *Galerius*, the ſecond. The former, quitting *Gaul* upon the return of *Conſtantius* from *Britain*, croſſed over into *Africa*, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious *Moors*, beſieged their caſtles and ſtrong-holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion, tranſplanted them into other countries [e]. *The Moors ſubdued by Maximian*

The ſame year *Narſes*, king of *Perſia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, who had defeated the *Roman* armies, and taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army; and having, without much trouble, reduced that kingdom, advanced into *Meſopotamia*. *Diocleſian*, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy *Valerian*, inſtead of marching againſt him in perſon, withdrew into *Egypt*, committing the whole management of th t dangerous war to *Galerius*, whom he injoined to leave *Illyricum* forthwith, and haſten into *Meſopotamia*, to oppoſe there the attempts of the *Perſian* monarch. *Galerius* obeyed, flew to *Meſopotamia*, and meeting the *Perſians* between *Callinicum* and *Carrhæ*, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had then with him. The battle laſted ſome hours; but in the end the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and ſave themſelves by flight. *Galerius* haſtened to *Diocleſian*, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the diſaſter, and adviſe with him about the moſt proper meaſures to prevent the evil conſequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greateſt contempt imaginable, and ſuffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, ſeveral miles by his chariot [f]. This affront, inſtead of diſheartening him, inſpired him with an eager deſire of wiping off the diſgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much ado, obtained leave of *Diocleſian* to raiſe a new army, he aſſembled all the troops in *Illyricum* and *Mœſia*, made new levies, and in a ſhort time returned with a conſiderable army, and entered *Armenia*. All authors agree, that *Galerius* in this war performed whatever could be expected from a brave ſoldier and experienced commander: he even went in perſon, attended *Galerius defeated by Narſes, king of Perſia.*

[d] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. c. 19. p. 59. OLYMPIODOR. p. 13.
[e] Panegyr. 8. p. 105—108. [f] AUR. VICT. p. 525. JULI. orat. 1. p. 31. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 27.

only by two horſe-men, to reconnoitre the enemy, paſſing himſelf upon thoſe who ſtopped him for a deputy ſent by the *Roman* emperor to the *Perſian* monarch. Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, and conducted the whole action with ſuch prudence and addreſs, that only with twenty-five thouſand men he forced their entrenchments, though defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thouſand of them in pieces, took an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were the king's wives, ſiſters, and children, both ſons and daughters, and a great many perſons of the firſt rank [g]. *Galerius* treated the princeſſes with great reſpect, and would not ſuffer the leaſt affront to be offered to them; which ſeemed ſo ſurpriſing to the *Perſians*, that they owned themſelves as much inferior to the *Romans* in chaſtity as in valour [h]. *Eutropius* tells us, that *Licinius*, afterwards emperor, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion [i]. *Narſes*, who was preſent at this battle, and, according to *Zonaras*, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the reſt, and took ſhelter in the moſt remote deſerts of his kingdom; whence he ſent *Apharban*, one of his chief favourites to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon any terms. *Apharban*, in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive manner, intreated the conqueror not to deſtroy the *Perſian* empire, but to uſe his victory with moderation; which, he ſaid, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itſelf. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his maſter's name, that, mindful of the generoſity which in all ages had been peculiar to the *Romans*, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him, for treating his wives and children with ſuch humanity, that of reſtoring them to their former condition. *Galerius* anſwered him, that it ill became the *Perſians* to expect moderation in others, after they had in ſuch an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abuſed their victory in treating their illuſtrious captive *Valerian* like the meaneſt of ſlaves, nay, worſe than their beaſts of burden. However, as it is beneath a *Roman*, added he, to retaliate ſuch indignities, and we are taught to ſpare thoſe who ſubmit, and humble ſuch as oppoſe us, let your maſter know, that he may perhaps ſoon have the pleaſure of ſeeing the perſons who are ſo dear to him

Narſes utterly defeated in a ſecond battle by Galerius.

The Perſians ſue for peace.

[g] Eutrop. p. 586. Festus, p. 553. Lact. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. Zonar. p. 244. [h] Petr. Patric. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26. & 30. [i] Eutrop. ibid.

him [k]. *Galerius*, having diſmiſſed the *Perſian* embaſſador, haſtened to *Dioclesian*, who received him at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia* with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem. They held ſeveral conferences, the ſubject of which was, whether or no they ſhould conclude a peace with the *Perſians*, and upon what terms. We are told, that they might have eaſily reduced *Perſia* to a *Roman* province; but that *Dioclesian* did not approve of it, for reaſons, ſays *Aurelius Victor*, unknown to us [l]. *Sicorius Probus*, one of *Galerius*'s ſecretaries, was therefore diſpatched to *Narſes*, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the *Ajprudis* in *Media*, in the preſence only of *Apharban* and two others. The terms propoſed by *Probus* were, that *Narſes* ſhould yield to the *Romans* the five following provinces, *Intelene*, *Sophene*, *Arzacene*, *Carduene*, and *Zabdicene*; that the *Tigris* ſhould be the boundary between the two empires; that *Niſibis* ſhould be a common empory to both nations; that the limits of *Armenia* ſhould be extended to the caſtle of *Zintha* on the confines of *Media*; and laſtly, that the king of *Iberia* ſhould receive the crown at the hands of the *Roman* emperor. *Narſes* excepted againſt the article relating to *Niſibis*, but complied with the reſt. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the *Perſian* king's wives and children ſent back to him [m]. This peace proved very advantageous to the *Romans*, and laſted forty years, till the *Perſians*, deſirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of *Conſtantine*'s reign. The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the ſprings of the *Tigris*, and on the *Roman* ſide of that river; but were by the *Romans* commonly called the provinces beyond the *Tigris*, becauſe they had been ſo called by the *Perſians*. Inſtead of *Intelene* and *Sophene*, we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Moxoene* and *Rehimene*: as to the names of the other three, there is no diſagreement among authors. For theſe conqueſts, *Galerius* aſſumed the pompous titles of *Perſicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, as if he had ſubdued all theſe nations; and became ſo elated with his victory, that *Dioclesian* began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining that he would not be much longer ſatisfied with the bare title of *Cæſar* [n]. The following year, *Auicius Fauſtus* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Severus Gallus*, *Dioclesian* built ſeveral forts and caſtles on the

Which is granted them upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.

Galerius *is puffed up with his victory.*

[k] EUTROP. ibid. PETR. PATRIC. legat. p. 26. [l] AUR. VICT. p. 525. [m] PETR. PATRIC legat. p. 29. [n] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. LACT. perſ. c. 9. p. 9. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

frontiers of the empire towards *Perſia*, and ſurrounded with high walls and ſtrong towers the caſtle of *Cercuſium* in *Meſopotamia*, at the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates* [o]. The next conſuls were *Dioclefian*, the ſeventh time, and *Maximian*, the ſixth. This year, the *Marcomanni* and *Baſtarnæ* received a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were tranſplanted into the *Roman* territories. From ſeveral laws it appears, that *Dioclefian* was this year in the months of *January*, *February*, *April*, and *November*, at *Sirmium*, and on the fifth of *June* at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* [q]. The following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the third time, is quite barren of events. The next conſuls were *Titianus*, the ſecond time, and *Nepotianus*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be the father of *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire fifty years after [r]. This year *Conſtantius* gained a remarkable victory over the *Alemanni*, who coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a ſmall body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and falling upon the enemy, cut ſixty thouſand of them in pieces [s]. *Eumenius* mentions another victory gained this year by *Conſtantius* in the plains of *Vindoniſſa*, now *Vindiſch*, in the canton of *Bern*, near the confluence of the *Aar* and the *Ruſe* [t]. The ſame writer tells us, that a numerous army, conſiſting of different *German* nations, having rendezvouſed in an iſland in the *Rhine*, while that river was frozen over, were by a ſudden thaw ſhut up there, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the *Romans*, who kept them blocked up with their fleet [u]. *Dioclefian* was, as appears from the code [w], on the fourth of *July* at *Antioch* in *Syria*. The following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in moſt provinces of the empire, occaſioned, ſays *Lactantius* [x], by the avariciouſneſs of *Dioclefian*, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions; but the rates being too low, the traders, inſtead of expoſing to ſale, concealed their commodities:

Conſtantius gains a ſignal victory over the Alemanni.

A great dearth in moſt provinces of the empire.

[o] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. Grut. p. 166, 167. Ammian. l. xxix. p. 359. [p] Aur. Victor, p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. ii tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. [r] Onuph. p. 261. [s] Zonar. p 244 Theophan. chronog. p. 5. Panegyr. 7 p 91. [t] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. Baudr. p. 31. [u] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. [w] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 362.

commodities: by which means the dearth was changed into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to ſell their commodities at their own prices. The ſame thing happened in the reign of *Julian*, ſurnamed the *apoſtate*. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that *Dioclesian* gave this year to that city the *military bread* [o]; what is meant thereby, we are not told. *Procopius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ordered two millions of buſhels of corn to be yearly diſtributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis [p]. Before the reign of *Dioclesian*, corn was given monthly to old and diſabled perſons; and in the reign of *Conſtantine* to the eccleſiaſtics [q]. *Dioclesian* ſeems to have paſſed this year partly in *Syria*, and partly at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, with *Galerius* [r]. The next year, *Dioclesian* entered upon his eighth, and *Maximian* upon his ſeventh, conſulſhip. *Dioclesian* and *Galerian* paſſed the winter at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, in conſultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and ſecuring it againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, but concerning the moſt effectual methods of utterly extirpating the chriſtian religion, to which *Galerian* had imbibed from his infancy an irreconcileable hatred. He found means to inſpire *Dioclesian* with the ſame fury, and, as we may call it, madneſs; the effect of which was the moſt bloody and dreadful perſecution the church had yet ſuffered. This perſecution, which was the tenth and laſt general one, broke out on the twenty-third of *February* of this year, 303, the nineteenth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, the chriſtians being every-where, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments, rage, cruelty, and hatred could invent. Such numbers of chriſtians ſuffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compaſſed their wicked intent, and intirely aboliſhed chriſtianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying, inſcription, that they had extinguiſhed the chriſtian name and ſuperſtition, and every-where reſtored the worſhip of the gods to its former purity and luſtre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and ſuperſtition. During this perſecution, *Albanus Verolamienſis*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, a citizen of *Iſca legionum*, now *Exeter*, and other champions of the

The tenth general perſecution.

[o] Chron. Alex. p. 644 [p] PROCOP. arcan. hiſt. c. 26. p. 77. [q] EUSEB. l. vii. c. 21. p. 267. EVAGR. p. 68. ATHANAPOL. p. 737. [r] Cod p. 240, 242.

faith,

faith, almoſt without number, ſuffered martyrdom in *Britain*. But to give an account of their ſufferings, of their truly heroic firmneſs, and unſhaken conſtancy, would be intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of *Dioclesian*; but he no ſooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, ſays *Euſebius*, than he felt the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which ſoon overtook him [r]. A few days after the iſſuing of the firſt edicts againſt the chriſtians, a fire broke out in the palace at *Nicomedia*, where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* were lodged, and reduced part of it to aſhes [s]. *Euſebius* writes, that he could never know how that accident happened [u]. *Conſtantine*, who was on the ſpot, aſcribes it to lightning [w]; and *Lactantius* aſſures us, that *Galerius* cauſed fire to be privately ſet to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the chriſtians, and by that means incenſe *Dioclesian* ſtill more againſt them, which he did accordingly [x]. *Conſtantine* tells us [y], that *Dioclesian* was ſo diſturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he conſtantly imagined to ſee lightning falling from heaven, which was in effect the beginning of that phrenzy, which by *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* is aſcribed to the malady, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon. *Dioclesian*'s terror and diſmay were greatly increaſed by a ſecond fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the firſt, but was ſtopt before it had done any great miſchief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, *Galerius*; for *Dioclesian*, aſcribing it to the chriſtians, reſolved to keep no meaſures with them; and *Galerius*, the more to exaſperate him againſt them, withdrew from *Nicomedia* the ſame day, ſaying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the chriſtians [z]. About this time, one *Eugenius* aſſumed the title of emperor in *Syria*. He commanded five hundred men in *Seleucia*, who, being employed in the day-time in cleanſing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themſelves from that inſupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. *Eugenius*, who expected nothing leſs, refuſed at firſt the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with preſent death, if he refuſed to ſecond their deſigns. Being therefore

A fire breaks out in the palace at Nicomedia.

Eugenius *proclaimed emperor by a few ſoldiers.*

[r] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. [s] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12. Euseb. l. viii. c 6. p. 297. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Const. orat. ad ſanct. cœtum. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12. [y] Conſtant. ibid. [z] Lact. ibid. Euseb. de martyr. Paleſt. c. 2. p. 320.

arrayed

arrayed with a purple robe taken from the ſtatue of one of the gods, he led his men ſtrait to *Antioch*, which city he reached the ſame day in the cloſe of the evening, and entered it without oppoſition, as there was no gariſon in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unappriſed of his revolt; but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city roſe, and falling upon the rebels, for the moſt part intoxicated with wine, with ſuch arms as chance preſented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began and ended the ſame day [a]. *Dioclefian* ought rather to have rewarded than puniſhed the *Antiochians*; but on this occaſion he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the uſual forms of law, he commanded the chief magiſtrates of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* to be publicly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conſpiracy; which rendered him ſo odious to the *Syrians*, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned ninety years after [b]. Among the many perſons who loſt their lives on this occaſion, *Libanius* names his paternal grandfather and his grandfather's brother, whoſe eſtates were likewiſe confiſcated [c]. Towards the cloſe of the year, *Dioclefian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome*, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the ſenate had long ſince decreed them, and their many victories and conqueſts well deſerved. As *Dioclefian*, both in his triumph and the ſports that followed it, ſhewed greater œconomy than was pleaſing to the populace, they took thence occaſion to rally him with great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city ſoon after his triumph, and ſet out for *Ravenna*, on the nineteenth of *December*. As the ſeaſon was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering diſtemper, which in a ſhort time weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could neither walk nor ſtand [d]. He entered upon his ninth conſulſhip at *Ravenna*, having *Maximian*, the eighth time conſul, for his collegue. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſet out from *Ravenna*, and paſſing through *Venetia* and *Illyricum*, carried always, contrary to his cuſtom, in a litter, arrived at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the autumn. As his diſtemper increaſed daily, on the thirteenth of *December* ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have paid the laſt debt

Who are all cut in pieces.

The cruelty of Dioclefian *to the* Antiochians.

Dioclefian *triumphs, and leaves* Rome.

His illneſs

[a] LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] LACT. perſec c. 17. p. 15. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 131.

of

of mortality, and a report of his death was ſpread all ove the city. However, he recovered his ſight and voice; but his head remained ſo affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the uſe of his reaſon. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the firſt of *March* of the following year, many perſons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of *Galerius*, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould, in the mean time, according to their cuſtom, proclaim a new emperor[e]. To diſſipate this report, he ſhewed himſelf to the people of *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *March*; but there appeared ſuch a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the ſame perſon. Soon after *Galerius* arrived, who had already threatened *Maximian* with a civil war, if he did not reſign the empire; and was come into *Nicomedia* with a deſign to oblige *Dioclesian* likewiſe to reſign the ſovereignty, ſince he was no longer able to diſcharge the functions of the imperial dignity. As *Dioclesian* did not yield to the reaſons he alledged, but only offered to take both him and *Conſtantius* for his partners in the empire, *Galerius* told him plainly, that if he did not reſign of his own accord, he would force him to it. *Dioclesian*, frightened with theſe menaces, and well appriſed, that *Galerius*, who had, for ſome time, been increaſing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length, and it was agreed, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* ſhould reſign the ſovereignty; that *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* ſhould, at the ſame time be inveſted with it; and that, to preſerve the form of government introduced by *Dioclesian*, two new *Cæſars* ſhould be named. *Dioclesian* immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Maximian*, who was then at *Milan*, acquainting him with what had paſſed at *Nicomedia*. He was no leſs unwilling than his collegue, to part with the ſovereignty; but nevertheleſs, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well appriſed, *Galerius* would prevail, he came into the ſame meaſures[f]. Such is the account which *Lactantius* gives us of the reſignation of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian*, in a piece not long ſince recovered from darkneſs. *Conſtantine*, who was then at *Nicomedia*, and lodged in the ſame palace with *Dioclesian*, aſſures us, in a ſpeech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himſelf no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was ſubject, reſigned of his own accord[g];

Galerius obliges him to renounce the empire.

[e] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. Euseb. l. viii. c. 13. [f] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16. [g] Constant. orat. c. 25.

and

and the panegyriſts, who wrote at that time, mention his reſignation as a ſhining inſtance of greatneſs, generoſity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, they tell us, that both he and *Maximian* had agreed long before, and even bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath in the capitol, to reſign the ſovereignty. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Diocleſian* quitted the government, and betook himſelf to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire [h]. As two new *Cæſars* were to be choſen, *Diocleſian* propoſed *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian* and ſon-in-law of *Galerius*, and *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*; but *Galerius*, rejecting them, prevailed upon *Diocleſian* to name two others in their room, *viz. Severus*, whom he had already ſent to receive the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, and *Daia*, or *Daza*, his ſiſter's ſon, to whom he had a little before given the name of *Maximin*. They were both greatly attached to *Galerius*, but neither of them any-ways qualified for ſuch a high ſtation. However, *Diocleſian* conſented to their election; and a few days after, on the firſt of *May* of the preſent year 305, the twenty-firſt of his reign, he reſigned the empire in the preſence of his court and the army, diveſting himſelf of the purple, and delivering it to *Maximin*, whom at the ſame time he declared *Cæſar*, together with *Severus*. This ceremony was performed in the ſame place where *Galerius* had been declared *Cæſar*, about three miles from *Nicomedia*. *Diocleſian*, before he diveſted himſelf of the purple, made an harangue to the ſoldiers, telling them, That his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, who were more able and better qualified than he to diſcharge ſo great a truſt. When the ceremony was over, *Diocleſian* paſſed through *Nicomedia* with a ſmall retinue, and retiring to *Dalmatia*, his native country, choſe the city of *Salona* for the place of his reſidence [i]. The ſame day, *Maximian*, quitting the purple at *Milan*, conſigned it to *Severus*, as had been agreed on before-hand, declared *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* emperors, and then retired to *Lucania*, where we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſing diſturbances, with a deſign to reſume the dignity which he had quitted. As for *Diocleſian*, he paſſed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, at a country-ſeat in the neighbourhood of *Salona*, on the ſpot where the city of *Spalatro* was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of *Diocleſian* are ſtill to be ſeen there,

Maximin *and* Severus *declared* Cæſars.

Diocleſian *and* Maximian *reſign the empire.*

Diocleſian *leads a retired life.*

[h] AUR. VICT. p. 525. VICT. epit. p. 543.

[i] LACT. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17.

and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to the deſcription which *Conſtantius Porphyrogenitus* gives us of it, a moſt ſtately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is ſtill intire, and the cathedral of *Spalatro*. *Dioclesian* diverted himſelf, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, ſaying often, *Now I live; now I ſee the beauty of the ſun.* Some time after, when *Maximian* and others wrote to him to join them and reſume the empire, he returned them this anſwer; *I wiſh you would but come to* Salona, *that I might ſhew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am ſure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me* [k]. He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father, ſince to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inſcription of the year 306, both he and *Maximian* are ſtyled the *antient emperors*, and the *fathers of the emperors* [l]. In his time they conſecrated the *Thermæ*, or hot baths, which he had begun at *Rome*, and conſulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counſels. Thus *Galerius* invited him in the year 307, to *Carnus*, or *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, to adviſe with him about the promotion of *Licinius* [m]. However, ſeveral things happened afterwards which gave him great concern and uneaſineſs: His daughter *Valeria* refuſing to marry *Maximin*, after the death of her huſband *Galerius* in the year 311, was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and baniſhed. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, in the beginning of the year 313, eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the perſecuted chriſtians, whom he and his collegue *Maximian* had attempted utterly to extirpate [n]. *Victor* adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of *Licinius* with the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and he excuſing himſelf on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the diſturbances raiſed by *Maxentius* [o]. The ſame author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominious death prompted him to end his life with poiſon [p]. *Theophanes* writes, that the ſenate had already iſſued a decree for his execution [q]; and *Lactantius*, that ſeeing himſelf, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill uſed and deſpiſed, he reſolved to put an end to his life, abſtained from

His death.

[k] Idem, 542. Eutrop. p. 587. [l] P. Pagi. p. 148. [m] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 26. [n] Idem ibid. c. 41. p. 36. [o] Vict. epit. p. 542. [p] Idem, ibid. [q] Theoph. chronogr. p. 8.

all

all food, and died of hunger, grief, and deſpair [r]. In the chronicle of *Alexandria* we read, that he died of a dropſy [s]; and in *Euſebius*, that he was conſumed and worn out by a lingering diſtemper [t]. He died, according to *Aurelius Victor* [u], ſoon after the marriage of *Licinius*, which was celebrated in the *March* of the year 313, after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and ſome months. He was deified with the uſual ſolemnities after his death [w], probably by *Licinius* or *Maximin* II; for *Conſtantine*, at the time of his death, profeſſed the chriſtian religion. *Libanius* writes, that *Dioclefian* ſhewed himſelf in many, but not in all, things an excellent prince [x]; and the emperor *Julian* commends him for having done many things that proved very uſeful to the public [y]. He enacted a great many wholeſome laws, and was ſo far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could not make good their charge. He would not receive the accuſation of one *Thaumaſius* againſt his benefactor *Symmachus*, in whoſe houſe he had been brought up, and condemned another to baniſhment, for informing againſt his brother [z]. He ſuppreſſed the officers called *frumentarii*, of whom *Caſaubon* ſpeaks much at length, without giving us any ſatisfactory reaſon why they were ſo called [a]. They were firſt eſtabliſhed to give the emperor immediate notice of the diſturbances that happened in the provinces; but abuſing their office, eſpecially in the diſtant countries, they often extorted large ſums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuſe them, if they did not comply with their unjuſt demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their ſuppreſſion; for thoſe who were ſtyled *agentes in rebus*, and *curioſi*, proved no leſs miſchievous than the *frumentarii* [b]. *Dioclefian* encouraged and preferred perſons of merit and virtue, diſcountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worſhip of the gods, and was, till ſeduced by *Galerius*, rather a friend than an enemy to the chriſtians, of whom he had, till the year 303, great numbers both in his court and army [c]. He was greatly addicted to building, and embelliſhed ſeveral cities of the empire, eſpecially *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Milan*, and *Nicomedia*, with

He ſhewed himſelf in many things an excellent prince.

His public buildings.

[r] LACT. perſ. c. 42. p. 36. [s] Chron. Alexand. p. 656.
[t] EUSEB. l viii. c. 7 p. 317. [u] AUR. VICT. p. 542.
[w] EUTROP. p. 586. EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [x] LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. [y] JUL. orat. i. p. 12. [z] Cod. JUST. l. ix. tit. i. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810. [a] CASAUB not. in Spart. p. 22 [b] AUR. VICT. p. 524 [c] Idem, p. 525. LACT. perſec. c. 10. p. 9.

many ſtately edifices. From the ruins of his *thermæ*, or public hot baths, which are ſtill viſited and admired by all travellers to *Rome*, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that ſurpriſing fabric. Beſides the bathing places, in which three thouſand perſons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in *Trajan*'s library were conveyed thither [d]. The emperor *Conſtantius* II. when he came to *Rome* in 358, admired nothing ſo much as *Dioclesian*'s baths, which ſeemed rather a province, ſays *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with no ſmall exaggeration, than a building [e]. Part of theſe baths were by pope *Pius* IV. changed into a church, conſecrated to the *Virgin Mary*, under the title of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. *Dioclesian* embelliſhed with a great number of ſtately buildings many other cities, but above all *Nicomedia*, with a deſign of equalling it to *Rome*, for which purpoſe he ſpared no coſt or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or convenient. He built there a circus, ſeveral baſilics, a mint, an arſenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus *Nicomedia* became the ordinary reſidence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the eaſt, till the removal of the imperial ſeat to *Conſtantinople* [f]. We have ſpoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*, in which province he likewiſe built the caſtle of *Diocea*, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called *Dioclesians* [g]. But theſe buildings proved very burdenſome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their antient habitations to make room for them, but moreover to furniſh workmen, beaſts of burden, and the neceſſary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embelliſhed the cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finiſhed, he cauſed it to be pulled down, though reared at an immenſe expence, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a ſecond and third time [h]. *Lactantius* charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various falſe pretences, many perſons to death, in order to ſeize their eſtates [i]. *Eutropius* [k], *Zonaras* [l], and *Aurelius Victor* [m] tell us, that to cover the meanneſs of his extraction, he affected extraordi-

They prove burdenſome to the people.

[d] Eusеb. chron. p. 244. Prob. vit. p. 233. Vict. epit. p. 525.
[e] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71. [f] Lact. perſ. c. 7, 17. p. 7. 15.
[g] Constan. Porphyr. de adminiſtr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.
[h] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 7. [i] Idem ibid. c. 9. p. 9. [k] Eutrop. p. 586. [l] Zonar p. 244. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 523.

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nary magnificence in his attire, cauſed thoſe who approached him to fall proſtrate at his feet, aſſumed the titles of *Lord* and *God*, as *Caligula* and *Domitian* had done, and claimed divine worſhip. Hence *Spartian*, in addreſſing his works to him, uſes this expreſſion; *I lay them at the feet of your deity* [n]. Other writers expreſs themſelves in the ſame ſtyle, whether they direct their ſpeech to him or his collegues, who, it ſeems, followed his example [o]. *Dioclesian* took the name of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* that of *Hercules*, as if they had been deſcended from theſe pretended deities, and even obliged their ſucceſſors to aſſume the ſame titles. Thus *Galerius* and *Maximian* added to their other titles that of *Jupiter* and *Jovius*, and *Conſtantius* the ſurname of *Hercules*, which he tranſmitted to *Licinius*, and his ſon *Conſtantine*; but they ſoon quitted them; for *Lactantius* tells us, that in the year 320, the impious names of *Jupiter* and *Hercules* were aboliſhed from off the face of the earth [p]. We cannot help obſerving, before we cloſe this chapter, that tho' no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than *Dioclesian*'s, yet no prince's reign is leſs known; which ſeems the more ſurpriſing to us, when we reflect on the great number of hiſtorians who flouriſhed in his time. Many of them muſt, without all doubt, have written the hiſtory of his life, as we know they did thoſe of his predeceſſors, which moſt of them inſcribed to him: but no particular and diſtinct account of his reign has reached us; nay, a chaſm even in the hiſtory of *Zoſimus*, from the death of *Carus* to the reſignation of *Dioclesian*, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, ſecond-hand hiſtorian. May we not aſcribe this general loſs of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to aboliſh the holy ſcriptures? This, at leaſt, ſeems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic, *viz.* that the chriſtians, out of hatred to ſo cruel an enemy, ſuppreſſed all hiſtories and memoirs relating to him [q]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Dioclesian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (C).

Aſſumes the title of God.

[n] SPART. vit. Ver. p. 13. [o] Paneg. 10. p. 123. [p] LACT. ibid. c. 52. p. 46. [q] CASAUB. not. in Spart. p. 201.

(C) *Claudius Euſthenius*, ſecretary to *Dioclesian*, wrote in four books the hiſtory of the four princes, *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Conſtantius*, and *Galerius* (45); and this is all we know of him. *Voſ-*

(45) *Car. vit. p.* 254.

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ſius is of opinion, that *Aſclepiodotus* wrote the hiſtory of *Dioclefian*'s reign, becauſe *Vopiſcus* quotes him in relating ſome things concerning that prince (46); but as *Aſclepiodotus* was captain of the guards to *Conſtantius*, and well acquainted with the court, *Vopiſcus* might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The *Auguſtine* writers, *viz.* *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, all lived in the reign of *Dioclefian*, though ſome of them wrote under his ſucceſſors. *Ælius Spartianus*, wrote firſt the lives of all the emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to *Adrian*, and afterwards reſolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and *Cæſars*, and to inſcribe the whole to *Dioclefian*, of whoſe family he ſeems to have been (47). The lives of the following princes paſs under his name, *viz.* of *Adrian*, of *Ælius Verus*, his adopted ſon, of *Julian*, *Niger*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*. Thoſe of *Ælius*, *Cæſar*, *Adrian*, *Julian*, *Severus*, and *Niger*, are inſcribed to *Dioclefian*; that of *Caracalla* has no dedication prefixed to it; but the life of *Geta* is addreſſed to *Conſtantine*, already *Auguſtus*. What the author ſays in his addreſs gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the ſame prince; nay, *Salmaſius* takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to *Maximin* I. (48). This opinion we ſhall examine anon. *Vopiſcus*, in the life of *Probus*, names *Julius Capitolinus* and *Ælius Lampridius* among the hiſtorians who had written before him (49). To the latter are generally aſcribed the lives of *Commodus*, of *Diadumenus* the ſon of *Macrinus*, of *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander*. The life of *Commodus* is inſcribed to *Dioclefian*; thoſe of *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander* to *Conſtantine*, who deſired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of *Heliogabalus*, and to addreſs it to him, as he had done ſeveral other lives before (50). He adds, that he deſigned to write the hiſtory of *Alexander Severus*, and his ſucceſſors, to *Conſtantine*; namely of the *Gordians*, of *Aurelian*, *Claudius*, *Dioclefian*, *Maximian*, *Licinius*, *Severus*, *Alexander*, who revolted in *Africa* in 308, and of *Maxentius*. Theſe princes were, it ſeems, at that time all dead, and conſequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elſewhere, that he had written the lives of *M. Aurelius* and *Macrinus* (51). In ſome antient manuſcripts, all the lives that paſs under the name of *Lampridius*, are aſcribed to *Spartian*; and truly the lives ſaid to have been written by theſe two hiſtorians are in every reſpect ſo like, that ſome learned critics have taken them to have been done by one writer, named *Ælius Lampridius Spartianus*. *Caſaubon* and *Voſſius* are greatly inclined to this opinion *; the more becauſe *Vopiſcus* often quotes *Lampridius*,

(46) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 185.* (47) *Ver. vit. p. 13, 16.* (48) *Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p. 242, 243.* (49) *Prob. vit. p. 234.* (50) *Lampr. p. 45, 101, 136, 113.* (51) *Commod. vit. p 45. Diadum. vit. p. 99.* * *Caſaub. in Spart. p. 1. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l ii. c. 7 p. 192, 193.*

and

and never *Spartian.* On the other hand, *Salmaſius* takes them to be two diſtinct writers (52). *Julius Capitolinus* likewiſe undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate books, as others had done before him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined ſeveral lives together, of ſuch emperors eſpecially as reigned at the ſame time (53). Under his name paſs the lives of *T. Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Pertinax, Albinus, Macrinus,* the two *Maximins,* the three *Gordians, Maximus,* and *Balbinus.* The hiſtory of *Titus Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L Verus,* and *Macrinus,* are dedicated to *Dioclefian*; and that of the *Maximins,* of the *Gordians,* and of *Albinus,* to *Conſtantine,* for whoſe ſake he undertook the whole work (54). Perhaps *Cornelius Capitolinus,* quoted by *Trebellius Pollio* in his account of *Zenobia* (55), and *Julius Capitolinus* are one and the ſame perſon. Some manuſcripts aſcribe to *Spartian* all the lives that paſs under the name of *Capitolinus,* except thoſe of the *Maximins,* of the *Gordians,* and of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* (56). *Salmaſius* yields to the authority of the manuſcripts (57); but *Voſſius* aſſerts, that the lives commonly aſcribed to *Capitolinus* were done by him, and not by *Spartian* (58). *Vulcatius Gallicanus,* a *Roman* ſenator, undertook, in the reign of *Dioclefian,* to write the lives of all thoſe who had enjoyed the ſovereignty, whether by right or uſurpation (59); but of all he wrote, or deſigned to write, nothing has reached our times, except his hiſtory of *Avidius Caſſius,* who revolted in the eaſt during the reign of *M. Aurelius,* which is dedicated to *Dioclefian.* This life too *Salmaſius* aſcribes to *Spartian* (60). But the name of *Vulcatius,* which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of *Voſſius* (61), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the tranſcriber. *Valeſius* takes the hiſtorian to be one and the ſame perſon with *Gallicanus,* who was conſul with *Baſſus* in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of *Philip,* and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or uſurpers, from his time to the reign of *Claudius,* and his brother *Quintillus* (62). He had begun, it ſeems, this work before the year 291, when *Tiberianus* was governor of *Rome* (63). Great part of this work has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe deſigned to write the life of *Aurelian*; which deſign, if he ever put in execution, it was after *Vopiſcus* had written on the ſame ſubject; for that writer glories in his being the firſt among the *Latins* who publiſhed the life of *Aurelian* (64). *Trebellius*

(52) *Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 66. (53) *Gord. vit. p.* 151. *Maxim. vit. p.* 138. (54) *Capit. p.* 30. 39, 96, *&c.* (55) *Trig. tyran. c.* 29. *p.* 198. (56) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l ii. c.* 5. *p.* 186. (57) *Salmaſ. in Capit. p.* 58. (58) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat c.* 65. *p.* 18. (59) *Caſſii. vit. p.* 40, 41. (60) *Salmaſ in Spart. p.* 108. (61) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat. l ii. c.* 5. *p.* 187. (62) *Aur. vit.* p. 209, 242. (63) *Idem, ibid.* (64) *Idem ibid.*

Pollio

Pollio seems to have been greatly attached to *Conſtantius* the father of *Conſtantine* (65). *Vopiſcus* thinks he overlooked ſome things, and was too minute and diffuſe in others (66). His hiſtory of the thirty tyrants was pubiiſhed after the year 291, when *Conſtantius* was already *Cæſar*. He inſcribed his work to ſome particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of *Claudius* he addreſſes to *Conſtantine*, and not to *Conſtantius*, as ſome have maintained (67). *Voſſius* thinks his language and ſtyle not unworthy of praiſe, if compared with that of his contemporary writers (68). Some aſcribe to *Capitolinus* the lives that paſs under the name of *Pollio*; but their opinion is rejected by the beſt critics (69). *Flavius Vopiſcus* was a native of *Syracuſe*, and ſeems to have been deſcended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with *Dioclefian*. He was induced to write the life of *Aurelian*, as he himſelf informs us, by *Junius Tiberianus*, governor of *Rome* (70) in 291, or 292; but he did not publiſh it before *Conſtantius* was created *Cæſar* (71). He ſeems to have made ſome additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a ſaying of *Dioclefian* after his reſignation, which, he ſays, he had learnt of his father (72). He wrote likewiſe the hiſtories of *Tacitus*, and his brother *Florianus*, of *Probus*, of *Firmus*, and of ſome other uſurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of *Carus* and his children, while *Galerius* was waging war with the *Perſians* (73); that is, about the year 297; but he muſt have afterwards added ſeveral things to it; for he mentions the ſhows exhibited by *Dioclefian* in 309; and ſays, *That* Euſthenius, *who had been ſecretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three collegues* (74). From which expreſſion we may conclude, not only that *Euſthenius* was no longer his ſecretary, and conſequently that *Dioclefian* was no longer emperor, but likewiſe that he and his collegues were dead, ſince their lives were already written. The laſt of them died in 311. *Vopiſcus* inſcribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of *Firmus* is addreſſed to *Baſſus*, and that of *Probus* to one *Celſus*, his intimate friend, perhaps *Herennius Celſus*, who aſpired at the conſulſhip (75), and was, according to *Caſaubon* (76), governor of *Egypt*. *Vopiſcus* was a great admirer of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, and promiſes, in one place of his work, to write his life; but of ſuch a performance no mention is made by any of the antients (77). Theſe ſix writers, *viz. Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, are commonly known to the learned by the name of *hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores*, though they are in effect

(65) *Caſaub. in not.* p. 203. (66) *Aurel. vit. ibid.* (67) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat* c. 6. p. 190. (68) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* c 6. p. 190. (69) *Vide Caſaub. in Poll* p. 203. (70) *Aur. vit.* p. 209. (71) *Idem*, p. 224. (72) *Idem*, p. 223. (73) *Car. vit.* p. 250. (74) *Idem*, p. 254. (75) *Trig. tyran. vit.* p 195. (76) *Caſaub. in Vopiſc.* p. 216. (77) *Aur. vit.* p. 217.

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rather biographers than hiſtorians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, ſtature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to deſcribe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their reſpective reigns. *Vopiſcus*, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the reſt, both as to his method and ſtyle; but nevertheleſs has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the antient *Latin* hiſtorians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digeſting what they had choſen. Of theſe ſix writers *Capitolinus* is the moſt confuſed and injudicious: whence ſome have ſuſpected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of *Capitolinus*, *Spartian*, and ſome others (78). Their ſtyle is quite coarſe and unpoliſhed, their expreſſions uncouth, and ſometimes hardly intelligible. *Vopiſcus* writes, that *Lampridius* and *Capitolinus* minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (79). *Pollio* owns his ſtyle to have nothing of the elegance of the antients (80). But of the many hiſtorians, ſome ſay fifty and upwards, who have handled the ſame ſubject, only the above-mentioned ſix have reached us. *Tatius*, or *Statius Cyrillus*, was contemporary with theſe ſix writers, and tranſlated the lives of ſeveral emperors out of *Greek* into *Latin*. *Conſtantine* deſired him to abridge them, and to join ſeveral lives together in one volume (81). His work has been long ſince loſt. *Soſericus*, a poet and hiſtorian, flouriſhed in the reign of *Dioclefian*, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of *Oaſis* in *Libya*, and much eſteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him ſeveral works, and, among the reſt, the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus* (82); but only a ſmall fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the ſcholiaſt of *Lycophron* (83).

But, of all the writers who flouriſhed under *Dioclefian*, the moſt famous was the philoſopher *Porphyrius*, born, as he himſelf writes, in the city of *Tyre*, or that neighbourhood; for he ſtyles himſelf a *Tyrian* (84). St. *Jerom* gives him the ſurname of *Bataneotes* (85): whence ſome have believed him to have been a native of *Batanea*, a village in *Syria*, according to *Stephanus*, or rather in *Phœnicia*; for it ſtood within fifteen miles of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. Perhaps the family of *Porphyrius* came originally from *Tyre*, and thence he ſtyled himſelf a *Tyrian*, tho' born in the village of *Batanea* (86). It is certain, that he paſſed part of his life in the neighbourhood of *Tyre* (87). *Baronius* maintains him to have been by religion a *Jew* (88), probably for no other reaſon but becauſe he ſuppoſed him to have been a native of *Batanea*; but in thoſe days *Batanea*

(78) *Vide Caſaub. in Spart.* p. 13. (79) *Prob. vit.* p. 234. (80) *Trig. tyran.* p. 184. (81) *Max. vit.* p. 138. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* c. 7. p. 193. (82) *Suid.* p. 784. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 246. (84) *Plot. vit.* p. 6. (85) *Hier. in Gal. par. prim.* 156. (86) *Vide Jonſ.* l. iii. c. 15. p. 286. (87) *Plot. vit.* p. 12. (88) *Baron. ad ann.* 302.

was inhabited not only by *Jews*, but likewiſe by *Greeks* and *Syrians*. It is true, he always ſpoke with great reverence of the God of the *Jews* (89); but at the ſame time he declared himſelf an open enemy to that people, as well as to the *Chriſtians* (90). St. *Auſtin* ſtyles him *Porphyrius the Sicilian* (91), probably on account of his having reſided a long time in *Sicily*, and publiſhing there ſeveral books againſt the chriſtians He was deſcended of a good family His anceſtors were not *Greeks* but *Syrians*, ſo far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called *Malchus*; which name he himſelf bore in his youth: but as the name of *Malchus*, in the *Syriac* language, ſignified *king*, *Longinus* adviſed him to exchange it for that of *Porphyrius*, which has ſome relation to royalty, the word πορφυρα ſignifying in *Greek*, *purple*, which was peculiar to the emperors and *Cæſars* However, he was by ſome ſtill called *Malchus*, and *Longinus* himſelf gave him that name in addreſſing a work to him (92). He was born in the year 233, for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of *Gallienus* (93). *Socrates* writes, that, at firſt, he profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abuſed by ſome chriſtians at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, out of revenge, he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn the religion, which he had till that time profeſſed (94). *Holſtenius* likewiſe ſuppoſes him to have been once a chriſtian, and for that ſuppoſition quotes St *Auſtin* (95); but that father only ſays, that *Porphyrius* had read the ſcripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled with the humility of *Jeſus* (96); from which words no one can conclude, that he ever profeſſed the doctrine and humility of *Jeſus*. While he was yet very young, he ſaw *Origen*, at that time in great credit among the chriſtians (97), not at *Alexandria*, as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* writes (98), (for he had left that city in 231), but either at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, or at *Tyre*. *Porphyrius* came to *Rome* about the year 252. He was diſciple to *Longinus*, under whom he ſtudied at *Athens* the philoſophy of *Plato*, and made ſuch progreſs in his ſtudies, that he ſoon became the honour and ornament of that ſchool (99). Though he was one of the moſt dangerous and inveterate enemies the chriſtian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the chriſtian writers from doing him juſtice, and beſtowing upon him the praiſes he deſerved. *Euſebius* ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious men and eminent philoſophers that flouriſhed at any time (100). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* extols his knowledge; and St. *Auſtin* ſtyles him an ex-

(89) *Auguſt. civit. Dei, l.* xix. *c.* 23. *p.* 253. (90) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 9 *p.* 485. (91) *Aug retract. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *p.* 24. (92) *Eunap. c.* ii. *p.* 16. *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (93) *Idem, p.* 3. (94) *Socr l* iii. *c.* 3. *p.* 100. (95) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 5. *p.* 19. (96) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *p.* 118. (97) *Euſeb l.* vi. *c.* 19. *p.* 220. (98) *Vinc. Lir. c.* 23 *p.* 352. (99) *Euſeb. præpar. evan l* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 16. (100) *Euſeb. ibid. Porphyr. vit. c.* 1. *p.* 10, 11.

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traordinary genius, and the moſt learned among philoſophers (1). In the year 263, being then thirty, he paſſed from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he heard *Plotinus*, who taught there; and no ſooner heard him, than, forgetting *Longinus*, and all the other philoſophers, he addicted himſelf intirely to him (2). *Suidas* ſuppoſes him have been likewiſe diſciple to *Amelius* (3); but the latter ſtudied at the ſame time under *Plotinus*, ſo that he and *Porphyrius* were rather condiſciples (4). *Porphyrius* indeed might have learned many things of *Amelius*, who was eighteen years older than he, and been, in that ſenſe, his diſciple. He lived ſix years with *Plotinus*, and the fruit he reaped from his inſtructions was a profound melancholy, which in the end reduced him to ſuch miſery, that he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf. *Plotinus*, ſuſpecting his deſign from ſome words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from ſuch gloomy thoughts by travelling. He therefore took his leave of *Plotinus*, and, in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of the reign of *Gallienus*, ſet out from *Rome*, and croſſed over into *Sicily*. He landed near *Meſſana*, now *Meſſina*; but, without viſiting that city, went ſtrait to cape *Lilybæum*, to ſee one *Probus*, who was generally eſteemed a man of great learning. He continued ſome days with *Probus*, without taking any food, or converſing with any one (5); but in the end got the better of his melancholy, and ſtaid near two years at *Lilybæum*. While he was there, *Plotinus* died at *Rome* about the beginning of the year 270. From *Sicily* *Porphyrius* ſeems to have paſſed into the eaſt, to have ſtaid ſome time at *Tyre*, and returning from thence to *Sicily*, to have croſſed over from *Lilybæum* to *Africa*, and there viſited the city of *Carthage* (6). From *Africa* he ſailed back to *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* returned to *Rome*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and even made ſome public ſpeeches or declamations (7). He lived to a great age, ſays *Eunapius*; and *Porphyrius* himſelf, in his life of *Plotinus*, ſpeaks of a thing that happened to him when he was ſixty eight; that is, in the year 299, or 300 (8); ſo that he not only lived to the reign of *Probus*, as *Eunapius* writes, but to that of *Dioclefian*, and perhaps longer; which confirms what we read in St *Auſtin*, viz. that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal ſpirits, conſpired to extirpate the chriſtian religion; and therefore could not perſuade himſelf, that it had been given by God for a means of Salvation; whereas he ought, continues St. *Auſtin*, to have looked upon that bloody perſecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible ſtrength of the church (9). He died, according

(1) *Aug. civ. Dei*, c. 32. p. 120. (2) *Plot. vit.* p. 3. *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 17. (3) *Suid* p. 573, 197. (4) *Plot vit.* p. 3. (5) *Idem*, p. 4. *Eunap.* c. 2 p. 17, 18. (6) *Porphyr. vit.* p. 2—12. *Plot vit.* p. 17. (7) *Eunap.* c 2. p 21 *Plot. vit.* p. 16. (8) *Idem, ibid.* (9) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. c. 32. p. 120, 121.

cording to *Eunapius*, (10) at *Rome*. St. *Jerom* ſeems to have believed, that he was buried in *Sicily* (11). He had married a widow, by name *Marcella*, who had five children by a former huſband. *Eunapius* tells us, that he married her with no other view, but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (12). As the chriſtian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameleſs. *Eunapius* cries up his eloquence, and the beauty of his ſtyle and expreſſions (13). He was thoroughly verſed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and muſic (14); but ſhone chiefly in philoſophy, his favourite ſcience and ſtudy. Authors obſerve of him, that, whereas others philoſophers ſtudied to conceal their ſentiments with an affected obſcurity, *Porphyrius* expreſſed himſelf in a manner adapted to the meaneſt capacities (15). He taught philoſophy at *Rome* both by word of mouth and in writing. *Iamblichus*, a celebrated philoſopher in thoſe times, and *Theodorus* of *Aſine* in *Peloponneſus*, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his diſciples (16); as likewiſe were, according to ſome writers, *Chryſaores*, *Nemercus*, and *Gedalus*, who inſcribed ſome works to him (17). He was very communicative to thoſe who deſired to be informed and inſtructed, and kind to his diſciples, whom on all occaſions he was ready to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power. He applied himſelf, as moſt of the *Platonic* philoſophers did in thoſe days, to the execrable ſtudy of magic, which he diſguiſed with the plauſible name of *theourgia*, or *divine operation* (*). He compoſed an infinite number of books upon different ſubjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the diſſertation which *Holſtenius* publiſhed on the life and writings of that philoſopher (18.) We ſhall only take notice of ſuch of his works as are ſtill extant. A manuſcript has reached our times on the quantity and meaſure of words, under the name of *Porphyrius*, whom *Holſtenius* believes to have been the true author of it. To *Homer* is added in ſeveral editions a ſmall work, containing thirty-two queſtions concerning that poet, done by *Porphyrius*, and looked upon by *Holſtenius* as the beginning of an intire comment, well known to the ancients. The ſame writer publiſhed in 1630 a piece, which he aſcribes to *Porphyrius*, on the cave of the nymphs, deſcribed in the thirteenth book of the odyſſey: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans: at the ſame time *Holſtenius* publiſhed a fragment of *Porphyrius* on the river *Styx*; and ſeveral other fragments of that piece are to be found in *Stobæus*.

(10) *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 21. (11) *Hier. in Ezech.* p. 377. (12) *Eunap.* c. 2 p. 11. (13) *Idem*, c. 2, 3 p. 19, 20. (14) *Idem*, p. 18, 19. (15) *Idem, ibid.* (16) *Phot.* c. 242. p. 1057. *Steph.* p. 121. (17) *Porphyr. vit.* c. 5. p. 44, & 51, 53. (*) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. x.* c 9. p. 111. *Euſeb prep. Evan. l.* 4. c. 6. p. 143. (18) *Holſten. vit. Porph.* c. 6.

Porphyrius

Porphyrius often quotes there the heretic *Bardesanes*, and dis disciples, who, he says, lived in the time of *Heliogabalus*. He wrote in five books the *curious history*, or, as it is styled by others, *curious entertainments* (19). Out of the first book of this work, *Eusebius* quotes a long passage upon plagiaries, who copy from one another (20). Among his philosophical works, *Holstenius* takes, in the first place, notice of the introduction upon the *universals*, which he wrote while in *Sicily*, to explain to *Chrysaores*, his disciple, the *categories* of *Aristotle*. One *Ammonius* wrote a comment upon this work, which is still extant. Another work of *Porphyrius*, on *Aristotle*'s *categories*, was first printed at *Paris* in 1543. Besides these two, he wrote a third on the same subject, in seven books, which he inscribed to *Gedalus*. This was in great part copied by *Iamblichus*, who likewise published a treatise on the categories longer than that of *Porphyrius* (21). In the latter end of the last century was published at *Basle* an introduction, written by *Porphyrius*, on *Ptolemy*'s work touching the influence and force of the stars; and several manuscripts of a comment by *Porphyrius* on another work of *Ptolemy*, treating of harmony and music, are still extant (22). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philosophers, were well known to the ancients; but he brings them no lower than to *Plato*'s time (23). The subject of the first book of this work was the life of *Pythagoras*, which *Holstenius* has published, but imperfect. The third contained the life of *Socrates*, of whom he speaks very contemptuously, having, as is supposed, compiled these lives with passages borrowed from the ancients, and among the rest from *Aristoxenes*, a declared enemy to *Socrates* (24). The reader will find, in the second book of *Stobæus*, great part of a work done by *Porphyrius* on *what it is in our power to do*, and inscribed by him to *Chrysaores* (25). The four books, which he wrote against eating of flesh, and the *Latin* translation of them by *Bernardus Felicianus*, are highly esteemed by *Holstenius*. These books are addressed to *Castricius Firmus*, who had an estate at *Minturnæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both *Plotinus* and his favourite disciple *Porphyrius* (26). *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* have made use of several passages in this work, in writing against the sacrifices of the gentiles (27). As in this work *Porphyrius* condemned the sacrifices, which the *Jews* were by their law commanded to offer to the true God, *Diodorus*, bishop of *Tarsus*, undertook to confute him as to that particular. St. *Austin* often quotes a treatise of *Porphyrius* on *the return of the soul to God* (28), divided into several books. This is, without all doubt, the treatise *on the soul*, which is often cited by *Eusebius*, and was divided into five books, written by *Porphyrius* to confute *Bœ-*

(19) *Vit. Porph.* p. 46—49. (20) *Euseb. præp. Evang l. x. c.* 3. p. 464. (21) *Porph vit.* p 51, 52. (22) *Idem*, p. 54. 55. (23) *Idem* p. 56. *Eunap* p 10. (24) *Porphyr. vit c.* 7. p. 60. (25) *Idem*, p. 64. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Idem ibid.* (28) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. x.* p. 9, *&c.*

thius,

ſius, a celebrated *peripatetic* in the time of *Auguſtus* (29). *Porphyrius* publiſhed another work on the *faculties of the ſoul*, out of which a long paſſage has been conveyed to us by *Stobæus*. *Holſtenius* has publiſhed ſeveral ſentences or ſayings of *Porphyrius*, which make up part of a treatiſe intitled, *introduction to things intelligible*. *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* make frequent mention of a letter from *Porphyrius* to one *Anebon* an *Egyptian* prieſt or prophet, containing ſeveral queſtions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was anſwered by *Iamblichus*, under the feigned name of *Abammon* (30). *Euſebius* and *Stobæus* quote ſeveral paſſages out of a book *upon ſtatues*, wherein *Porphyrius* is ſuppoſed to have excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the worſhip paid by the pagans to their idols (31). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* has tranſcribed ſome paſſages out of another book of his, inſcribed to *Nemercus*, upon *Divine Providence*. *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* ſpeak frequently of a treatiſe intitled, *philoſophy founded upon oracles*, in all likelihood the ſame work with that which *Euſebius* elſewhere ſtyles *a collection of oracles*. This work conſiſted at leaſt of three books (32). St. *Auſtin* is of opinion, that moſt of the oracles related by *Porphyrius* in that treatiſe were feigned by himſelf (33). He publiſhed, by the advice of *Plotinus*, a book againſt the heretics called *gnoſtics*, to ſhew, that a treatiſe on magic, which they peruſed and aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, was a ſuppoſititious piece, and written by ſome of them (34). He publiſhed an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the ancients, and have been long ſince intirely loſt. But none of his works have rendered him ſo famous as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, to whom he bore an irreconcileable hatred, and whoſe religion he endeavoured to diſcredit with the blackeſt calumnies. He read with great attention the ſcriptures, not to ſeek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, ſays *Theodoret* (35). He pretended to have diſcovered in the ſacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it ſeems, the ſubject of his firſt book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (36). He found the prophecies of *Daniel* ſo clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to ſhew, that the prophecies aſcribed to *Daniel* had been publiſhed under his name by one who lived in the time of *Antiochus*, and wrote when the things, ſuppoſed to have been foretold, had already happened (37). As *Porphyrius* was a man of great learning and highly eſteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the

(29) *Porph. vit* p. 71, 72. *Euſeb. præp. Evang l iii c.* 34. (30) *Aug civ. Dei, l x. c* 11. p 112, &c *Euſeb ibid l. xiv. c.* 10. p 741. (31) *Eutrop* p 75. *Euſeb ibid l iii. c.* 9. p 100. (32) *Porph vit.* p. 78. *Jonſ l. iii. c.* 15. p. 280 (33) *Aug civ. Dei, l. xix c.* 23. p. 253. (34) *Plot vit.* p 10. (35) *Theodoret de Græc affect. l vii.* p 588. (36) *Euſeb l vi. c.* 19. p. 219. *Porphyr. vit c.* 10, p. 81. (37) *Hier in Dan.* p. 567.

chriſtian

chriſtian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor *Conſtantine*, after he had embraced the chriſtian religion, publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts, either againſt the perſon of *Porphyrius*, if he was ſtill alive, which is not at all likely, or againſt his memory and writings, which he cauſed to be publicly burnt (38.) Some authors think, that this puniſhment extended to all his writings; but *Conſtantine*'s words need not be taken in ſo general a ſenſe (39). That prince, to ſhew his averſion to the *Arians*, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians* (40). The chriſtians did not fail to anſwer the ill-grounded calumnies and ſophiſtical reaſonings of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy biſhop *Methodius* confuted him in a very learned piece, which he publiſhed before the perſecution of *Diocleſian*, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the perſecution (41); but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that he was then at leiſure to compoſe ſuch a long and elaborate work, the biſhops being, in times of perſecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging the diſtreſſed chriſtians under their care. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, a man of great learning and erudition, publiſhed, ſoon after *Methodius*, an anſwer to the calumnies of *Porphyrius* in thirty books; and *Apollinaris* wrote the ſame number of books againſt him about ſixty years after *Euſebius*. But all theſe works, as well as that of *Porphyrius*, which they confuted, have been long ſince loſt. *Julian* the apoſtate borrowed from *Porphyrius* what he wrote againſt the chriſtian religion; but he was fully anſwered by the pious and learned *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*. St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret*, make uſe of ſeveral paſſages out of *Porphyrius*, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy to the chriſtian religion, notwithſtanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things which redounded greatly to the honour of thoſe whom he intended to traduce and expoſe: hence the judicious obſervation of *Theodoret*, with which we ſhall cloſe this note; *viz. That as God obliged* Balaam *to bleſs his people, whom he was come with a deſign to curſe, ſo he turned the tongue of* Porphyrius *againſt himſelf, and employed him as a means to deſtroy the falſhood which he laboured to eſtabliſh* (42).

(38) *Socrat. l i. c* 9 p. 32. (39) *Idem ibid.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *P. Pagi*, p. 302. (42) *Theodor. de curand. Græcor. affect. l. iii.* p. 117.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the reſignation of* Dioclesian, *to the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *by* Conſtantine the Great.

Conſtantius *and* Galerius *acknowledged emperors*

UPON the reſignation of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, were univerſally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have ſpoken above, and ſhall here give a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities of *Conſtantius*, the father of the great *Conſtantine*, to whom the chriſtian religion is ſo highly indebted. *Conſtantius*, ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, *Flavius Valerius Conſtantius* (D), was the ſon of *Eutropius*, one of the chief lords of *Dardania* in *Upper Mœſia*, by *Claudia*, the daughter of *Criſpus*, brother to the emperor *Claudius* [r]; ſo that he was not, as ſome have ſtyled him grandſon [s], but great nephew, to that prince. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from other emperors of the ſame name by the ſurname of *Chlorus*, borrowed perhaps from the *paleneſs* of his countenance, for ſuch is the import of that word in the *Greek* tongue. He was born, according to ſome writers [t], on the thirty-firſt of *March*, of what year we know not, being only told, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306, he was, or at leaſt ſeemed

Extraction and preferments of Conſtantius.

[r] Zonar vit. Dio. p. 243. Ammian. anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmaſ. p. 331. [s] Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. [t] Bucher. de cycl. p. 276.

(D) *Conſtantius* is ſometimes called *Julius* by *Aurelius Victor*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other emperors of the ſame name (43). He probably aſſumed the name of *Valerius*, when he was adopted by *Maximian*, who had borrowed it of *Dioclesian*. As for that of *Flavius*, it was, according to ſome authors (44), peculiar to the family of the emperor *Claudius* II. whoſe great nephew he was. In ſome inſcriptions, *Conſtantius* is falſly ſtyled the grandſon of *Claudius*; and in one, *Conſtantine* is called the grandſon of *Claudius*, and the ſon of *Conſtantius* (45).

(43) *Aur. Vict.* p. 524. (44) *Vide Salmaſ. in Claud.* p. 331. (45) *Gruter.* p. 283.

to

to be, very old [u]. In his perſon he was well ſhaped; and in his aſpect there was ſomething extremely gracious and pleaſing [w]. He was not ſo well verſed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under two great warriors, *Aurelian* and *Probus* [x]. An ancient anonymous writer tells us, that he ſerved ſome time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length, appointed governor of *Dalmatia*. He ſignalized himſelf in war, and gained a great victory over the *Alemans* in *Campis Vindonis*, that is, in the neighbourhood of *Windiſch*, at preſent a ſmall village in the canton of *Bern*, the ſame year that *Conſtantine* was born, that is, in 274 [z]. He was made governor of *Dalmatia* in the year 282, or 283, by *Carus*, who had even ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*, in the room of his debauched and wicked ſon *Carinus*, whom he deſigned to depoſe [a]. *Diocleſian*, judging him well qualified for the ſovereignty, agreed with *Maximian* to create him *Cæſar*, together with *Galerius*, on the firſt of *March* of the year 292, as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, who by that ceremony adopted him; and hence he is ſometimes called by the name of *Hercules* [b], which *Maximian* had aſſumed. He took place of *Galerius*, though created *Cæſar* at the ſame time, on account of his more noble extraction [c]. Upon his being made *Cæſar*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain* fell to his ſhare. We have related, in the foregoing reign, the exploits he performed in *Gaul* and *Britain*, while he was only *Cæſar*. When he attained to the empire, he governed the ſame provinces with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their ſovereign. He is extolled, not only by *Euſebius* and *Lactantius*, whoſe teſtimony might be ſuſpected, but by all the pagan writers, as the moſt equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [d]. He was not ſolicitous, ſays *Eutropius* [e], about inriching the exchequer, but pleaſed that his people ſhould enjoy the fruit of their labour and induſtry. He was often heard to ſay, it was better the wealth of a country ſhould circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was

His excellent qualities.

[u] Eusеb. vit. Conſt l. i. c. 18. [w] Paneg. 5. p. 126. & 9. p. 192. [x] Aur. Vict. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241. [y] Anonym. Ammiano ſubjunctus, p. 471. [z] Paneg. 9. p. 192. [a] Car. vit. p. 235. [b] Paneg. 4. p. 115. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 20. p. 18. [d] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. 6. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192, 219. [e] Eutrop. p. 587.

extremely ſparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the uſe of his table. What *Eutropius* writes is confirmed by *Euſebius*, who relates the following remarkable ſtory, paſſing over in ſilence, ſays he, many others no leſs remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildneſs with which *Conſtantius* governed were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally ſaid, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raiſe any upon his people, *Dioclesian* ſent perſons on purpoſe to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. *Conſtantius* heard theſe reproaches with patience; and having perſuaded thoſe, who made them in *Dioclesian*'s name, to ſtay a few days with him, he ſent word to the moſt wealthy perſons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of ſhewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, ſilver, and valuable effects; ſo that in a ſhort time *Conſtantius*, from the pooreſt, became by far the moſt wealthy, of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of *Dioclesian* to viſit his treaſury, deſiring them to make a faithful report to their maſter of the ſtate in which they ſhould find it. They obeyed; and while they ſtood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and ſilver, *Conſtantius* told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, had long ſince belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depoſitum, in the hands of his people; adding, *That the richeſt and ſureſt treaſure of the prince was the love of his ſubjects.* The deputies were no ſooner gone, than the generous prince ſent for thoſe who had aſſiſted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they had ſo readily brought into his treaſury [f]. *Suidas* writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was ſurnamed *the poor* [g]. *Libanius* too extols his tender and paternal regard for the people, who were bleſſed with ſo good a prince; and adds, *No prince ever loved money leſs; no prince was ever more loved by his ſubjects* [h]. *Euſebius* frequently commends the piety of *Conſtantius*; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowledged only one God, the ſupreme being; that he had honoured him all his life, had con-

An inſtance of the affections of the people to him.

His piety.

[f] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13, 17. p. 309, 317. & vit. Conſtan. l. i. c. 13. p. 414. [g] Suid. π. p. 466. [h] Liban. orat. 3 p. 104.

ſecrated

ſecrated to him his whole houſe, and condemned the many gods adored by the impious [i]. This is in a manner telling us, that he was a chriſtian; and nevertheleſs, neither *Euſebius*, nor any other writer, affirms that, at leaſt in expreſs terms; nay, it appears from *Euſebius*, that he eſteemed and countenanced, but never profeſſed, the chriſtian religion. When *Dioclefian*, in the year 303, at the inſtigation of *Galerius*, began to perſecute the church, he ſent his bloody edicts to *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, injoining both to ſee them put in execution in their reſpective provinces. *Maximian* obeyed with great readineſs and joy; and *Conſtantius*, that he might not ſeem to oppoſe his collegues, ſuffered ſome churches to be pulled down; but was ſo far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preſerved the chriſtians in his provinces exempt from all the evils which they ſuffered in thoſe of the others; inſomuch, that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity and entire liberty of worſhip [k]. *Euſebius* relates of him the following memorable action: While his collegues, ſays he, were perſecuting the chriſtians with fire and ſword, he politically pretended to perſecute them too; and declared to ſuch officers of his houſhold and governors of provinces, as were chriſtians, that he left it to their choice either to ſacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themſelves in their employments, or to forfeit their places and his favour, by continuing ſteady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor diſcovered his real ſentiments, reproached in moſt bitter terms thoſe who had renounced their religion, highly extolled the virtue and conſtancy of ſuch as had deſpiſed the wealth and vanities of the world, diſmiſſed with ignominy the former, ſaying, *That thoſe who had betrayed their God, would not ſcruple to betray their prince*; and retaining the latter, truſted them with the guard of his perſon, and the whole management of public affairs, as perſons on whoſe fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repoſe an intire confidence [l]. Thus he filled his palace, continues *Euſebius*, with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the chriſtian name; nay, many miniſters of God daily offered up prayers and vows for the happineſs and preſervation of ſo good a prince in his very palace, which ſeemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an empe-

He favours the chriſtians.

[i] EUSEB. vit. Conſt l. i. c. 13. & hiſt l. viii. c. 13. p. 309.
[k] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13 18. p. 309. 317. & Conſt. vit. l. i. c 13. p. 413. OPTAT. mil. l. i. p. 44. LACT. c. 15. p. 43.
[l] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 15. p. 415.

ror [m]. Tho' *Conſtantius* thus countenanced and honoured the chriſtians, yet he never embraced himſelf, which is altogether ſurpriſing, the true religion; at leaſt we are no-where told that he did. By his firſt wife, *Helena*, he had but one child, *viz.* *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *the Great*, of whom, as well as of his mother, we ſhall ſpeak anon. He was obliged in the year 292, to divorce her, and marry *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, daughter to the wife of *Maximian*, by a former huſband. He had by her three ſons, *Dalmatius* or *Dematius*, *Julius Conſtantius*, and a third, named by ſome *Annibalianus*, and by others *Conſtantine*; and as many daughters, *viz.* *Conſtantia*, *Anaſtatia*, and *Eutropia* [n]. *Dalmatius*, who was honoured with the cenſorſhip, died before *Conſtantine*, and left two ſons, *viz.* *Dalmatius* the younger, who, after having been conſul in 333, with *Zenophilus*, was created *Cæſar* on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of *September* in 335, and *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. *Julius Conſtantius* was conſul with *Albinus* in 335, and killed with one of his brothers ſoon after the death of *Conſtantine the Great*. He had by his firſt wife *Galla*, *Gallus Cæſar*, and another ſon, whoſe name is unknown; and by his ſecond wife *Baſſina*, *Julian*, ſurnamed *the Apoſtate*. *Valeſius*, who calls the third ſon *Conſtantine*, takes him to have been conſul in 327, with *Maximus*, whoſe collegue is ſtyled in the faſti *Conſtantine*. As to *Conſtantius*'s three daughters; *Conſtantia*, ſtyled on the ancient coins *Fl. Valeria Conſtantia*, was married to *Licinius* in 513. *Anaſtatia* married *Baſſianus*, who, at the inſtigation of *Licinius*, betrayed *Conſtantine* in 314, though he had then ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*. *Eutropia* was mother to *Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire in 350, and is ſuppoſed to have been married to *Nepotianus*, who was conſul in 301.

His iſſue.

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of *Conſtantius*, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon *Conſtantine*, whoſe actions are inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of his father. *Conſtantine*, ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, *C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Conſtantinus* [o], was born on the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, about the year 274, for at his death, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of *May* in 337, he was about ſixty-four [p]. As for the

The birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon Conſtantine.

[m] Idem ibid. c. 17. p. 416. [n] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. Goltz. p. 125. [o] Goltz p. 125, 127. [p] Buch. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 211. Lact p 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471.

place

place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, published in 1636, by *Henricus Valeſius*, and ſubjoined to the fifteen books of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Stephanus* the geographer [q], *Julius Firmicus* [r], who, according to the beſt-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of *Conſtantine*, and *Cedrenus* [s], tell us in expreſs terms, that *Conſtantine* was born in the city of *Naiſſus* in *Dardania*, called alſo *Naiſus* and *Naſſus*, and now known by the name of *Niſſa*. It is certain, that the father and anceſtors of *Conſtantine* were natives of *Dardania*; that *Conſtantine* himſelf frequently reſided at *Naiſſus*, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever ſhewed himſelf partial to that city, inriching it with many privileges, and embelliſhing it with a great number of ſtately edifices; whence it is ſtyled by *Stephanus*, *the birth-place and work of the emperor* Conſtantine [t]. However, moſt modern writers of all nations, not excepting ſuch as are moſt jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as *Euſebius* ſtyles him, a native of *Britain*, ſome of them ſuppoſing him to have been born in the city of *Colcheſter*, where *Coellus*, the father of *Helena*, reigned; others in *York*, where the *Roman* governors uſually reſided. We heartily wiſh, an opinion, which reflects ſo much glory on our iſland, were better grounded. But to ſpeak our ſentiments, unbiaſſed by any national prejudice or partiality, though we have had from abroad, and peruſed with great attention, the elaborate work, publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1641, by the learned jeſuit father *Alford* on this ſubject, under the title of *Britannia Illuſtrata*, yet we cannot ſay, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a paſſage in a panegyric pronounced before *Conſtantine*, wherein the orator, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled *Britain*, *illic oriendo*, which words equally import *by being born there*, and *by being there made emperor*. In the latter ſenſe they are underſtood by *Lipſius* [u], and *Livineius* in his comments on thoſe ancient panegyriſts; but by father *Alford*, and above ſeventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former [w]; nay, both he and *Baronius* [x] think the above-mentioned words can admit of no other ſenſe. For *Conſtantine*, ſay they, was made *Cæſar* at *Rome*, and emperor at *Treves*: but that he was

The birth-place of Conſtantine.

Whether born in Britain.

[q] STEPH. in Naiſſo. [r] Jul. FIR. matheſ. l. i. c. ult. [s] CEDREN. hiſt p. 221. [t] STEPH. ibid. [u] LIPS. de mag. Rom l. iv. c. ult. [w] Vide ALFORD. Britan. illuſtrat. p 140—155. [x] BARON. ad ann. 306.

created

created *Cæsar* in *Britain*; that he was there first saluted *Augustus*; and consequently, that the words of the panegyrist may, and perhaps ought to, be understood in the sense of *Lipsius* and *Livinèius*, will evidently appear in the sequel of this history from *Libanius*, *Eusebius*, the emperor *Julian*, *Lactantius*, and *Eumenius*, whom we shall quote hereafter. *Aldhelmus*, who flourished in the seventh century, was the first who wrote in express terms, that *Constantine* was born in *Britain*[y]: those who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion universally prevailed. *Aldhelmus* probably held it upon the authority of some tradition, or was persuaded by the ambiguous passage of the above-mentioned panegyrist. *Eusebius*, who relates the most minute particulars of the life of *Constantine*, never once mentions, which is very surprising, the place of his nativity.

Whether his mother Helena was born in Britain.

Constantius had *Constantine* by the celebrated *Helena*, so much extolled, and not undeservedly, by all the christian, especially the ecclesiastic, writers. Most modern authors, whether natives of this island or foreigners, suppose her to have been the daughter of *Coellus*, a *British* king, and to have married *Constantius*, who was charmed with her beauty, when he first came into *Britain*, in the reign of *Aurelian*. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of *Constantine*, there being a profound silence among the ancients, if we except *Nicephorus*, with respect to the country of this pious, as *Eusebius* styles her, and venerable princess.

Nicephorus's *account.*

As for *Nicephorus*, he gravely tells us, that *Helena* was the daughter of an inn-keeper of *Drepanum* near *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*; that *Constantius*, being seized with a lustful desire, while he lodged in her father's house, as he passed through that place upon an embassy to the king of *Persia*, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the *Roman* embassador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the flower of her age, and of extraordinary beauty; that *Constantius*, terrified that night with a dream in which he saw the sun rising out of the western ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preserve his daughter from any further pollution, and earnestly recommended to him the child she should bring forth; that some time after, other *Roman* embassadors, who happened to lodge in the same house, chiding young *Constantine*, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly resenting that freedom, the mother informed them

[y] Bucher. de Belg. l. 6. c. 15. Aldhelm. de laude virg. c. 23.

whose

whoſe ſon he was, and at the ſame time ſhewed them a purple robe, the gift of *Conſtantius*. The embaſſadors upon their return to *Italy* acquainted *Conſtantius* with what had paſſed, who thereupon ordered *Conſtantine* and his mother to repair to *Rome*; but afterwards, not thinking them ſafe there, on account of the jealous temper of his lawful wife *Theodora*, he ſent *Conſtantine* to *Nicomedia*, to be brought up in the court of *Dioclefian*, where he was inſtructed in the ſciences, and the truths of the chriſtian religion, which he embraced [z]. Such is the account *Nicephorus* gives us of the condition of *Helena*, of the birth and education of *Conſtantine*; an account which contains, we may ſay, without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we ſhall for the preſent only take notice of two; the one in point of chronology, the other of hiſtory; which, with every judicious reader, will be a ſufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that hiſtorian, though highly applauded by *Lipſius* [a], and adopted by ſome modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachroniſm contained in that account, it is evident from all the ancients, that *Conſtantine*, at the time of his father's pretended embaſſy to the king of *Perſia*, was twenty-nine, or at leaſt twenty-ſeven, years old. For *Conſtantius* was ſent into *Perſia*, according to *Nicephorus* [b], after *Dioclefian* had begun to perſecute the chriſtians; but his firſt edicts againſt them were publiſhed, as we read in *Euſebius* [c], who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of *February*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both ancient and modern, in the 303d of the chriſtian æra. On the other hand *Euſebius* [d], *Epiphanius* [e], St. *Jerom* [f], *Victor* [g], *Nicephorus Conſtantinopolitanus* [h], &c. agree, that *Conſtantine* died in 337, being then ſixty-four, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty-two; ſo that he muſt have been born in 274, or 272, and conſequently was, at the time of his father's ſuppoſed embaſſy, twenty-nine or twenty-ſeven years old. Beſides, *Conſtantine* himſelf, in his oration annexed to the works of *Euſebius*, tells us, that he was with *Dioclefian* in the palace at *Nicomedia*, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have ſpoken above; and that accident happened, according to *Euſebius* [i], a few days after the publiſhing of the

False and inconſiſtent with hiſtory and chronology.

[z] NICEPH. l. vii. c. 17, 18. [a] LIPS de magnit. Rom. l. iv. c. 11. [b] NICEPH. ibid. [c] EUSEB. hiſt. l. viii c. 7. [d] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 53. [e] EPIPHAN. lib. de menſ. [f] HIER. in chron. [g] VICT. in Conſt. [h] NICEPH. Conſt. in chronol. c. 12. [i] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 7. p. 297

firſt

first edicts against the christians. 'Tis amazing, that *Lipsius* should, with other chronologers, suppose *Constantine* to have been born about the year 272, and yet admit, as an unquestionable truth, the fable of *Nicephorus*, which utterly destroys that supposition. As to the *Greek* historian's mistake in point of his history, he tells us, that the *Persians* having made an irruption into the *Roman* dominions, and threatening the empire with a destructive war, *Constantius* was sent with the character of embassador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a pension to be paid yearly to the *Persian* king, prevail upon him to desist from hostilities, and conclude a peace with the *Roman* emperors [k]. Now it is evident from *Eutropius* [l], *Eusebius* [m], *Ammianus Marcellinus* [n], *Zonaras* [o], *Aurelius Victor* [p], *Festus* [q], *Lactantius* [r], &c. that the *Persians* had, at least six years before the time of this pretended embassy, been utterly overthrown by *Galerius*, and had purchased a peace of *Diocletian*, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace lasted, as the same writers assure us, for the space of forty years, that is, till the year 337, the last of *Constantine*'s long reign. But after all, we must not imagine *Nicephorus* to have been the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of *Constantine*, the chastity of his mother *Helena*. For *Zosimus* writes, that she was not *Constantius*'s lawful wife [s]. The chronicle of *Alexandria* calls her son *Constantine*, in plain terms, a bastard child [t]. St. *Ambrose* gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it [u]. The same thing is asserted in the *Greek* text of *Eusebius*'s chronicle, published by *Scaliger*; and in that of St. *Jerom*, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, *Aldhelmus*, bishop of the *West-Saxons*, and the venerable *Bede*, who, speaking of *Helena*, style her the concubine of *Constantius*. On the other hand, *Eutropius* [w] and both the *Victors* [x] tell us, that *Constantius* and *Galerius* were obliged, when created *Cæsars*, to divorce their former wives. *Constantius* therefore had a lawful wife before he married *Theodora*; and we are no-where told, that he had any besides her and *Helena*. *Scaliger* indeed pretends, that he was

Whether Helena *was* Constantius's *lawful wife.*

[k] Niceph. ibid. [l] Eutrop. p. 586. [m] Euseb. p. 170. [n] Ammian. p. 109. [o] Zonar. p. 144. [p] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [q] Festus, p. 954. [r] Lactan. perf. c. 9. p. 9. [s] Zos. l. ii. p. 672. [t] Chron. Al. p. 650. [u] Aub. div. 3. p. 123. [w] Eutrop. p. 586. [x] Avr. Vict. p. 524. Vict. epit. p. 542.

married

married to *Minervina*, the mother of *Criſpus*, not appriſed, that *Criſpus* was *Conſtantine*'s ſon, and not his brother; a pretty conſiderable miſtake in a critic. The anonymous author of *Conſtantine*'s life, publiſhed by *Valeſius*, writes in expreſs terms, *that* Conſtantius *divorced* Helena *to marry* Theodora [y]; and *Eutropius*, that *Conſtantine was the fruit of an obſcure, but lawful, matrimony* [z]. At *Naples* is ſtill extant an inſcription, in which *Helena* is ſtyled *the wife of* Conſtantius [a]. In two others, to be ſeen in *Gruter*, ſhe is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Auguſta*, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The antient panegyriſts ſupply us with preſumptions, of equal ſtrength with theſe authorities, in favour of *Helena*'s marriage with *Conſtantius*. One of them [b], in an oration which he pronounced before *Conſtantine* on occaſion of his marriage, addreſſes him thus: "You, *O Conſtantine*, make it your ſtudy to imitate the "continence of your father; treading in his footſteps, you "prefer in your early youth the ties of matrimony to an un-"reſtrained liberty, that you may not be tempted to aban-"don yourſelf to looſe and unlawful amours." How preposterous and unſeaſonable would this addreſs have ſeemed, had *Conſtantine* been the fruit of an unlawful amour? By ſuppoſing *Helena* to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of *Conſtantius*, we at once turn the panegyric into a ſatire. For what can it be called but a ſatire, to cry up the continence of the father before a ſon, whoſe very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the ſon thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father? *Helena* is ſtyled, not only by the panegyriſts, but hiſtorians, a moſt *pious, venerable; religious*, and *virtuous* woman; which epithets they would have hardly beſtowed upon her, had ſhe been *Conſtantius*'s concubine, and not his wife: neither would *Conſtantine*, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of *Auguſta*, had ſhe not been his lawful mother. The emperor *Dioclefian* ever diſtinguiſhed *Conſtantine* with particular marks of honour and eſteem, whereof *Euſebius* tells us; he himſelf was an eye-witneſs [c]; for he ſaw young *Conſtantine* on the emperor's right-hand, as they paſſed together through *Paleſtine*, either going to or returning from *Egypt*. He cauſed him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whitherſoever he went, and in the year 305, when two new *Cæſars* were to be created, named him in the firſt place;

[y] Anonym. p. 471. [z] Eutrop. p. 587. [a] Gruter. p. 1086. [b] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. [c] Euseb. vit. Conſt. c. 15. p. 601.

no one, says *Eumenius*, calling in question the right which he had to that dignity, as the son of *Constantius* [d]. *Eusebius*, speaking of his father *Constantius*, says, that at his death he left the empire to his son *Constantine*, whose birth-right it was [e]. Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and respected among the *Romans*. *Galerius* is said to have alledged several reasons to divert *Diocletian* from naming *Constantine* to the dignity of *Cæsar* [f]; but among these we do not find the least mention made of his birth, which had it been unlawful, would have furnished him with a stronger and far more plausible reason than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that *Diocletian* would have ever thought of preferring *Constantine*, had he only been *Constantius*'s natural son, to that prince's lawful children by *Theodora*, for whom both he and his colleague *Maximian* had cogent motives to interest themselves. These arguments are of such weight with us, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the least doubt of *Constantine*'s legitimacy, unbiassed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with respect either to him or his mother *Helena*. As for *Helena*'s country and parentage, no writer before the seventh century mentions either: those who flourished after that time, commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call *Coelus* or *Coellus*. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments which were erected throughout *Britain* to her honour.

Helena's country and parentage.

But to return to *Constantine*. When his father was created *Cæsar* in 292, and sent into *Gaul*, *Diocletian* kept him as an hostage, caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raised him, long before the year 303, to the rank of a tribune [g]. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. The loveliness of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majesty; the tallness of his person, extremely well shaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generosity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards persons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and

Constantine's excellent qualities.

[d] Panegyr. 9. p. 191, 192. [e] Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. [f] Lact. pers. c. 18. p. 16. [g] Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. Lact. pers. c. 18. p. 17.

soldiery

ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wiſh to ſee him one day emperor, and was not ready to to contribute, ſo far as lay in his power, to his preferment [h]. The anonymous writer of his life ſays [i], that he had no great learning: and truly, learning could not then be much in requeſt, ſince none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both *Euſebius* [k] and *Aurelius Victor* [l] aſſure us, that *Conſtantine* was well verſed in moſt branches of literature; that he was a geneous encourager of learning; that after he was raiſed to the empire, he ſpent much of his time in reading; that he compoſed, and pronounced in public, ſeveral orations; and, that the many laws which he publiſhed, were all drawn up by himſelf. One of his orations has reached us, and is ſubjoined to the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of *Euſebius* [m]. But he chiefly ſignalized himſelf in war, and ſerved with great reputation under *Dioclſian* and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Perſians* [n]. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand [o], and gave ſuch proofs of his valour as raiſed ſome jealouſy in the other princes [p]. All authors, pagans as well as chriſtians, agree in extolling, with the higheſt encomiums, his ſobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he ſhewed from his early youth to unlawful pleaſures [q]. He never violated the laws of chaſtity, ſays an antient panegyriſt [r]; but ſubjected himſelf, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to ſully himſelf with any kind of lewdneſs or impurity. He married to his firſt wife *Minervina*, of whoſe parentage and condition no mention is made by the antients; and had by her *Criſpus*, who muſt have been born about the year 300, for, twenty years after, he ſignalized himſelf in the wars againſt the *Franks* and *Licinius*. *Diocleſian*, before he reſigned the empire, was for appointing *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian*, *Cæſars*. But their election was oppoſed by *Galerius*, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room *Severus* and *Maximinus*, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders. The former was a native of *Illyricum*, deſcended of an obſcure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every re-

His courage and valour.

His ſingular continence.

Severus and Maximinus *declared* Cæſars.

[h] EUSEB. ibid. l. i c. 19. p 417. Panegyr. 5. p 125. [i] Anoym. p. 471. [k] EUSEB. ibid. p. 418. [l] AUR. VICT p. 524. [m] Orat. CONST. ad ſanctor. cœtum, p. 567. [n] EUSEB ib. p. 589. [o] THEOPH. p. 6. [p] EUSEB. ibid. p. 418. [q] EUSEB. ibid, Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5 p. 126. [r] Panegyr. vi. p. 137.

ſpect unequal to ſo great a charge. The latter was born in the ſame country, and no leſs meanly than the other; for though he was nephew to *Galerius*, being his ſiſter's ſon, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a ſhepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no leſs vicious than his collegue. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with ſtate-affairs, when *Galerius*, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to *Dioclesian* for the dignity of *Cæſar* [r]. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of *Galerius*, conſented, much againſt his will, to the promotion both of *Severus* and *Maximinus*; and on the day appointed for his reſignation, after having declared in a great aſſembly, that he yielded the empire to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, who were more capable than he of bearing ſo great a weight, added, not without betraying ſome concern and reluctance, *I am likewiſe to name two new* Cæſars, *and theſe are* Severus *and* Maximinus. The whole aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed to hear theſe two names, and began to aſk one another whether *Conſtantine* had changed his? Their ſurpriſe was doubled, when they heard *Galerius* command *Conſtantine* to deſcend from the throne on which he ſat with *Dioclesian*; and ſaw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who ſtood behind it, ſtep forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was ſtruck with amazement; every one aſked, who *Maximin* was? whence he came? for what demerit *Conſtantine* had been excluded from a poſt, to which he had ſo juſt a claim? but no one dared to oppoſe his promotion [s]. This happened at *Nicomedia*; and on the ſame day, that is, on the firſt of *May* of the year 305, *Maximian* reſigned the empire at *Milan* to *Conſtantius*, and declared *Severus Cæſar*. *Galerius* excluded *Conſtantine*, with a view of becoming ſoon ſole maſter of the empire; for he was well appriſed, that *Conſtantius*, who was ſubject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long; and beſides, he hoped eaſily to get the aſcendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded *Conſtantine*, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his addreſs, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore reſolved to keep him in a private condition, and allow him no ſhare in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vaſt deſigns [u]. As for the two

[r] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Euseb. l. ix. c. 9. [s] Lact. perſ. c. 19. p. 17, 18. [u] Lact. c. 18. p. 17.

new

new *Cæsars*, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and persons to be governed in every thing by him. Matters being thus settled, the empire was divided between *Constantius* and *Galerius*. To the share of the former fell *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; the latter had *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Judæa*, *Syria*, and all the eastern provinces. *Constantius* yielded to *Severus*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as did *Galerius*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, to his nephew *Maximin* [w]. *Severus*, who was created *Cæsar*, to govern under *Constantius*, is always named before *Maximin*, who governed under *Galerius* [x]. As *Severus* was indebted to *Galerius* alone for his promotion, that prince expected he should obey him even against *Constantius* himself [y]. However, it is certain, that notwithstanding the implacable hatred which *Galerius* had to the christians, the persecution ceased both in *Italy* and the other western provinces, soon after *Constantius* was declared emperor [z]. In the mean time, *Constantine* continued at *Nicomedia*, in the heart of the provinces belonging to *Galerius*, who would not, though earnestly intreated by his father *Constantius*, during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized, suffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hostage [a]. *Victor* the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at *Rome* [b]; but it is certain, that *Galerius* never came to that city [c]. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great umbrage, he only waited some opportunity of destroying him; but not daring, through fear of the soldiery by whom *Constantine* was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourse to treachery, and exposed him, under various specious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whose church he was to deliver from the persecution, with which it had been cruelly oppressed for the space of near three hundred years. *Praxagoras*, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the history of the first emperors, and wrote, according to *Vossius*, in the time of *Constantine*, or his children, tells us, that *Galerius* often encouraged him to enter the lists with wild beasts, on which occasion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceness and size [d]. The same thing is related by *Zonaras*, who adds, that *Gale-*

The empire divided between Constantius *and* Galerius.

Galerius seeks the destruction of Constantine.

[w] EUTROP. p. 587. AUR. VICT. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.
[x] Vide SPON. p. 192. [y] LACT. pers. c. 18, 20. p. 17—19.
[z] EUSEB. de martyr. Palæstin. [a] LACT. pers. p. 406. [b] VICT. p. 525. [c] LACT. pers. c. 27. p. 25. [d] PHOT. c. 67. p. 64. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 17.

rius,

rius, in the *Sarmatian* war, obſerving one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature and the fierceneſs of his looks, ordered *Conſtantine* to engage him, which he did accordingly with great reſolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet [e]. On another occaſion, *Galerius*, who ſought his deſtruction, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on horſe-back; and being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword, and gained a complete victory [f]. This too happened in *Galerius*'s war with the *Sarmatians*, which we muſt place in this, or in the beginning of the next, year.

THE following year, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* being both conſuls the ſixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain *Conſtantine* without openly breaking with his collegue, gave him at length leave to depart, and ſigned a warrant for the officers of the poſt to ſupply him with the neceſſary horſes and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the ſame time ordered him not to make uſe of it till the next morning, when he deſigned to give him his final inſtructions [g]. In the mean time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Severus*, injoining him, by all means, to ſtop *Conſtantine*, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the expreſs might reach *Italy* before *Conſtantine*, he did not riſe that day, contrary to his cuſtom, till noon, when he ſent for *Conſtantine*. But he had ſet out the night before, as ſoon as *Galerius* had withdrawn; and travelling with all poſſible ſpeed, for ſeveral ſtages, hamſtringed or killed the horſes which he did not make uſe of, that no one might purſue or ſtop him while he croſſed the provinces of *Galerius*, and *Italy*, where *Severus* ruled. This precaution ſaved him; for next morning, *Galerius*, being informed, that he had ſet out the night before, flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered ſeveral meſſengers to make what haſte they could after him; but he was told, that *Conſtantine* had diſabled all the poſt-horſes; which tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could ſcarce forbear burſting into tears [h]. *Euſebius*, *Lactantius*, and ſeveral hiſtorians, tell us, that *Conſtantine*, arriving in *Britain*, found his father at the point of death; but therein they muſt certainly be miſtaken,

Conſtantine eſcapes from Galerius to his father.

[e] ZONAR. vit. Dioclef. p. 246. [f] AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 471. [g] LACT. c. 24. p. 22. EUSEB. Conſt. vit. l. i c. 20. [h] EUSEB. p. 418. AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 471. LACT. p. 21. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

ſince

ſince *Eumenius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced before *Conſtantine* a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a deſign to paſs over into *Britain* [i]. With him agrees the anonymous writer, publiſhed by *Valeſius*, who ſays, that *Conſtantine* found his father at *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boulogne* [k]. He attended him into *Britain*, where he was going to make war, ſays *Eumenius* [l], upon the *Caledonians* and *Picts*. The latter people, now firſt mentioned in hiſtory, inhabited *Scotland*; but were thought, ſays *Bede*, to have come from *Scythia*, that is, according to the learned *Uſher*, from *Scandinavia*, or ſome other northern country [m]. *Conſtantius*, in the laſt days of his life, overcame the *Picts*, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us [n], being aſſiſted in this war, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* [o], by *Eroc*, or, as others ſtyle him, *Crocus*, king of the *Alemans*. Not long after this victory over the *Picts*, he died at *York* on the twenty-fifth of *July* in 306, the fourth year of the perſecution of *Dioclefian*, according to St. *Jerom* [p]; and the ſixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, that is, from the year 292, for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months [q]. He died in his palace, ſurrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence interred by his ſon *Conſtantine*. Some pretend that he was buried at a place called *Caïr Segeint*, and by ſome *Caïr Caſtent*, that is, the city of *Conſtantius* or *Conſtantine* [r]. In 1283, a body was found at a ſmall diſtance from that place, which *Edward* I. who reigned then, cauſed to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of *Conſtantius*. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as ſome perſons were digging in a place at *York*, where *Conſtantius* was ſuppoſed to have been buried, they diſcovered a lamp that was ſtill burning [s]. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from ſeveral antient coins, and among the reſt from one of his brother-in-law *Maxentius* [t]. *Conſtantius* bequeathed the empire to his ſon *Conſtantine* [u], who declared he would not

Paſſes over with him into Britain *where* Conſtantius *overcomes the* Picts.

The death of Conſtantius.

He bequeaths the empire to Conſtantine.

[i] Panegyr. 9. p. 194. [k] AMMIAN. Anonym. p. 472. [l] Panegyr 9. p 194. [m] Vide USSER. Brit. eccleſ. antiquit. p. 581, 578, 579. [n] Anonym. p. 471. [o] VICT. epit. p. 943. [p] HIER. chron. [q] AUR. VICT. p. 526. EUSEB chron. GOLTZ. p. 124. EUTROP. p. 587. Panegyr. 9 p. 194. [r] Uſſer. eccleſ Brit. antiq. p 60. [s] ALFORD ann. ad ann. 306. [t] BIRAG. p. 440. [u] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 21. p. 418. JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 13. LACT. perſ. c. 24. p. 21. Panegyr. 5 p. 127. & 9. p. 194.

not accept it without the consent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and last will of his father. But the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the same day in which his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, says *Zosimus*, a writer no-ways biassed in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promising themselves great things from his generosity *. Thus was *Constantine* first declared emperor in *Britain*, the same day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of the year 306, which, in an ancient calendar, is marked as the first day of his reign w. *Lactantius* tells us in express terms, that, upon his father's death, he took the title of *Augustus* x; and *Eusebius* y, that he performed his father's obsequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took, in *Britain* at least, the title of *Cæsar*, which, however, those must deny, who maintain him to have been born in *Britain*, as we have observed above. He afterwards sent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to custom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. *Galerius* was long in suspence whether or no he should receive it; nay, transported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the messenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonstrating, that such an affront would give rise to a civil war, in which the soldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and side with *Constantine*, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to send him the purple, that he might at least seem to hold his authority of him z. However, he gave him only the title of *Cæsar*, and created *Severus* emperor, whose provinces, *viz.* *Italy* and *Africa*, he governed with as absolute a sway as his own, oppressing them with endless taxes, and practising unheard-of cruelties upon such as were not in a condition to comply with his unjust demands. This occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of *Italy*; but especially in *Rome*; which *Maxentius* laying hold of, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery and people. *Maxentius* was, or at least passed for, the son of *Maximian*; for some writers tell us, that he was a supposititious child, and that his mother, before her death, owned she had imposed him upon her husband to gain his af-

Who is saluted Augustus *by the soldiery*

Galerius *grants him only the title of* Cæsar.

Maxentius *causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.*

* Zos. l. ii. p. 67. w Buch. cycl. p. 286. x Lact. pers. c. 24, 25. p. 23. y Euseb. Const. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 419. z Lact. pers. c. 25. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

fection.

fection. However that be, he was quite deſtitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-ſhaped, or rather deformed, in his perſon, abandoned to all manner of vices, and univerſally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himſelf, and much more by *Galerius*, whoſe daughter he had married. He had highly complained of *Galerius*, for excluding him, in the year 305, from the dignity of *Cæſar*; but when he heard that *Conſtantine* had been raiſed to that high ſtation, and ſaw his image publicly expoſed in *Rome*, tranſported with rage, he reſolved at all events to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, having with large promiſes gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in *Rome*, and ſome of their officers, namely, *Lucianus*, *Marcellus*, and *Marcellinus*, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eighth of *October* of this year 306, and was acknowledged as ſuch by the *Roman* people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable tyranny of *Galerius*. The news of his revolt no ſooner reached the eaſt, where *Galerius* then was, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Severus*, injoining him to haſten with all his forces to *Rome*, to ſurpriſe and ſuppreſs at once this new uſurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourſe to his father *Maximian*, who, either with a view to reſume the empire, which he had quitted much againſt his will, or to ſupport his ſon, haſtened to *Rome*, and thence wrote to *Diocleſian*, exhorting him to abandon his ſolitude, and remount the throne. *Diocleſian*, taken with the ſweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the anſwer which we have related above. But *Maximian*, inſtead of following his example, ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor a ſecond time by the ſenate and people of *Rome*; and receiving the purple at the hands of his ſon, was univerſally acknowledged for his collegue in the empire [a]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that his luſt of reigning, and deſire of ſupporting his ſon in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his ſolitude, and reſume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated [b].

Maximian *reſumes the empire.*

WHILE theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, *Conſtantine* was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his care, *viz. Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and defending them againſt the barbarians. His father *Conſtantius* had no ſooner left *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Picts* in *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their

The Franks *break into Gaul, but are overcome by Conſtantine*

[a] VICT. epit. p. 543. LACT. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Zos. ii p. 672. EUTROP. p. 587. EUSEB. vit. Conſt p. 498. Panegyr. 5. p. 131. [b] AUR. VICT. p. 526.

oaths, had invaded *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. Againſt them therefore *Conſtantine* marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle, and having taken two of their kings priſoners, *Aſcaric* and *Gaiſus*, or *Regaiſus*, he expoſed them to be devoured by the wild beaſts in the magnificent ſhows which he afterwards exhibited [c]. He thought himſelf obliged, ſays the panegyriſt [d], to renew the ſeverity of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to reſtrain, with the fear of puniſhment, a perfidious people, who made no account of the moſt ſacred ties that awed other nations. *Eutropius* writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the *Alemans*, who, it ſeems, were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war [e]. After this victory, he paſſed the *Rhine*, and entering the country of the *Bructerians*, when leaſt expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many priſoners, whom he likewiſe condemned to be devoured by the wild beaſts [f]. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garriſons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Franks* and other *German* nations, that none of them dared to approach that river [g]. He even undertook to build a bridge over the *Rhine* [h], and accompliſhed, according to *Baudrand* [i], that great work; for he tells us, that it ſtood till the year 955, when it was broken down by biſhop *Berno*'s orders. But *Valeſius* [k] writes, that it was never finiſhed, ſuppoſing, we imagine (for he alledges no proof in favour of his opinion), that ſuch a memorable work would have been more famous in hiſtory, had it ever been executed. *Bucherius* writes, that *Conſtantine*, to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the caſtle of *Duitz* on the *Rhine*, over-againſt *Cologne* [l]. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, in memory of his victory over the *Franks*, appointed ſolemn ſports, called from them *ludi Francici*, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth [m]. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity he exerted towards the enemy, *Lactantius* [n] and *Euſebius* [o] aſſure us, that he governed his ſubjects with extraordinary mildneſs and moderation; that to all he ſhewed himſelf kind, affable, benevolent, and good-natured; that he made it

His ſeverity towards the captives.

The mildneſs of his government.

[c] Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. [d] Idem, 5. p. 126. [e] Eutrop. p. 587. [f] Paneg. 3. p. 197. [g] Idem, p. 198. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Baudr. p. 192. [k] Valeſ. rer. Franc. p. 18. [l] Buch. hiſt. Belg. l. viii. c. 2. [m] Eutrop. p 587. [n] Lact. perſ. c. 24. p. 83. [o] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.

The

his chief ſtudy to render thoſe happy who lived under his adminiſtration, &c.

THE following year, *Severus* and *Maximinus* were created conſuls by *Galerius*, and acknowledged as ſuch in all the provinces of the empire, except thoſe that obeyed *Maxentius*, where *Maximian* cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as moſt probable; for the confuſion which appears this year 307, in the conſular tables, was the natural conſequence of that which prevailed in the empire. *Conſtantine* was likewiſe conſul this year, having, as we conjecture, been ſubſtituted in the room of *Severus*, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confuſion occaſioned by ſuch a number of conſuls, have choſen to date this with the conſuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any inſtance, but ſhall have frequently in ſucceeding times. This year *Severus*, in compliance with the orders he had received from *Galerius*, left *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome*, to drive from thence the uſurper *Maxentius*. He had with him a powerful army; but conſiſting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were eaſily gained over by the latter, with *Anullinus*, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence *Severus* no ſooner approached *Rome*, with a deſign to beſiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon *Severus*, with a ſmall body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himſelf to flight, bending his rout towards *Milan*; but being cloſely purſued by *Maximian*, who met him at the head of ſome troops which he had raiſed in *Campania*, and was leading to *Rome*, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*; which *Maximian* immediately inveſted. The place was well fortified, and ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions; ſo that it might have eaſily held out till relieved by *Galerius*: but *Severus*, diſtruſting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promiſes and ſolemn oaths of *Maximian*, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been inveſted about a year and nine months before [P]. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to *Rome*; and, after having kept him ſome time confined to a place on the *Appian* way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he cauſed him to be there put to death. The only fa-

Severus marches againſt Maxentius

He is abandoned by his men, beſieged in Ravenna, *and taken.*

His death.

[P] AUR. VICT. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. EUTROP. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. HIER. chron. LACT. perſ. c. 26. p. 24.

vour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of *Gallienus*, about eight or nine miles from *Rome* [q]. He left a ſon behind him, named *Severianus*, who was put to death by *Licinius* in 313 [r]. *Maximian*, well appriſed, that *Galerius* would not ſuffer the death of *Severus* to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of *Conſtantine*, who, having conquered the *Franks*, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of ſuſtaining a long ſiege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*, where he perſuaded him to marry his daughter *Fauſta*, and at the ſame time changed the title of *Ceſar* [s], with which he had contented himſelf hitherto, as appears from ſeveral medals [t], and from a panegyric pronounced on account of his nuptials [u], into that of *Auguſtus*. *Conſtantine* is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-firſt of *March* of this year 307. *Fauſta*, whom he married, is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions *Flavia Maximiana Fauſta* [w]. *Lactantius* calls her *Maximian*'s ſecond daughter [x]. Perhaps he looked upon *Theodora*, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of *Maximian*. She was born and brought up in *Rome* [y]. The emperor *Julian* commends her modeſty and blameleſs conduct [z]. *Minervina*, *Conſtantine*'s firſt wife, by whom he had *Criſpus*, muſt have been dead at this time; for he is not ſaid to have divorced her. By *Fauſta* he had, beſides *Conſtantius*, who is the beſt known of all his children, *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon, *Conſtans* his youngeſt, and two daughters, *Conſtantina* and *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, who was married, firſt to *Hannibalianus*, and afterwards to *Gallus Cæſar*, her couſin-germans, and *Helena*, the wife of the emperor *Julian* [a]. The wife of *Gallus* is ſtyled on an ancient coin *Flavia Julia Conſtantina Auguſta* [b]. *Galerius* did not grant the title of *Auguſtus* to *Conſtantine* till about a year after, when he was obliged to beſtow it on *Maximin* [c]. While *Maximian* was in *Gaul* with *Conſtantine*, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army; but not ſufficient, as he found by

Conſtantine *marries* Fauſta *the daughter of* Maximian, *and is by him declared emperor.*

His iſſue by Fauſta.

[q] Vict. epit. p. 542. Zos. l. ii. p. 673, &c. [r] Lact. perſ. c. 50. p. 45. [s] Goltz p. 126. Biag. p. 459. Byzant. fam. p. 15. [t] Panegyr. 5. p. 127. [u] Goltz. p. 128. [w] Lact. c. 27. p. 25. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Julian. or. i. p. 9. [z] Vide Anonym. p. 3. & Byz. fam. p. 46, 47. Spanh. p. 640. [a] Lact. perſ. c. 52. p. 29.

experience,

experience, to beſiege *Rome*: for, as he had never ſeen the great capital of the empire, he imagined it to be only ſomewhat larger than *Antioch*, and ſome other cities of the eaſt. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and utterly to extirpate the ſenate; but when he approached that immenſe metropolis, and viewed its fortifications, deſpairing to be able to carry it by aſſault, and not having with him a ſufficient number of troops to inveſt it, he retired to *Interamna*, now *Terni*, and thence ſent *Licinius* and *Probus* to exhort *Maxentius*, in his name, to demand the empire of his father in-law, and not uſurp it by force of arms[c]. But *Maxentius*, having found means to gain under-hand ſome of *Galerius*'s legions, was ſo far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out againſt *Galerius*, if he, diſtruſting his troops, and dreading the fate of *Severus*, had not haſtened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waſte the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from purſuing him, and allowed his ſoldiers to commit unheard-of diſorders and cruelties[d]. *Maximian* who was ſtill in *Gaul*, being informed of the precipitous retreat of *Galerius*, did all that lay in his power to perſuade *Conſtantine* to purſue him; but finding that prince no-ways inclined to engage in ſo dangerous a war, he repaſſed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*, where he reigned ſome time jointly with his ſon, but was leſs reſpected, and not ſo readily obeyed as he. This piqued him to ſuch a degree, that, diveſting himſelf of all paternal affection, he reſolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire, not doubting, but the troops that had abandoned *Severus*, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour this attempt. Having therefore endeavoured under-hand to eſtrange them from his ſon, he aſſembled both the people and ſoldiery; and after a long deſcant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his ſon, who ſat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the ſole author of the preſent calamities, and, after many bitter and virulent invectives, ſtripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. *Maxentius*, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the ſoldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promiſes, received him in their arms, loaded *Maximian* with injuries, and threatened him with preſent death[e]. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Maximian*, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, told them, that he was not

Galerius approaches Rome with a deſign to beſiege it.

But is obliged to retire with precipitation.

Maximian attempts to depoſe his ſon.

[c] Idem ibid. c 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472.
[d] Lact. Anonym. ibid. [e] Panegyr. 6. p. 136. Eutrop. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

not in earneſt, but had made uſe of that artifice to try whether or no they were ſincerely attached to his ſon; but no one believing him, he thought it adviſeable to leave *Rome*, and accordingly haſtened back into *Gaul*, where he complained to *Conſtantine*, that his ſon had driven him from *Rome*. But *Conſtantine*, not ſeeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of *November* he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his ſon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of diſpatching him, and ſeizing his provinces [f]. But no favourable occaſion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpoſe. *Galerius* was not then at *Carnutum* in *Gaul*, now *Chartres*, as we read in *Zoſimus* [g], but at *Carnuntum*, or *Carnus*, on the *Danube* in *Pannonia*, with *Dioclеſian*, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his preſence the election of *Licinius*, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of *Severus*. On this occaſion *Maximian*, in a private conference with his ancient collegue, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to reſume the empire, and deliver the people of *Rome* from ſo many tyrants [h]. *Victor* the younger writes, that *Galerius* himſelf preſſed *Dioclеſian* to re-aſcend the throne [i]; which to us ſeems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, *Dioclеſian* found ſuch delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no propoſals of that nature. *Lactantius* aſſures us, that the deſign of *Maximian* was to re-inſtate *Dioclеſian* and himſelf in the empire, and deſtroy the reſt, one after another, his own ſon not excepted [k]. Some writers, and *Eutropius* among the reſt [l], ſeem to have believed, that *Maximian* only pretended to be at variance with his ſon, the better to deceive the other princes, and compaſs their ruin; but, inſtead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his preſence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*, on the eleventh of *November* of this year 307. *Licinius* was a native of *New Dacia*, which lay on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, and was, ever ſince the reign of *Aurelian*, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*, but was in reality ſprung from a family quite mean and ignoble [m]. His education was ſuitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the leaſt knowledge of letters; nay he was not aſhamed

But is obliged to retire to Gaul.

Licinius *created emperor.*

His extraction and character.

[f] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 687. [g] Zos. l. ii. p. 673. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Vict. epit. p. 542. [k] Lact. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [l] Eutrop. p. 587. [m] Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. Vict. epit. p. 543.

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to declare himſelf an open enemy to learning, calling the ſciences the peſt and bane of the ſtate [n]. He was naturally of a cruel, violent, and haughty temper [o], and addicted, even in his old age, to the moſt infamous debaucheries [p]. His inſatiable avarice prompted him, when raiſed to the empire, to fill his coffers by the moſt unjuſt, tyrannical, and iniquitous methods [q]. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the ſoldiers to their duty, puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, and by that means revived in the army the diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* [r]. In the year 323, he was, according to *Victor* the younger, about ſixty. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of him as one at that time worn out with old age [s]; and *Lactantius* tells us, that *Galerius* did not create him *Cæſar* in 305, becauſe he was aſhamed to call him his ſon, but choſe to raiſe him to the empire at once, and ſtyle him his brother [t]. However, in 313, he married *Conſtantia* the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and had children by her [u]. *Galerius* and he had lived in great intimacy ever ſince they firſt entered into the army; and the emperor, repoſing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of *Cæſar*, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his counſels. The memorable victory, which *Galerius* gained over the *Perſians*, was in great meaſure owing to the valour and conduct of *Licinius* [w]. *Galerius* ſeems at firſt to have given him only the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Rhætia*; but at the ſame time he promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe that were held by *Maxentius*, as ſoon as he had driven out that uſurper [x]. Thus was the empire ruled at once by ſix princes, *viz.* *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*.

THE following year, *Maximian* was conſul the tenth time, and *Galerius* the ſeventh; but at *Rome* the year was dated *by the conſuls who ſhould be named*, *Maxentius*, who reigned there, refuſing to acknowledge the conſulſhip either of *Galerius* or his father *Maximian*. This continued till the twentieth of *April*, when *Maxentius* cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul with his ſon *Romulus*, ſtyled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Romulus* [y]. *Maxentius* gave him the title

Maxentius and his ſon Romulus conſuls at Rome.

[n] VICT. ibid. [o] EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [p] VICT. epit. p. 544. [q] EUSEB. p. 396, 397. Anonym. d. 474. [r] EUTROP. p. 587. VICT. epit. p. 543. [s] EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [t] LACT. perſ c. 32. p. 29. [u] Idem ibid. c. 20. p. 19. [w] EUTROP. p. 587. [x] Zos. l. ii. p. 674. LACT. perſ. p. 424. [y] BUCH. cycl. p. 238. IDAT. BIRAG. p. 450, 453.

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of *Cæsar* and *emperor*, created him consul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his second consulship [a], being drowned, it seems, in the *Tiber* [a]. While the disturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the west, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the east, which he governed with the title only of *Cæsar*. But when he understood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he pressed *Galerius* to raise him too to the same rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his request, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and *Constantine* should, for the future, be styled *Filii Augustorum*, sons of emperors; which title is still to be seen on some of his and *Constantine*'s coins [b]. *Maximin* pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction, but, in the mean time, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion to *Galerius*, assured him, that the troops had, without his consent or co-operation, saluted him *Augustus* [c]. This gave *Galerius* great uneasiness; but nevertheless, as he did not think it advisable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to *Constantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through all the provinces of the empire [d]. This year, *Maximian*, thinking himself neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Constantine* in *Gaul*, with a design to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the second time, declaring, that, in imitation of *Diocletian*, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himself with public affairs. *Constantine* received him with the greatest marks of honour and esteem, assigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his subjects to pay the same obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the restless and turbulent spirit of *Maximian* did not suffer him long to enjoy so happy a situation. *Constantine* was then busied in building a bridge over the *Rhine*; which great undertaking struck the neighbouring nations with such terror, that they sent embassadors to sue for peace, offering

Maximin *causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.*

Constantine *acknowledged emperor by* Galerius.

[a] Vid. Noris. de Dioclesianum. [a] Pan. 6. p. 146. [b] Br. rag. p. 44. Lact. p. 23. Eutrop. p. 510. [c] Lact. pers. p. 433. [d] Idem ibid. c. 43. p. 36. c. 44. p. 38.

to

to deliver up ſome of their chiefs as hoſtages and pledges of their ſincerity. However, ſome *Franks* ſtill continued in arms; and againſt theſe *Maximian* adviſed *Conſtantine* to march with a ſmall body of forces, and leave the reſt at *Arelatum*, now *Arles*. His deſign was to make himſelf maſter of *Conſtantine*'s forces, and ſeize his provinces, if any misfortune ſhould befall him, as there was room to believe there might, ſeeing he was attended only by a ſmall army. *Conſtantine*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to *Arles*, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a ſudden reſumed the purple the third time; made himſelf maſter of the palace, ſeized on the treaſures there, diſtributed great part of them among the ſoldiers who were preſent, and wrote to thoſe who were abſent letters filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Conſtantine*, inviting them, with mighty promiſes, to follow the example of the troops at *Arles* [e]. *Conſtantine* was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed, than he led back his army by land from the *Rhine* to *Challon*, where he embarqued his forces on the *Sône*; and landing them unexpectedly at *Arles*, ſurpriſed *Maximian*, before he was in a condition to oppoſe him. The ſoldiers who had declared for *Maximian*, awed with the preſence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a ſmall number excepted, who, being ſeduced by the preſents and promiſes of the uſurper, fled with him to *Marſeilles*, and ſhut themſelves up in that city. *Conſtantine* purſued them cloſe, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by aſſault, had not his ſcaling-ladders unluckily proved too ſhort. This obliged him to ſound the retreat; but, in the mean time, ſome of the inhabitants having opened one of the gates to *Conſtantine*'s men, they entered the city, ſeized on the uſurper, while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives againſt the emperor, and carried him to *Conſtantine*; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but ſuffered him through an exceſs of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the ſame palace [f]. While theſe things paſſed in *Gaul*, the troops in *Africa* revolting from *Maxentius*, who was acknowledged there, declared

Maximian *attempts to deſtroy* Conſtantine.

He is taken priſoner; but uſed with great clemency by Conſtantine.

[e] LACT. p. 26. Panegyr. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 21. LACT. perſ. c. 29. p. 27.

[f] Panegyr. 9. p. 200, 201, 202.

Alexander *uſurps the empire in* Africa.

Alexander, who commanded in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the uſual ceremonies gave him the purple at *Carthage* [g]. He was deſcended of an ignoble and mean family in *Phrygia* [h], or, as *Aurelius Victor* will have it, in *Pannonia* [i]. All authors paint him as one in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge, being ſtricken in years, and quite deſtitute of vigor, prudence, and courage. Beſides, his troops conſiſted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military diſcipline, and for the moſt part without arms. However, as he had a *Maxentius* for his rival, he maintained his uſurped authority for the ſpace of three years at leaſt, ſome of his *Greek* coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign [k]. One *Nigrinianus*, who is repreſented on ſome antient medals with rays round his head, and the title of *divus* or *deified*, is by moſt antiquaries thought to have been the ſon of *Alexander* [l].

THE following year 309, *Maxentius* took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip at *Rome*, having his ſon *Romulus* for his colleague [m]. There were, it ſeems, no other conſuls in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly diſtinguiſhed by the conſuls of the preceding year thus, the year *after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip*, viz. of *Maximian* and *Galerius*. Some, however, are of opinion, that *Licinius* was this year conſul for the firſt time; and it is paſt all doubt, that he was conſul before the death of *Galerius*. This year *Eumenius*, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on *Conſtantine*, in a city which ſtood on a great river that falls into the *Rhine* above *Cologne* [n]; that is, according to moſt interpreters, in *Treves*, which ſtood then, as it ſtill does, on the *Moſelle*, the river plainly pointed at in the above-mentioned deſcription. The panegyriſt tells us, that *Conſtantine* was then buſied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large ſquare, baſilics, and a magnificent palace for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He extols the generoſity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had paſſed; and therefore he intreats him to viſit the city of *Autun*, where the orator himſelf was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and all his diſciples, ſome of whom already enjoyed the firſt employments in

Eumenius *pronounces his panegyric on* Conſtantine.

[g] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. Vict. epit. p. 542. [h] Zos. & Vict. ibid [i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Goltz. p. 125. [l] Biraq. f. 445. [m] Buch. cycl. p. 238. Onuph. in faſt. p. 263. [n] *Panegyr.* 9. p. 198.

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the ſtate [o]. The following year, *Andronius* and *Probus* were named conſuls by *Galerius*; but were not acknowledged as ſuch at *Rome*, where *Maxentius* took upon him that dignity the third time without a collegue. In the conſular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; *the ſecond year after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip* [p]. This year, *Maximian*, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, reſolved at all events to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well appriſed, that all his efforts would prove unſucceſsful, ſo long as *Conſtantine* lived, he determin'd, in the firſt place, to murder him; and, in order to compaſs his wicked purpoſe, had recourſe to his daughter *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine*, uſing his utmoſt endeavours, and all manner of careſſes and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her huſband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which ſhe promiſed to do, but immediately revealed the whole to *Conſtantine*, who unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without ſome undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. *Maximian* did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out as he retired, Conſtantine *is dead*; *I am emperor*. But *Conſtantine* appearing that inſtant, attended by a numerous guard, ſtopped him, and ſhewed him the body of the murdered eunuch. It is eaſier to conceive than expreſs the terror and diſmay that ſeized him, when he found himſelf thus convicted of the moſt deteſtable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuſe or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted to this exceſs of wickedneſs by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and ſtill promiſed himſelf, from *Conſtantine*, that prince thought himſelf obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of ſuch an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous, enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he choſe of all deaths the moſt infamous and diſgraceful, which was hanging. Such was the unhappy, but deſerved, end of *Maximian*, after having reigned with great glory at leaſt twenty years, and lived, according to *Victor* the younger [r], about ſixty (E). *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled

Maximian attempts to murder Conſtantine.

He is diſcovered and ſeized.

His death.

led

[o] Idem, p. 190, &c. [p] BUCH. p. 238. & 249. IDAT. PROSP &c. [q] LACT. perſ. c. 30. p. 27. EUTROP. p. 587. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. VICT epit. p. 542. [r] Idem ibid.

(E) Some authors write, that *Maximian* died at *Marſeilles*, confounding perhaps his death with what happened to him there in

led down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inſcriptions eraſed, not ſparing even ſuch as were common to him with *Dioclesian*. The ſame year, *Galerius* was ſeized with a moſt dreadful diſtemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts. *Lactantius* [r] and *Euſebius* [s] deſcribe at length the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, and tell us, that, beſides the inexpreſſible torments with which he was racked night and day, without the leaſt reſpite, ſuch an inſufferable ſtench iſſued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The diſtemper increaſed daily, in ſpite of all the art and ſkill of the beſt phyſicians and ſurgeons: his thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was conſumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole maſs of his blood corrupted. Notwithſtanding all the care that could be uſed, he was devoured alive with infinite ſwarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear ſuch unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf, and cauſed ſome of his phyſicians to be put to death, becauſe their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourſe to *Apollo*, to *Æſculapius*, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which *Apollo*, or rather ſome impoſtor in his name, preſcribed to him, ſerved only to aggravate his raging diſtemper. He languiſhed in this painful, and, beyond expreſſion, miſerable condition, a whole year and upwards, ſuffering every minute all the agonies of death [t]. The pagan as well as chriſtian writers take notice of this unaccountable malady of *Galerius* [w]. The latter aſcribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author

Galerius is ſeized with a dreadful diſtemper.

[r] Lact. perſ. c. 33. p. 30. [s] Euseb. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314, 315 [t] Idem, ibid. Lact. c. 33. [w] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 525. Zos. p. 674. Anonym. p. 472.

308, as *Zoſimus* confounds it with that of *Maximin* II. in telling us, that he died a natural death at *Tarſus* (46). In an antient chronicle, quoted by *Du Cheſne* (47), we are told, that about the year 1054, his body was diſcovered at *Marſeilles* in a leaden coffin, incloſed in a tomb of white marble, ſo well embalmed, that it was ſtill intire, and appeared freſh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of thoſe who had ſeen the body; and adds, that *Raimbaud*, archbiſhop of *Arles*, perſuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcaſe of ſuch an unmerciful perſecutor of the church into the ſea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever elſe was found with it. St. *Ambroſe* had written long before, that *Maximian* was buried in a moſt beautiful tomb of marble (48).

(46) *Zoſ. l. ii p.* 674. (47) *Du Cheſne, tom.* 3. *p.* 641. (48) *Ambroſ. epiſt. lvii. p.* 321.

of

of the perſecution and unheard-of cruelties ſuffered by the chriſtians. This year *Conſtantine* waged war with the *Alemans*, the *Bructerians*, *Cheruſcans*, *Chamavians*, and ſeveral other *German* nations; who, after having attacked the *Romans* in ſeparate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army [x]. *Conſtantine*, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in diſguiſe into the midſt of their army; pretending to be a deputy ſent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they deſigned to ſeparate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he aſſured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no ſooner underſtood than they diſmiſſed the pretended deputy, and without loſs of time marched with all their forces againſt the enemy. *Conſtantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the firſt onſet, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in their flight [y]. It was perhaps on account of this victory that he took the title of *Maximus*, which we find on ſome of his medals ſtruck this year 310, the fifth of his reign [z]. *Euſebius* tells us, that, after he had driven out of *Gaul*, or intirely ſubdued, the barbarians bordering on the *Rhine* and the ocean, he paſſed over into *Britain*, and there reduced ſuch of the inhabitants as had not yet ſubmitted to him [a]. But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyriſts.

Conſtantine overcomes ſeveral German nations.

THE next conſuls were *Galerius*, the eighth time, and *Maximinus*, the ſecond; but *Maxentius* refuſing to acknowledge them, *Rome* was without conſuls till the month of *September*, when *Ruſinus* and *Euſebius Voluſianus* were honoured with that dignity [b]. As the diſtemper of *Galerius* grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to aſcribe it to the juſt vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent chriſtians, and immediately publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the perſecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, *viz.* *Galerius*, *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius*. *Maxentius* was looked upon by *Galerius* as an enemy, and had never been acknowledged by him; and as for *Maximin*, he either would not agree with the reſt to put a ſtop to the perſecution, or his name has been, through a miſtake of the tranſcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of *Licinius* has been left out in moſt editions of *Euſebius*, and even in the *Latin* tranſlation by *Ruſinus*. The edict was dated the

Galerius puts a ſtop to the perſecution.

[x] Panegyr. 7. p. 163—165. [y] Idem, p. 164. [z] BIRAG. p. 462. [a] EUSEB. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 25. p. 420. [b] LACT. peri. c. 35. p. 31. BUCH. cycl. p. 238.

twentieth

twentieth year of the reign of *Galerius*, and consequently muſt have been drawn up after the firſt of *March* of this year 311.

His death. It was publicly ſet up at *Nicomedia* on the thirtieth of *April*, and the following month his death was known there; for he died, according to the moſt probable opinion, at *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, now known by the name of *Sofia*, or, as the inhabitants ſtyle it, *Triadizza* [c]. *Galerius* had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, nineteen years, two months, and ſome days. He had been emperor ſix years, and a few days; for we find ſome of his coins dated the ſeventh year of his reign [d]. Before he expired, he earneſtly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclefian*, and *Candidianus* his natural ſon [e]; which ſhews, that *Licinius* was preſent when he died. He was buried in the ſame city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the uſual ceremonies [f]. *Maximin* was no ſooner informed of the death of *Galerius*, than he haſtened from the eaſt, where he then was, with a deſign to ſeize on his provinces, and entering *Bithynia*, made himſelf maſter of all the countries beyond the *Propontis*. On the other hand, *Licinius*, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppoſe him; and the two armies encamped over-againſt each other, the one on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and the other of *Europe*. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the ſtreights of *Chalcedon*, they entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance, which they confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths [g].

Licinius *and* Maximin *divide his provinces.*

Maximin remained maſter of *Bithynia*, and *Licinius* of *Thrace*, the ſtreights of *Chalcedon* being the common boundary between the two empires [h]. *Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius*, though earneſtly recommended by him at the point of death to *Licinius*, choſe to withdraw into the dominions of *Maximin*, with her mother *Priſca* the wife of *Dioclefian*, *Candidianus* the natural ſon of *Galerius*, and *Severianus* the ſon of *Severus*, put to death by *Maximian* in 307. *Maximin* treated *Valeria* for ſome time with the utmoſt reſpect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent paſſion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. *Valeria*, not a little ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, anſwered him with great freedom, That the ſtate and habit ſhe was in, the time of her mourning for

[c] Lact. perſ. c. 33. p. 30. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [d] Pagi, p. 311. [e] Lact. c. 35. 50. p. 32, 44. Euseb. l. viii, c. 17. [f] Vict. epit. p. 543. Biraq. p. 444. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [g] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. Lact. c. 45. p. 39. [h] Euseb. Lact. ibid.

the

the death of her husband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it seemed very strange he should put away a wife, who had not given him the least occasion of complaint; that such a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in short, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented in a person of her rank to entertain the least thought of a second marriage. *Maximin* was provoked to such a degree with this frank and generous answer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately banished both her and her mother, seized on all her effects, confined her domestics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon false accusations, sentenced to death several illustrious ladies who attended her, and among the rest two senators wives, and one whose daughter was a vestal at *Rome*. They were publicly executed at *Nicea*, upon the deposition of a *Jew*, who falsly accused them of adultery, hoping to escape the punishment due to his crimes by impeaching them. The people loudly complained of such a bare-faced piece of injustice, and, transported with rage, would have torn in pieces *Eratineus* the governor of that province, while he sat on his tribunal to condemn them, and see his sentence put in execution, had he not been surrounded by a numerous body of soldiers, who with much-ado protected him against the insults of the incensed populace. The *Jew*, their accuser, being afterwards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the cross their innocence, and his own guilt, in suffering himself to be suborned to accuse them [i]. *Valeria*, though confined in the deserts of *Syria*, found means to acquaint her father *Diocletian* with the miserable state she was in, who, moved with tenderness and compassion, sent several persons, and among the rest a kinsman of his own, an officer of great distinction in the army, to intreat *Maximin*, by all the obligations he owed him, to release his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the satisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is said to have hastened the death of the old emperor [k].

Valeria enormously abused by Maximin.

Constantine, in the mean time, was busied in visiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the sixth of his reign, at *Autun*; and finding the inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever since his accession to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all imposts. In acknow-

Constantine's generosity to the city of Autun.

[i] LACT. pers. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36. [k] Idem, c. 41. p. 36.

ledgment

ledgment of this favour, the city of *Autun*, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of *Flavia*, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his reſidence, probably *Treves*, they ſent *Eumenius* to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindneſs to them; which the orator did in a ſpeech that is ſtill extant [l]. In the mean time, *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome*, undertook the reduction of *Africa*, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308, and declared *Alexander* emperor. Againſt him *Maxentius* diſpatched *Rufus*, or *Rufius Volusianus*, probably the conſul of this year, and one *Zenus*, a celebrated commander, who, in the firſt battle that was fought, put the troops of *Alexander* to the rout, took him priſoner, and cauſed him immediately to be ſtrangled [m]. Thus ended the war in *Africa*; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for *Maxentius* cauſed ſuch of the *Africans*, as were conſiderable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and ſeized their eſtates, pretending they had favoured the uſurper; nay, he commanded the city of *Carthage*, at that time one of the moſt beautiful and flouriſhing cities in the world, to be laid in aſhes. Thus was the province of *Africa* utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take ſhelter in the provinces of the other princes [n]. *Maxentius* triumphed at *Rome* for the defeat of *Alexander*, or rather for the deſtruction of *Carthage*, and the ruin of *Africa*. But *Rome* and *Italy* were no leſs grievouſly afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than *Carthage* and *Africa*. The inexpreſſible calamities, under which they groaned, are deſcribed at length by *Zoſimus* [o], *Euſebius* [p], *Aurelius Victor* [q], and the panegyriſts who flouriſhed in thoſe times [r]. His luſt ſpared not the moſt illuſtrious ladies of *Rome*, nor his avarice the chief men in the ſenate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure deſires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or baniſhment, in order to ſeize their eſtates. *Euſebius* [s] and *Rufinus* [t] tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name *Sophronia*, ſhe, who profeſſed the

Maxentius reduces and ruins the province of Africa.

Rome and Italy grievouſly afflicted by him.

[l] Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 526. Zos. l. ii. p. 675. Lactan. per. c. 43. p. 37. [n] Paneg. 6. 7. p. 145, 173. Aur. Vict. Zos. ibid. [o] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. [p] Euseb. l. viii. p. 310. [q] Aur. Vict p. 526. [r] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 137, 158. [s] Euseb. hiſt. l. viii. c. 14. p. 313. [t] Rufin. c. 17. p. 141.

chriſtian

christian religion, and consequently thought death a less evil than the defiling herself with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her best attire; which being granted, she withdrew into her closet, and there, after a short prayer, buried a dagger in her breast, and died on the spot. This action is mightily commended by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus*; and *Palladius* seems to approve it [u]. It shews a courage in *Sophronia* above her sex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which she professed; but nevertheless cannot, *in the opinion of St. Austin* [w], be commended, or even excused, unless done by a particular and extraordinary impulse from heaven, such as he supposes *Razias* to have had, of whom mention is made in the books of the *Maccabees*. *Maxentius* allowed his soldiers the same unrestrained liberty, or rather licentiousness, which he took himself, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the most innocent persons. By this means *Rome* was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable condition; the senators were stripped of their estates, and either banished upon false accusations, or publicly executed; and the people so loaded with taxes, that they had not wherewithal to purchase the common necessaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the study of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women and innocent children [x]. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of *Fortune*, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguish it, a soldier uttered some words of raillery against the *unfortunate goddess*; which one of the populace hearing killed the soldier on the spot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell sword in hand upon the people; which occasioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of persons lost their lives [y]. *Zosimus* writes, that *Maxentius* immediately restrained the fury of his soldiers; but though he excuses him on this occasion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more insufferable, and that the *Roman* people impatiently wished for a deliverer [z]. *Prudentius* gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under so cruel a tyrant, who was not ashamed to fill the public prisons with the most venerable and illustrious persons in the senate [a]. Being elated with his success against *Alexander*, tyrant of *Africa*, he began to entertain thoughts of destroying

The resolution and intrepidity of Sophronia *a christian lady.*

The cruelty of Maxentius.

[u] PALLAD. hist. Lausiaca, c. 150. p. 105. [w] AUGUST. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26. [x] Panegyr. 6. p. 136. [y] EUSEB. p. 310. AUR. VICT. p. 52. [z] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. [a] PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 219, 220.

the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to ſay, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at *Rome* an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity. He reſolved to begin with *Conſtantine*, under the plauſible pretence of revenging the death of his father *Maximian*, though we are aſſured, that he was not in the leaſt affected with it [b]. He had then under his command an hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe, moſt of whom had ſerved under his father, and conſequently were inured to military toils and dangers. He had amaſſed by his extortions vaſt ſums to defray the charges of a war, and great ſtore of proviſions, having for that purpoſe drained *Africa* and the adjacent iſlands. He no ſooner began to aſſemble his troops, than *Conſtantine*, well appriſed of his deſign, wrote to him, and by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. *Nazarius* tells us, that *Conſtantine*, pitying the miſerable condition to which he ſaw, with the utmoſt concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a deſire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could juſtify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to ſatisfy him as to the death of his father. But *Maxentius*, who wanted only a pretence for ſtripping *Conſtantine* of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonſtrances, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father.

He reſolves to make war upon Conſtantine.

Hereupon *Conſtantine*, leaving a ſtrong body of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into *Gaul* during his abſence, ſet out on his march to *Italy*, at the head of an army, conſiſting, according to thoſe who magnify their number the moſt, of ninety thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Of theſe only twenty-five thouſand were *Romans*, and the reſt auxiliaries [c]. A panegyriſt, in an oration pronounced before him, ſays, that he engaged in this war with a ſmaller number of troops than *Alexander* had with him, when he went to attack the king of *Perſia* [d]; that is, not quite forty thouſand men. He endeavoured to gain over *Licinius*, by promiſing him his ſiſter *Conſtantia* in marriage; which gave ſuch jealouſy to *Maximin*, that he ſent deputies to court the friendſhip of *Maxentius*,

Conſtantine *begins his march to* Italy.

[b] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [c] Zos. l. ii. p. 676. [d] Pan. 6. p. 137.

and

and entered into an alliance with him; which, however, was kept ſecret; for *Conſtantine* was not appriſed of it till he became maſter of *Rome*, and ſaw there the ſtatue of *Maximin* placed cloſe to that of *Maxentius*[e]. We are not told, that *Maximin* ſent any ſuccours to *Maxentius*, or *Licinius* to *Conſtantine*. In this war providence had ſomething in view infinitely more important, than the reſcuing of *Rome* from the tyranny of *Maxentius*; nothing leſs than the delivering of the church from the cruel perſecution under which it had groaned for the ſpace of near three hundred years. *Conſtantine* had inherited of his father ſome love and eſteem for the chriſtians; for the firſt uſe he made of his authority was to put a ſtop to the perſecution in the provinces ſubject to him[f]. However, he had not yet ſhewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and eſteemed; but in the war with *Maxentius*, apprehending that he ſtood in need of an extraordinary aſſiſtance from heaven, he began ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious anſwers given by the oracles to other princes, and the ſucceſs that had attended his father *Conſtantius* in all his wars, who deſpiſed the many gods worſhipped by the *Romans*, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the chriſtians, the adorers of this God, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had in all his wars been attended with uncommon ſucceſs, and ended his life in the arms of his children. Upon theſe conſiderations he reſolved to have recourſe to the God of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him therefore he addreſſed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching Him to make himſelf known to him, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to ſome, *Euſebius* aſſures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who ſolemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there ſuddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the ſun, in the form of a croſs, with this inſcription, *In this conquer.* The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful viſion, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him,

He deliberates with himſelf what god he ſhould implore.

Admirable appa-rition.

[e] LACT. perſ. c 43. p. 37. [f] Idem, c. 24. p. 23.

with the ſame ſign that he had ſeen in the heavens, commanded him to cauſe ſuch another to be framed, and to make uſe of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning, *Conſtantine* imparted to his friends what he had ſeen; and ſending for the ableſt artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a croſs of gold and precious ſtones, according to the directions which he gave them. This croſs is minutely deſcribed by *Euſebius* who ſaw it [g]. *Baronius*, who has cauſed it to be engraved in his annals [h], places the images of *Conſtantine* and his children on the ſtandard that was faſtened to the croſs-part of it, though *Euſebius* ſeems to place them below the ſtandard. In a crown of gold at the top of the croſs was a figure, conſiſting of the two firſt letters of the name of *Chriſt*, according to the *Greek* orthography [i]. This figure, on ſome medals, is formed thus ☧ and in others thus ☩. This cypher was probably ſhewn to *Conſtantine* with the croſs; for we are no-where told that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the croſs is plainly repreſented, was the only thing *Conſtantine* added to the antient ſtandard. This the pious emperor cauſed to be carried before him in all his wars, as an enſign of ſafety and victory [k]. *Socrates* ſeems to inſinuate, that in his time, about the year 430, it was lodged in the imperial palace at *Conſtantinople* [l]; and *Theophanes* tells us, that it was ſtill to be ſeen in the ninth century [m]. *Conſtantine* cauſed ſeveral other croſſes to be made after the ſame manner, and to be conſtantly carried at the head of his armies, inſtead of the figures of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Romulus*, &c. The name of *Chriſt* was not always at the top of the croſs, but ſometimes on the ſtandard [n]. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor cauſed the ſtandard with the croſs to be conveyed thither; and his faith, ſays *Euſebius* [o], was rewarded with victory, which began on that ſide where the greateſt danger was apprehended. He choſe fifty of the moſt courageous, robuſt, and religious men among his guards to attend this ſtandard, and carry it in their turns. *Euſebius* aſſures us, that none of thoſe who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the perſon who held it, finding himſelf aimed at on all ſides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the

The croſs becomes the chief ſtandard.

[g] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 27—31. p. 421—423. [h] Baron. ad ann. 312. [i] Euseb. ibid. c. 31. p. 423. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Socrat. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. [m] Theoph. p. 11. [n] Nazar. orat. iii. p. 75. Sozom. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. Euseb. p. 535.

danger

danger by flight, was ſhot through with a dart the minute he parted with it; whereas the other eſcaped unhurt amidſt the ſhowers of arrows that flew round him. This *Euſebius*, as he aſſures us, learnt of *Conſtantine* himſelf [p]. In the year 416, *Theodoſius* the younger beſtowed great privileges on thoſe who carried the *labarum* or *laborum*; for ſo the ſtandard conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of St. *Ambroſe* [q], with the name of *Chriſt*, is ſtyled by *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, *Prudentius*, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in *Du Cange*, who is of opinion, that it was borrowed of the *Germans* [r]. At the ſame time, *Conſtantine* ordered the ſhields, helmets, and offenſive as well as defenſive weapons of the ſoldiers, to be marked with croſſes, as appears from *Euſebius* [s], and various antient monuments. *Sozomen* tells us, that the emperor cauſed the name of our Saviour to be put upon the *labarum*, that the ſoldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmoſt reſpect to the imperial ſtandard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their falſe deities, and pay the ſame honours to Him, whoſe name they had conſtantly before their eyes [t]. *Conſtantine* had the above-mentioned viſion before he paſſed the *Alps* to make war upon *Maxentius*, and conſequently in *Gaul*; but as to the preciſe place, we are quite at a loſs. Some ſtand up for *Beſançon*; others for *Sinzic* on the *Rhine*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Cologne*; and ſome for *Numegen*, a village on the *Moſelle*, about five miles below *Treves*; which *Auſonius* calls the illuſtrious camp of *Conſtantine* [u]; but their conjectures are altogether groundleſs. *Baluſius* complains, and not without reaſon, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer [w], who is pleaſed to ſtyle the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the beſt atteſted fact in the hiſtory of *Conſtantine*, a *pious fiction*, which, in other terms, is calling *Euſebius* an impious impoſtor, and at the ſame time charging him with the greateſt folly imaginable, in pretending to impoſe upon the world with ſuch an enormous falſhood, while many thouſands of witneſſes were ſtill living, who would not have failed to diſprove what he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of *Euſebius*'s character guilty of ſuch folly, impudence, and preſumption is, in our opinion, carrying ſcepticiſm and incredulity to

The labarum *or* laborum.

[p] Idem ibid. p. 448. [q] AMBROS. epiſt. xvii. p. 213. [r] CANGE. diſſert. de inferior. ævi. numiſmat. p. 18. & gloſſar. p. 190. [s] EUSEB. ibid. l. iv. c. 21. p. 535. [t] Soz. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. [u] BUCH. de Belg. l. viii. c. 6. p. 243. [w] JACOBUS OISELIUS in theſaur. numiſ. antiquor. p. 463.

too

Constantine is instructed in the christian religion and embraces it.

too great a height. *Constantine* being, after the miraculous vision, immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, sent for several bishops, in order to be instructed by them in the mysteries of their religion, and in several particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, cross, and death of our Saviour, reading with great attention the holy scriptures, and consulting in his doubts the bishops, whom for that purpose he kept constantly about him [x]. *Eusebius* does not name them; but *Zosimus* tells us, that an *Egyptian*, coming from *Spain* to the place where *Constantine* was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the *Romans* [y]. This may be true, though no great stress is to be laid upon what *Zosimus* writes touching the conversion of *Constantine*; for *Osius*, the celebrated bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, was by birth an *Egyptian*, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been sent for by the emperor. It is at least certain, that *Constantine* soon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occasions with the utmost respect, esteem, and veneration. The modern *Greek* writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name *Euphrates*, had a great share in his conversion; but of him no mention is made by the antients. We may well imagine what a great alteration the conversion of *Constantine* produced in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it seems, his example; we are well assured, that his mother *Helen* did: for though *Theodoret* writes, that she inspired her son from his infancy with sentiments of piety [z], yet *Eusebius* tells us in express terms, that she knew not the true God, till she was induced by her son to embrace the truth, and adhere to it [a]. The zeal which *Constantia* shewed for the doctrine of *Arius*, inclines us to believe, that she professed the christian religion. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Eutropia*, the widow of *Maximian* and mother-in-law of *Constantine*, followed the example of the emperor; and *Valesius* maintains the same thing of her daughter *Fausta*; which does not at all seem improbable, though not positively asserted by any of the antients. *Johannes Damascenus* writes, that *Constantine* caused not only the cross, but the image, of our Saviour, to be represented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only the *labarum*, and on some of his son *Constantius* the ☧ with

His example is followed by the imperial family.

[x] Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424. [y] Euseb. l. ii. p 685. [z] Theodoret. l. i. c. 17. p. 563. [a] Euseb. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

the

the A and Ω, the emblem aſſumed by our Saviour in the *Revelations* [b]. The ſilence of the antient panegyriſts with reſpect to ſo public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the croſs, which occaſioned the converſion of *Conſtantine*, would ſeem to us unaccountable, were we not well apprized of the great and almoſt invincible power of prejudice in matters of religion. The authors of thoſe panegyrics could not, even in their ſpeeches uttered before *Conſtantine*, forbear ſpeaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had ſtill been a pagan. However, ſome of them ſeem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators ſpeaks much at length of an extraordinary aſſiſtance, which, he ſays, all *Gaul* believed to have been ſent to *Conſtantine* from heaven [c]. Another ſays, that every one dreaded the war with *Maxentius*, on account of an evil omen [d]. This may be well underſtood of the croſs, than which nothing was more infamous, or more deteſted, among the *Romans*. But *Conſtantine* placed his chief confidence in it, and cauſing it to be carried at the head of his army, as the banner of victory, croſſed the *Alps* the following year, when he and *Licinius* were conſuls the ſecond time, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, till he arrived at *Seguſium*, now *Suſa*; which, being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous gariſon, refuſed to ſubmit. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having ordered a general aſſault, and at the ſame time cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, carried the place by ſtorm the ſame day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor ſuffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes [e], though *Zoſimus* writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that preſumed to oppoſe him [f]. From *Seguſium* he marched to *Auguſta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whoſe cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but *Conſtantine* ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horſes and killed, without the loſs of a ſingle man on *Conſtantine*'s ſide. The reſt of the army was eaſily put to the rout, and purſued with great ſlaughter to the gates of *Turin*; which the citizens ſhut againſt them, but opened to *Conſtantine*, whom they received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the *Po*

Conſtantine *paſſes the* Alps, *and makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities.*

[b] Vide Du CANGE Byzant. famil. p. 31—33. [c] Paneg. 7. p. 161. [d] Idem, 6. p. 135. [e] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 27. p. 426. [f] Zos. l. ii. p. 676.

and the *Alps* followed the example of this, ſending deputies with great ſtore of proviſions to the conquerer, and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power againſt *Maxentius*, whoſe cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear [g]. From *Turin* he marched to *Milan*, which city he entered without oppoſition; and having paſſed a few days there, he purſued his march to *Breſcia*, where he was met by a numerous body of horſe, who, being routed at the firſt onſet, retired in great confuſion to *Verona*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of *Maxentius*, diſperſed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by *Ruricius Pompeianus*, an experienced officer, and captain of the guards to *Maxentius*, who, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a battle, ſhut himſelf up in *Verona*, with part of his troops. *Conſtantine*, having paſſed the *Adige* a great way above that city, inveſted it with his whole army. *Pompeianus* made a vigorous ſally; but being repulſed with great loſs, he ſtole away in the night, and ſoon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. *Conſtantine*, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to purſue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt to meet him. Hereupon an engagement enſued, which laſted almoſt the whole night; but in the end the troops of *Pompeianus* were utterly defeated, and the general himſelf killed. *Conſtantine* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common ſoldier; inſomuch, that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes, to moderate his courage for the future, and not expoſe to ſuch dangers a life on which depended the ſafety and welfare of the ſtate [h]. The city of *Verona* ſtill held out for ſome time; but was in the end taken by ſtorm, and utterly ruined. The gariſon ſurrendered at diſcretion, and *Conſtantine*, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he cauſed chains to be made of their ſwords, and confined them in two priſons [i].

Verona beſieged.

Maxentius's army defeated.

Verona taken.

During the ſiege of *Verona*, *Conſtantine* detached part of his troops to attack *Aquileia*, *Mutina*, and ſeveral other cities; which readily ſubmitted. By this means he became maſter of all the places between the *Alps* and *Rome*, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of *Maxentius*, was what he had

And ſeveral other cities.

[g] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 138, 166. [h] Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169. [i] Idem, 6. p. 141, 142.

moſt

moſt of all at heart [k]. He therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. His approach rouſed *Maxentius*, who had abandoned himſelf to eaſe, and wallowed in all manner of pleaſures and debaucheries, ſtifling the tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progreſs of *Conſtantine*. He cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Tiber*, a little above the *Milvian* bridge, now *Ponte Molle*, ſo contrived, that it could be eaſily looſened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as ſoon as *Conſtantine* was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor choſe to encamp in a ſpacious plain, over-againſt the *Milvian* bridge, hoping by that means to draw *Maxentius* out of *Rome*, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well appriſed, that if he kept within the city, which was ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions, the beſieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But *Maxentius* ordering his troops to encamp between the *Milvian* bridge and the city, in order to prevent *Conſtantine* from approaching the walls, did not ſo much as ſtir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauſpicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and ſon to the houſe of one of his friends [l]. *Lactantius* tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-ſeventh, or rather the twenty-eighth, of *October*, *Conſtantine* was admoniſhed in a dream to cauſe the ſhields of his ſoldiers to be marked with the ☧, and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the ſhields, but likewiſe on the helmets, as appears from an antient medal, of all the ſoldiers, were diſplayed the croſs and the name of our Saviour. The ſame day, the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Maxentius*, who then ended the ſixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithſtanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent ſhows in the circus; and having cauſed the ſibylline books to be conſulted, had this anſwer, that *the great enemy of* Rome *was doomed to periſh that very day*. This he underſtood of *Conſtantine*; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he croſſed the bridge, which he had cauſed to be laid over the *Tiber*, and choſe for the field of battle a place called *Saxa rubra*, or *the red rocks*, about nine miles from *Rome*, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river. *Conſtantine*, overjoyed to hear that *Maxentius* had marched out of the city, immediately advanced againſt him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the ſignal to be given

Conſtantine *approaches* Rome.

His dream.

[k] Idem, 7. p. 170, 171. [l] Idem, p. 145.

for the battle. At the firſt onſet, the *Romans* and *Italians* in *Maxentius*'s army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſtood their ground, and fought with great reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the victory remained doubtful, till *Maxentius*'s cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned the field to ſave himſelf acroſs his bridge of boats, and return to the city [m]. *Lactantius* writes, that the bridge broke down of itſelf during the battle [n]; but *Euſebius* and *Zoſimus* tell us, that the engines which faſtened the boats together, giving way under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before *Maxentius*, the boats parted, and he was puſhed into the river by thoſe who were flying with him [o]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken in the ſnare which he had laid for *Conſtantine*; and that, falling into the *Tiber* with his horſe and armour, he was there drowned, with many of his men, and ſome of his chief officers. His body being with much ado found the next day buried in the mud, *Conſtantine* cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, in order to ſhew it to the *Roman* people, who had not yet ſhewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a falſe report, ſpread on purpoſe to diſcover their inclination and real ſentiments [p]. The ſame day, the twenty-ninth of *October*, *Conſtantine*, cauſing the head of *Maxentius* to be carried upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the ſenate in a body, and by infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all parts to behold and welcome, with loud ſhouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the ſhows which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diverſions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on *Conſtantine*, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whoſe humanity, prudence and moderation, fame had proclaimed ſo many inſtances [q].

Maxentius *defeated, and drowned in the* Tiber.

Conſtantine *enters* Rome.

THE battle was no ſooner over, ſays one of the panegyriſts [r], than *Conſtantine* ſheathed his ſword, and not only pardoned, but received into favour, even his moſt inveterate enemies [s]; nay, and preferred ſuch of them as he found

His clemency after victory.

[m] Baron. ad ann. 312. [n] Lact. perſ. c. 44. p. 37. [o] Zos. l ii p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegyr. 6, 7 p. 145. 170. Lact. 38. [p] Lact. ibid. [q] Zos. p. 677. Euseb. vit. Conſt. p. 427. [r] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [s] Liban. orat. 12. p. 262.

qualified

qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of ſome of the tyrant's chief miniſters, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper[d]. All the troops of *Maxentius* were immediately diſarmed; but *Conſtantine* reinſtated them ſoon after in their former condition, and employed them againſt the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. As for the prætorian guards, a corps ſo famous ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, and ſo powerful as to raiſe to the empire, and depoſe, whom they pleaſed, he either diſbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common ſoldiers, cauſing their camp which had been begun by *Sejanus*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, to be utterly demoliſhed[e]. *Aurelius Victor* ſeems to inſinuate, that he would not ſuffer any troops to remain in *Rome*, thinking them more apt to foment, than ſuppreſs, tumults and ſeditions[f]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Conſtantine* puniſhed ſome, though very few, of thoſe who had been moſt attached to the tyrant[g]; and *Nazarius*, that he cut off his whole race[h], that is, his ſon, for he had no other iſſue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, tho' he was alive when his father was drowned. Upon the death of *Maxentius*, incredible numbers of informers ſtarted up to accuſe ſuch as had adhered to him. But *Conſtantine*, treading in the footſteps of other good princes, put a ſtop to their accuſations, and the evils that thence threatened the ſtate, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all informers, and ſuch as attempted to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of private perſons with unjuſt ſuits, guilty of death[i]. He reſtored the ſenate to its former luſtre and authority, filling it with perſons of the greateſt merit, choſen out of all the provinces ſubject to him. He recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Maxentius*, ſet thoſe at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without diſtinction whatever puniſhment had been inflicted on them by *Maxentius*[k]. Not ſatisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exerciſed his generoſity and good-nature to all in ſuch a manner, as to make full amends, in the ſpace of two months, for the calamities they had ſuffered, during the tyrant's ſix years reign[l]. As

The prætorian guards diſbanded.

He enacts a ſevere law againſt informers.

[d] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [e] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. AUR. VICT. p. 526.
[f] Idem ibid. [g] Zos. p. 677. [h] Paneg. 7. p. 157.
[i] Cod. Theodoſ. 3. p. 430, 431. [k] Panegyr. 6. p. 137. & 7. p. 175. EUSEB. l. i. c. 41. p. 409. [l] Panegyr. 7. p. 174.

he was now maſter of all *Italy*, the people crouded from every quarter to *Rome*, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with ſuch marks of kindneſs and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raiſed in them [m]. The ſenate, out of gratitude, decreed him the firſt place among the emperors, tho' claimed by *Maximin*, and a triumphal arch, which is ſtill ſtanding, and was raiſed, as we read in the inſcription, in honour of *Conſtantine*, for having, by divine inſtinct, and with extraordinary courage, delivered in one combat the republic from the tyrant and his whole faction. In the ſame inſcription, *Conſtantine* is ſtyled the deliverer of *Rome*, and the author of the public tranquillity. This arch is thought not to have been ended and dedicated before the ſolemnity of the tenth year of *Conſtantine*'s reign, that is, before the year 315 [n]. *Baronius* obſerves, that it was adorned with ſeveral ſtatues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of *M. Aurelius* and other princes, which far excelled in workmanſhip ſuch as were done at this time [o]. The ſenate conſecrated likewiſe to *Conſtantine* ſeveral magnificent edifices, which had been raiſed at a vaſt charge by *Maxentius*. *Baronius* obſerves, that the panegyriſts, in deſcribing the triumphal entry of *Conſtantine* into *Rome*, tell us, that he went to the palace and to the ſenate, but take no notice of his viſiting the capitol, though that was one of the chief ceremonies of the ſolemnity [p]. *Zoſimus* writes, that the court being on occaſion of a certain ſolemnity obliged to go to the capitol, *Conſtantine* was ſo far from complying with the antient cuſtom, that he openly deſpiſed and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the *Romans* [q].

Honours conferred on him by the ſenate.

As he aſcribed the late victory, and all his other ſucceſſes, not to his own conduct or ſtrength, but to God alone, ſoon after his entry into *Rome*, he cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to himſelf, holding a croſs in the right hand, with an inſcription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and ſalutary ſign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and reſtored the ſenate and people of *Rome* to their antient liberty and ſplendor.

Pays great reſpect to the croſs.

About the month of *November* of this year 312, an edict was iſſued in his name, and in the name of *Licinius*, put-

Cauſes a ſtop to be put to the perſecution.

[m] Idem, p. 173.
[n] Noris. de Licin. num. c. 3. p. 49, 50.
[o] Baron. ann. 312.
Aur. Vict. p. 526.
[p] Baron. ibid.
[q] Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

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ting a ſtop to the great perſecution which had been begun by *Dioclefian*, and had raged with incredible fury in moſt provinces of the empire for the ſpace of ten years. This edict was ſent by the two emperors to *Maximin*, the moſt implacable enemy the chriſtians ever had, accompanied by a letter from *Conſtantine*, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous aſſiſtance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant *Maxentius*. As *Maximin* yet pretended to live in friendſhip and amity with *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, (for the letter was ſigned by both princes) notwithſtanding his hatred to the chriſtians, he publiſhed in their favour the decree, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [r], and ſeems to have been enacted this year. That writer in ſpeaking of the conduct of *Conſtantine* at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmoſt reſpect the miniſters of the true God, kept ſeveral of them conſtantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an entire deference to their counſels. He ſeems to have honoured above the reſt *Melchiades*, biſhop of *Rome*; for to him he appeals in ſpeaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his ſincere deſire of ſeeing unity reign in it without the leaſt ſchiſm or diviſion [s]. *Theophanes* mentions ſome conſtitutions ſaid to have been addreſſed by *Conſtantine* to that holy biſhop, but thought by *Theophanes* to be ſpurious pieces forged by the *Arians* [t]. It is certain, that the emperor beſtowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of *Rome* [u]. We are not told what privileges theſe were; but moſt writers ſuppoſe the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the diſcharging of public offices, not ſuitable to their calling, and ſuch-like burdens. *Baronius* pretends, that this year 312, *Conſtantine* gave the *Lateran* palace to the biſhop of *Rome* [w]. But *Optatus Milevitanus* writes, that in the year 313, a council was held there in the apartment of the empreſs *Fauſta* [x]; whence ſome conclude, that it ſtill belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the ſee of *Rome* in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then ſtyled *the baſilic of Conſtantine*, we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of *Conſtantine* to the biſhops of *Rome*, and that the church was built by him, as we read in *Ana-*

Pays great reſpect to the biſhops and clergy.

[r] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360.
[s] THEOPH. p. 14.
[t] EUSEB. hiſt. l. x. p. 391.
[u] Cod. Theodoſ. 16 t. 2. l. xiv. p. 40.
[w] BARON. ann. 312.
[x] OPTAT. l. i. p. 44.

ſtatius.

ſtatius [y]. As for the famous donation, by which *Conſtantine* declared the *pope* prince and ſovereign of *Rome*, it is now looked upon by the *Roman* catholic, as well as the proteſtant, writers, as a forgery of a later date. *Baronius* is aſhamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impoſtor *Iſidorus* [z]. *Euſebius* tells us, that *Conſtantine* built a great number of churches, ſupplied them with vaſt riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings [a]. There are ſeveral churches at *Rome*, and in other places, ſaid to have been founded by *Conſtantine*; but the authority of *Anaſtatius* and ſuch-like writers is not of ſufficient weight with us to aſcribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of St. *Peter* on the *Vatican* is confirmed by two verſes, that were formerly to be ſeen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by *Conſtantine* [b]. In demolithing the antient church, to build that which is at preſent looked upon as the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world, the name of *Conſtantine* was diſcovered in ſeveral places. In ſome monuments, thought to be of the ſixth century, we read, that *Conſtantine* built at *Rome* the baſilic of the *Seſſorian* palace, in which he placed the true croſs, about the year 326, whence it was called *the church of the holy croſs* [c]. In ſome antient inſcriptions, the church of St. *Agnes* is ſaid to have been built by *Conſtantine*, at the requeſt of his daughter *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, who is ſuppoſed to have been buried there in 354 [d]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Conſtantine* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Rome*, than he cauſed the reliques of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered and honourably interred [e]. He received, continues *Euſebius*, in deſcribing his conduct, all ſtrangers with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made them rich preſents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he cauſed them to be maintained and cloathed at his own expence. To ſuch as were come of noble, but decayed, families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, beſtowing upon ſome of them eſtates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, ſupporting them with great generoſity, and eſtabliſhing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens,

Builds a great number of churches.

His generoſity and good nature to all.

[y] Anast. c. 34. p. 13. [z] Vide P. Pagi, p. 324.
[a] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 4. p. 429. [b] Baron. ann. 324. Anast. c. 34. p. 15. [c] Boll. 18. Feb. p. 69. [d] Idem, p. 70. [e] Theoph. p. 11.

and

and perſons of diſtinction, many young women, who were deſtitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the eſtates of their huſbands. In ſhort, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generoſity and good-nature. No one ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain; no one ever departed diſſatisfied from his preſence. He was often heard to ſay, that whoever was allowed to approach his prince, ought to receive ſome favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief ſtudy to content all who applied to him: hence to thoſe, againſt whom juſtice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of cauſes, he uſually gave large ſums, or by ſome other means made good the loſſes they ſuſtained; ſo that his generoſity was no leſs extolled and commended by thoſe who loſt their ſuit, than his juſtice was by ſuch as carried it. Thus far *Euſebius* †.

THE *indictions*, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made uſe of in reckoning time, are ſuppoſed to have begun about the end of the preſent year 312. The origion of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occaſioned great diſputes among modern writers. The reader will find in *Du Cange* a liſt of the authors who have written on this ſubject [f]. *Conſtantine* having reduced the time, which the *Romans* were obliged to ſerve, to fifteen years, ſays *Baronius*, he was conſequently obliged every fifteen years, to impoſe, or *indicere*, according to the *Latin* expreſſion, an extraordinary tax for the paying of thoſe who were diſcharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the *Latin* word *indicere*, was ſtyled *indiction* [g]. The opinion of *Baronius*, though in reality a bare conjecture, ſeems to *Petavius* more probable than any thing that has been ſaid by others on the ſame ſubject [h]; for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, *viz.* the *Cæſarean* or *imperial* indictions, which begin on the twenty-fourth of *September*, and were long made uſe of in *France* and *Germany* [i]; the *Conſtantinopolitan* indictions, beginning with the year of the *Greeks*, on the firſt day of *September*; and the papal indictions, or indictions of the popes, who, ſome centuries ſince, reckon from the firſt of *January*

The indiction.

† EUSEB. l. i. c. 43. p. 429, 430. & l iv. c. 4. p. 528.
[f] Vide Chron. Paſchale. ſeu Alexandrin. ex edit Cangiana, Pariſ. ann. 1688. [g] BARON. ann. 312. [h] PETAU. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 365. [i] Vide JOHAN. FORBES, inſtitut. hiſtorico-theologic. l, v. c. 20. p. 268. &. P. PAGI, ann. 312.

of

of the year 313. *Petavius* ſeems to think, that the *Conſtantinopolitan* indiction was generally uſed among the *Greeks* as early as the reign of the emperor *Anaſtatius*, and perhaps of *Theodoſius* the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the firſt of *September* [k]. And truly, from various paſſages of the hiſtory of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of *Conſtantinople* followed this ſtyle, and that it prevailed all over *Syria*, and even at *Rome* [l]. Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314, or from *September* of the year 313, but *Petavius* [m] and cardinal *Noris* [n] ſhew, that we ought to count them from the month of *September* of 312, though we have no certain proof that they firſt began then; for ſome pretend, that they were in uſe in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus* [o]; which we can hardly believe, ſince no mention is made of indictions by any author who flouriſhed before the reign of *Conſtantine*. The firſt thing we find dated by them is the council of *Antioch*, held, as we read in *Athanaſius* [p], if that paſſage is genuine, which *Petavius* queſtions [q], in the year 341, and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. *Ambroſe* mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386, and obſerves that it began in the month of *November* [r]. From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367, and in other monuments both of ſacred and profane hiſtory; but the indictions, as cardinal *Noris* obſerves, are ſeldom marked right [s]. *Onuphrius* quotes a book on the indictions, by one *Cyrius Fortunatianus*, whom he takes to be the biſhop of *Aquileia* of that name, ſo famous in the time of *Conſtantine*'s children [t]. But *Petavius* thinks there never was any ſuch book; and likewiſe rejects, as quite groundleſs, the opinion of thoſe who tell us, that the council of *Nice* commanded all biſhops to mark the indiction in their letters [u]. He even ſuſpects the council of *Rome*, ſaid to have been held under pope *Julius*, and dated the ſixth indiction [w]. The reader muſt obſerve that the firſt year of this cycle is called the firſt indiction; the ſecond year the ſecond indiction, and ſo of the reſt, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the ſame manner.

[k] Petav. p. 564. [l] Noris, epoch. p. 340—342. [m] Petav. p. 363. [n] Noris, ibid. [o] Vide Petav. c. 39. p. 360—362. & Noris, epoch. p. 169, 171. [p] Athan. de ſyn. p 894. [q] Petav. p. 363. [r] Idem, p. 364. [s] Noris, epoch. p. 342. [t] Onuph. p. 265. [u] Petau. p. 365. [w] Concil. tom. ii. p. 527.

During

DURING the war between *Conſtantine* and *Maxentius* in the weſt, *Maximin*, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the eaſt ever ſince his agreement with *Licinius*, began anew the perſecution, which the edict of *Galerius*, in favour of the chriſtians, had obliged him to interrupt for ſome time. In a reſcript addreſſed to the inhabitants of *Tyre* he had bragged of the happineſs of his reign, which, he ſaid, had never been interrupted or diſturbed by wars, ſtorms, dearth of proviſions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he aſcribed to the great care he took in promoting the worſhip of the gods, and perſecuting with fire and ſword their enemies the chriſtians [x]. But providence did not fail to humble his pride, and puniſh, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to thoſe who deſerved it the leaſt. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when noways expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauſeous ſores, which breaking out in the face, and eſpecially about the eyes, deprived of ſight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This *Euſebius*, with a great deal of reaſon, looks upon as a puniſhment from heaven upon *Maximin*, who ſparing, out of his great mercy, to uſe his expreſſion, the lives of ſeveral chriſtians, cauſed their right eyes to be put out, in order to diſtinguiſh them by that mark of infamy from his other ſubjects [y]. To the famine and plague, that ravaged the dominions of *Maximin* with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, was added a deſtructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the *Armenians*, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his falſe deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and from ancient friends and allies, to become enemies of the *Roman* people and empire [z]. This muſt be underſtood of *Armenia Major*; for the people of *Armenia Minor* were not allies, but ſubjects, of the empire. This is the firſt inſtance we find in hiſtory of a religious war, or a war for the ſake of religion. As to the iſſue of it, we are only told, that, in the courſe of this war, *Maximin* and his army ſuffered much, our hiſtorian being wholly taken up in deſcribing the inexpreſſible miſeries that attended the plague and the famine in all the provinces ſubject to *Maximin*, and the charitable conduct of the chriſtians towards their greateſt enemies, during the time of their diſtreſs [a]. *Maximin* was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, to put a ſtop

Maximin perſecutes the chriſtians.

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

[x] Euseb. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem, p. 355. [a] Euseb. ibid. p. 553—557.

to the perſecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppoſe them.

THE next conſuls were *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, both for the third time. The former did not, it ſeems, ſtay at *Rome* above two months, as appears from a law he publiſhed at *Milan*, dated the tenth of *March* [b]. He was met in that city by *Licinius*, and there he married to him his ſiſter *Conſtantia*, whom he had bethrothed to him before his war with *Maxentius* [c]. They both wrote to *Dioclefian*, inviting him to aſſiſt at that ſolemnity; but he begging to be excuſed on account of his age, they highly reſented it, and ſent him a ſecond letter, filled with menaces, which haſtened his death; for he died ſoon after, in the month of *July* of this year 313 [d]. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the chriſtians, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [e]. *Conſtantine* was ſoon obliged to leave *Milan*, and haſten into *Gaul* to make head againſt the *Franks*, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were aſſembling their forces with a deſign to invade the *Roman* dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to paſs the *Rhine*; but finding they withdrew, awed by his preſence, he gave out, that the *Germans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*; and leaving ſome troops concealed among the woods at a ſmall diſtance from the river, retired with the reſt. The *Franks* no ſooner heard of his departure, than they paſſed the *Rhine*; when the *Romans*, riſing unexpectedly out of their ambuſcade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the river in the utmoſt confuſion. *Conſtantine*, not allowing them time to recover themſelves from their conſternation, entered their country, laid waſte their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, expoſed them all to be devoured by the wild beaſts, in the ſhows which he exhibited on account of his victory [f]. This ſeverity towards a perfidious and faithleſs enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyriſt; but whether it anſwers the character of a mild, generous, and good natured prince, which all the writers of thoſe times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at leaſt, countenanced by

Conſtantine *marries his ſiſter* Conſtantia *to* Licinius.

***Overcomes the* Franks**

[b] Cod. Theodoſ. t. 5. p. 114. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 45. p. 38. Vict. epit. p. 545. Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. [d] Vict. epit. p. 543. [e] Euseb. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. [f] Valles. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23.

the

the religion which he profeſſed. For this victory he took the title of *Francicus* [g]. *Conſtantine* was, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws [h], in the months of *November* and *December* of this year, at *Treves*; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced [i], in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over *Maxentius*; and in the end of his ſpeech addreſſes himſelf to the *great and only true God*; but at the ſame time plainly ſhews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He obſerves, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a diſtant country, had ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*; but as to this particular, there is a profound ſilence among hiſtorians. This year, *Conſtantine* granted great privileges to catholic churches in *Africa*, which province had ſubmitted to him upon the news of the death of *Maxentius*. In a reſcript addreſſed to *Anulinus*, whom he had appointed proconſul of *Africa*, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the ſacred functions of their office. Nothing, ſays he in that reſcript, ſpeaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the ſtate, than their applying themſelves wholly to the worſhip of god [k]. This ordinance was notified by *Anulinus* to *Cæcilianus*, as appears from his anſwer to *Conſtantine*, dated the fifteenth of *April* of this year 313 [l]. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the *Donatiſts*, attempted to diſturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged *Conſtantine* to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-firſt of *October* of this year. His exempting the clergy thus from the public offices in the cities proved very burdenſome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themſelves among them on purpoſe to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a ſtop to the increaſe of the clergy, ordaining, that none ſhould be admitted among them but to ſupply the places of others deceaſed; and that thoſe, who were admitted, ſhould be perſons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the firſt and moſt chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, ſeveral cities attempted to oblige ſuch of the clergy as were qualified for thoſe offices to diſcharge them, though they had been ordained before it was enacted; which

He beſtows great privileges on the clergy and the church.

[g] Idem, p. 25. [h] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. [i] Pan. 6.
[k] Euseb. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392. [l] Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21.

Conſtantine prohibited by a reſcript, dated the eighteenth of *July* of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding perſons of rank and eſtates to enter themſelves among the clergy, in order to eaſe the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, ſome ſay by *Conſtantine* himſelf, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and perſons of the higheſt rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their reſigning to others, either their whole eſtates, or the greateſt part of them; which was deemed ſuitable to that diſintereſtedneſs which the church requires in her miniſters [m]. Some writers are of opinion, that *Conſtantine* at the ſame time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatſoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already eſtabliſhed, in a law of the year 315; but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and aſcribe the above-mentioned exemption to *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine* [n]. We have a letter written this year by *Conſtantine* to *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, acquainting him, that he deſigned to put into the hands of the miniſters of the catholic church a conſiderable ſum, to be diſtributed by them among the indigent chriſtians in *Africa*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*; and that with this deſign he had ordered *Urſus* his receiver in *Africa*, to pay him a certain ſum, to be diſtributed according to the tickets which he ſhould receive from *Oſius*; he adds, that if the ſum he mentions was not by him thought ſufficient, he might recur to *Heraclides*, another of his receivers, whom he had injoined to ſupply him with what monies he wanted for ſo pious an uſe [o]. *Oſius*, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great *Oſius*, biſhop of *Corduba*, to whoſe counſels *Conſtantine* ever paid the utmoſt regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the ſame letter he acquaints *Cæcilianus*, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered *Anulinus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Patricius*, lieutenant in that province, to check and ſuppreſs thoſe who diſturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we ſuppoſe, the *Donatiſts*, who had formed a powerful party againſt *Cæcilianus* himſelf. Not ſatisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the diſturbances raiſed by thoſe obſtinate ſchiſmatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he aſſembled, on the ſecond of *October* of this year, a council at *Rome*; and another, far more famous, the year following, at *Arles* in *Gaul* [p].

Gives ſums to the clergy to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians.

His zeal for the unity of the church.

[m] Idem, t. 6. p. 23, &c.
[n] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 11
[o] Euſeb. l. x. c. 6. p. 393.
[p] Idem ibid.

When

War between Licinius *and* Maximin.

WHEN *Conſtantine* left *Milan*, to oppoſe the *Franks*, threatening to invade *Gaul*, *Licinius* returned to *Illyricum*, where he was ſoon after attacked by *Maximin*, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and jealous of the good underſtanding that paſſed between thoſe two princes, reſolved to deſtroy them, and to begin with *Licinius*, whoſe ruin he hoped to compaſs, while the other was employed in *Gaul* againſt the *Franks* and *Germans*. With this view, he aſſembled in great haſte his forces; and, leaving *Syria*, marched in the depth of the winter into *Bithynia*; and from thence paſſing into *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to ſubmit. He attacked *Heraclea* next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken by ſtorm. In the mean time, *Licinius*, having drawn together what forces he could, took the field, not with a deſign to venture an engagement, (for he had with him only thirty thouſand men, whereas *Maximin*'s army was twice that number) but to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. However, the two armies meeting between *Heraclea* and *Adrianopolis*, *Licinius*, if we may give credit to *Lactantius* [q], was admoniſhed in a dream to give the enemy battle, and aſſured of victory, provided he implored the aſſiſtance of the true God, by a prayer which was ſuggeſted to him in his ſleep. *Licinius* remembered it when he awaked, dictated to his ſecretary, and cauſed many copies of it to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his dream; which inſpired them with new courage and an eager deſire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promiſed themſelves certain victory, ſince heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by *Lactantius* [r]. *Licinius* deſigned to give battle on the firſt of *May*, the day on which *Maximin* ended the eighth year of his reign. But *Maximin* having drawn up his army in battle-array on the laſt day of *April*, *Licinius* could no longer put off the engagement. When the two armies were in preſence of one another, the officers and ſoldiers of *Licinius*, quitting their ſhields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but *Maximin* hearkening to no terms, they parted, and ordered the ſignal for battle to be given [s]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Licinius*'s men at firſt gave ground and retired; but ſoon after returned to the charge and carried the day [t]. But *Lactantius* [u] and *Euſebius* [w] tell us, that the

Licinius's *dream or viſion.*

He gains a complete victory over Maximin.

[q] LACT. perſ. c. 46. p. 39. [r] Idem ibid. p. 40. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. [u] LACT. p. 41. [w] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 363.

army

army of *Maximin* was put to flight at the very firſt onſet, and purſued with great ſlaughter by the conqueror. Moſt of his troops, eſpecially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the reſt, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, ſubmitted to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himſelf, quitting his purple robes, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, and, croſſing the *Boſporus*, reached *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *May* about ſun-ſet, having in the ſpace of twenty-four hours travelled an hundred and ſixty miles. He did not ſtop at *Nicomedia*; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into *Cappadocia*, where he halted, and reſumed the purple, being met there by ſome troops that were marching from *Syria* to his aſſiſtance [x]. *Licinius*, entering *Bithynia* a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, eſpecially at *Nicomedia*, where he cauſed ſolemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the ſucceſs with which he had bleſſed his arms; and then ordered the edict which had been enacted by him and *Conſtantine* at *Milan*, in favour of the chriſtians, to be publiſhed; which was done accordingly on the laſt day of *June* of this year 313, that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave riſe to this long and bloody perſecution, had been firſt publiſhed in the ſame city, by *Diocleſian* and *Galerius* [y]. *Licinius* had no ſooner put a ſtop to the perſecution by this edict, than he left *Nicomedia*, and purſuing *Maximin*, arrived at the ſtreights of mount *Taurus*, where he had reſolved to make a ſtand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to *Tarſus*, propoſing to paſs from thence into *Egypt*, and raiſe a new army there. But diſtruſting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they deſigned to deliver him up to *Licinius*, he altered his mind, and reſolved, ſince he found no means of making his eſcape, to put an end to his life with poiſon; which, however, had not the deſired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful diſtemper, whereof the unaccountable ſymptoms are deſcribed at length by *Euſebius* [z] and *Lactantius* [a], who aſcribe it to divine vengeance. He was tormented night and day with inexpreſſible pains; his eyes and tongue putrified, a puniſhment juſtly inflicted upon him for the blaſphemies he had uttered againſt heaven, and his cauſing the eyes of many chriſtians to be put out; an inviſible fire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Euſebius* [b], was kindled in his bowels, which, be-

Licinius becomes maſter of all Bithynia.

The unaccountable diſtemper of Maximin.

[x] Euseb. Lact. Zos. ibid.
[b] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361.
[z] Euseb. p. 365.
[y] Lact. perſ. c. 48. p. 41.
[a] Lact. perſ. c. 49. p. 43.

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ing attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a ſkeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leproſy, and devoured by ſwarms of vermin: He could not be prevailed upon to take any nouriſhment, but greedily ſwallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to aſſwage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermiſſion [c]. *Euſebius* tells us, that reflecting in this condition on his unjuſt conduct towards the chriſtians, and aſcribing the agonies he ſuffered to his cruelty towards them, he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* to enact the year before. But as his repentance, ſays *Euſebius*, was not ſincere, it obtained no eaſe to his torments, which at length put an end to his life at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, about the middle of *Auguſt*, after he had reigned nine years with the title of *Cæſar*, and five years and ſix months with that of *Auguſtus* [d]. He left ſeveral children behind him, whom he had created *Cæſars*, as appears from ſeveral antient coins [e]; but their names are not mentioned by hiſtorians. By his death, *Licinius* became maſter of all the eaſtern provinces; ſo that the whole empire was now divided between him and *Conſtantine*. *Maximin* was declared by the edicts of the two ſurviving princes a public enemy, and treated as ſuch; for his ſtatues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name razed out of all public inſcriptions, and ſuch monuments as had been erected to his honour overturned and levelled with the ground. His children and relations were ſentenced to death and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the *Orontes* at *Antioch* and drowned; all his miniſters and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the reſt *Culcianus*, who had put a great number of chriſtians to death in *Egypt*; *Firmilianus*, who had ſignalized his hatred againſt them in *Paleſtine*; and *Peuceces*, whom the tyrant had favoured above the reſt, and created three times conſul. *Licinius* cauſed likewiſe a celebrated magician, by name *Theotechnes*, and all his aſſociates to be publicly executed at *Antioch*, after having obliged them to diſcover and own the impoſtures, with which they had led aſtray the ignorant populace, and ſtirred them up againſt the chriſtians [f]. *Candidianus*, the ſon of *Galerius*, being introduced to *Licinius* at *Nicomedia*, was received by him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and treated for ſome time in a manner ſuitable to his rank; but

His death.

All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by Licinius.

[c] EUSEB. ibid. LACT. p. 44. HIER. in Zachar. xiv. ver. 12.
[d] Chron. Alex. p. 456. [e] NORIS. de Licin. c. 2. p. 48.
[f] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 312.

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when he thought himſelf ſafe, he was, by the order of *Licinius*, murdered with *Severianus*, the ſon of *Severus*, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian* and widow of *Galerius*, who had adopted *Candidianus*, was no ſooner informed of his death, than ſhe withdrew from *Antioch* with her mother *Priſca*, and wandered about in diſguiſe and undiſcovered for the ſpace of fifteen months; but being at laſt known at *Theſſalonica*, ſhe was ſeized there, and by *Licinius*'s order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the ſea [g].

The death of Valeria *and* Priſca.

Thus were the families of theſe three cruel perſecutors of the church, *Dioclesian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, utterly cut off and exterminated. *Zoſimus* tells us [h], that the ſecular games ought to have been celebrated at *Rome* this year, but were neglected by *Conſtantine*; which was no-ways pleaſing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief ſupports of the empire, and a powerful preſervative againſt plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, though the laſt, celebrated by *Severus* an hundred and ten years before, in the conſulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, had not, as we have ſeen, kept off theſe evils.

The next conſuls were *Ruſius Voluſianus*, the ſecond time, and *Annianus*. *Conſtantine* paſſed the firſt months of this year at *Treves*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws [i]. By one, which was publiſhed at *Rome* on the twenty fourth of *April*, he declared all thoſe free, who had been condemned to ſlavery by *Maxentius*, commanding, under the ſevereſt penalties, ſuch as held them in captivity to reſtore them forthwith to their antient liberty [k]. From *Treves* the emperor paſſed to *Arles*, where he ordered a general council to meet of all the biſhops of the weſt, in order to ſuppreſs the *Donatiſts*, who raiſed great diſturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifeſt proof of his piety, of his reſpect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church [l]. He was obliged to leave *Gaul* before the biſhops met, a war breaking out this year between him and *Licinius*, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account, ſome blaming *Licinius* as the author of it, and others *Conſtantine*. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on *Licinius*. According to him, *Conſtantine* had married his ſiſter *Anaſtaſia* to *Baſſianus*, whom he deſigned to create *Cæſar*, and appoint governor of *Italy*; but not caring

War between Conſtantine *and* Licinius.

[g] Idem, c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45.
[h] Zos. l. ii. p. 671.
[i] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 8, 9.
[k] Cod. Juſt. 7. t. 22. leg. 3. p. 665
[l] Concil. tom. i. p. 1431.

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to take this ſtep without the approbation of *Licinius*, he diſpatched one *Conſtantius* to acquaint him with his deſign, and obtain his conſent. But having diſcovered at the ſame time, that *Licinius* attempted to ſtir up *Baſſianus* againſt him by means of *Senecio*, the brother of *Baſſianus*, he wrote a letter to *Licinius*, upbraiding him with treachery, and inſiſting upon his delivering up to him *Senecio*, who had taken refuge in his court. *Licinius* was ſo far from complying with his requeſt, that reſenting the letter he had written to him, he cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in *Æmona*, a city of *Upper Pannonia*. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having drawn together in great haſte a body of twenty thouſand men, marched into *Illyricum*, hoping to ſurpriſe *Licinius*. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into *Pannonia*; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of *Cibalæ*, an engagement enſued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand of his beſt troops. It appears from *Zoſimus*, who relates the moſt minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of *October* of this year, 314 [m]. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treaſures, into *Dacia*, where he raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar* one of his officers, by name *Valens*. From *Dacia* he paſſed into *Thrace*, and there aſſembled a ſecond army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* made himſelf maſter of *Cibalæ* and *Sirmium*; and having cauſed the bridge over the *Save* to be repaired, which *Licinius* had ordered to be broken down, he purſued the enemy into *Thrace*. Upon his arrival at *Philippopolis*, he was met by a deputation from *Licinius*, with propoſals for an accommodation; but *Conſtantine* inſiſting upon his depoſing *Valens*, and *Licinius* obſtinately refuſing to comply with that article, a ſecond battle was fought in the plains of *Mardia* in *Thrace*, which laſted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to *Zoſimus*, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide [n]. *Aurelius Victor* [o] and the anonymous author of *Conſtantine*'s life [p] write, that *Conſtantine* would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening ſaved *Licinius*'s army from utter deſtruction. The next day, *Licinius* ſent one *Meſtrianus*, who is ſtyled *comes* or *count*, to *Conſtantine*, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following

Licinius defeated in Pannonia.

And in Thrace.

[m] Anonym. p. 473. Zos. l. i. p. 678. EUTROP. p. 588. EUSEB. p. 210. VICT. epit. p. 543. [n] Zos. p. 679. [o] AUR. VICT. p. 526. [p] Anonym. p. 474.

The articles of their agreement.

terms: 1. That *Valens* ſhould be forthwith depoſed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Aſia*, *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, and the leſſer *Scythia*, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of *Licinius*; but that *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mœſia*, ſhould be yielded to *Conſtantine* [q]. *Mœſia* is named in both diviſions, there being then two provinces of that name, the one, known at preſent by the name of *Servia*, belonging to *Illyricum*, and the other, now *Bulgaria*, to *Thrace*. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315, on their fourth conſulſhip. *Conſtantine*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, paſſed the beſt part of this year in *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty. By one of theſe laws, dated the firſt of *Auguſt*, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and intirely aboliſhes that ſort of puniſhment, though common among the *Romans* till his time, eſpecially with reſpect to ſlaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an inſtance of his reſpect for the croſs and paſſion of our Saviour [r].

Several laws enacted by Conſtantine.

By another law, enacted at *Naiſſus* on the thirteenth of *May*, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive, and educate, at his expence, ſuch children as ſhall be brought to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and induſtry [s]. He ordered this law to be engraved on braſs, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of *Italy*. In the year 322, he extended it to *Africa*, injoining the proconſuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to ſupply with corn out of the public granaries ſuch parents as they ſhall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law publiſhed this year at *Sirmium*, and dated the ſecond of *June*, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either ſlaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground [t]. From *Illyricum Conſtantine* went to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* and the thirteenth of *September*, as appears from a law addreſſed to *Probinus*, or rather, *Probianus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and from an edict addreſſed to the people of *Rome* [u]. On the eighteenth of *October* he was at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*; for the law bears that date, which he publiſhed there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the *Jews* and their patriarchs, to moleſt ſuch as ſhould abandon their ſect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting ſevere puniſh-

[q] Idem ibid. Sozom. l. i. c. 2. p. 403 Zos. p. 779. [r] Vid. August. ſerm. 88. c. 9. p. 473. [s] Cod. Theod. 11. t. 27. l. i. p. 188. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. p. 224, 225. [u] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 10.

mento

ments on thoſe who ſhould embrace the *Jewiſh* religion w. *Conſtantine* paſſed almoſt the whole year enſuing, when *Sabinus* and *Ruſinus* were conſuls, in *Gaul*; for on the eleventh of *January* he was at *Treves*, on the fourteenth of *May* at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, and on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* at *Arles*, where his wife *Fauſta* was delivered of a ſon, whom ſome take to be *Conſtantine*'s eldeſt ſon, and others, to be his youngeſt ſon *Conſtans*. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of *June*, and addreſſed to a biſhop, by name *Protogenes*, probably the celebrated biſhop of *Sardica*, by which he gave leave to all maſters to infranchiſe their ſlaves in the preſence of the chriſtian people aſſembled with their biſhops or paſtors in the church, without recurring, as was preſcribed by the *Roman* laws, to the prætors and conſuls. Thus the manumitting of ſlaves, which before was attended with great difficulties, and no ſmall expence, became eaſy, and no-ways chargeable, the maſters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and conſuls at *Rome*, but only to their own biſhops and clergy x. In the month of *October* of this year the emperor was at *Milan*, and there heard the complaints of the *Donatiſts* againſt *Cæcilianus* biſhop of *Carthage* y; and on the fourth of *December* at *Sardica*, where he enacted a law, commanding perſons even of the greateſt diſtinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of *Rome*, or the emperor z. This ſeverity was judged neceſſary to check the inſolence of the nobility, who began to oppreſs the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, eſpecially in the remote provinces. The following year, 317, when *Gallicanus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* agreed to create three *Cæſars*, viz. *Criſpus* and *Conſtantius*, the ſons of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius*, or *Licinianus*, the ſon of *Licinius* by *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*. This promotion was made, according to the beſt chronologers, on the firſt of *March*, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and publiſhed in all the cities of the empire a. The ſon of *Licinius* is ſtyled on the antient coins *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, and alſo *Licinius the younger* b,

Fauſta *delivered of a ſon at* Arles.

Criſpus, Conſtantine, *and young* Licinius, *created* Cæſars.

w Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214. x Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 13 leg 1. p. 111. Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 414. y Cod. Theod. chronol p 13. z Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. a Anonym. p. 474. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. Liban. orat 3. p 111. b Goltz. p. 130. Noris. de Licin. c. 1. p. 39, 40.

and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar* [c]. *Criſpus*, *Conſtantine*'s ſon by his firſt wife, was born, according to ſome, in the year 300, according to others, in 296, ſo that he was at this time in the ſeventeenth or twenty-firſt year of his age [d]. *Conſtantine* had committed the care of his education to the celebrated *Lactantius*, a perſon equally capable of inſtructing him in the ſciences, and inſpiring him with ſentiments of piety. *Euſebius* ſtyles him *an excellent prince, a prince beloved of heaven, a ſon in no reſpect inferior to his father* [e]. He is called in the ancient inſcriptions *Flavius Valerius Julius Criſpus* [f]. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the ſeventh, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *Auguſt*, in *Illyricum*, and, according to ſome, in the city of *Sirmium*, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtantine*'s ſecond ſon by *Fauſta* the ſiſter of *Maxentius* [g]. *Conſtantine* paſſed the following year, when *Licinius* was conſul, the fifth time, with *Criſpus*, partly in *Illyricum*, and partly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and revived the antient *Roman* law againſt parricides, which had been abrogated by *Pompey the Great*, comprehending under the name of parricide, the murderer not only of a father and mother, but likewiſe of a ſon [h]. The nex conſuls were *Conſtantine*, the fifth time, and *Licinius Cæſar*. *Conſtantine* paſſed this and the three following years in *Illyricum*; and by ſeveral laws enacted there, and addreſſed to the governors of *Rome*, and to the *Roman* people, endeavoured to reform the many abuſes which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of theſe laws, publiſhed at *Rome* on the firſt of *February*, he gives the pagans leave to conſult the aruſpices, that is, thoſe who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruſpices, as well as the other pagan prieſts, to enter the houſes of private perſons, though their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: ſuch as received them were by this law to forfeit their eſtates, and be baniſhed for life; the informers were not to be puniſhed in this, as in other caſes, but amply rewarded for their zeal [i]. The end of this law was to prevent all private ſacrifices and conſultations. By another law, dated the ſeventeenth of *December*, he commands thoſe, who ſhall conſult the aruſpices, or other di-

Conſtantius *born.*

Laws againſt the aruſpices.

[c] Vict. epit. p. 543. [d] Zos. p. 679. Panegyr. 7. p. 177. [e] Euseb. l. x. c. 9. p. 398. [f] Goltz. p. 129. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 13. Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 47. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2, p. 114, 115.

viners

viners, to ſend their anſwers to him [k]. The emperor continued this year at *Sirmium* till the twenty-ſecond of *June*, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at *Naiſſus* on the fifteenth of *July*, at *Milan* on the ſeventeenth of *September*, at *Aquileia* on the twelfth of *October*, at *Sardica* on the twenty-ſixth of *November*, and again at *Sirmium* on the firſt of *December* [l]. The following year *Conſtantine* entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having his ſon *Conſtantine* for his collegue. Conſtantine *revokes the* Papian *and other laws againſt celibacy.*

This year he abrogated the *Papian* and all other laws againſt celibacy; but ſuffered thoſe who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by thoſe laws [m]. He annulled another law, impowering the creditors to ſeize on the eſtates and effects of their debtors; and at the ſame time declared, that ſuch as had forfeited their eſtates by that law might redeem them by paying the ſums they owed [n]. By a law dated the firſt of *February*, he forbids the officers of the revenue to puniſh with rods, or confine to the public priſons, ſuch as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be ſecured in places where every one might ſee and viſit them [o]. This law muſt have been unknown to *Zoſimus*, who tells us, that rods and all ſorts of torments were uſed by the officers of *Conſtantine* in exacting what was due to the exchequer [p]. Two other laws were enacted by *Conſtantine* this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines [q], and the other commanding all judges to diſpatch the cauſes of criminals, and the goalers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholeſome places, and not to confine them, at leaſt in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares ſuch as ſhall by ill uſage extort money from their priſoners guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magiſtrates who ſhall wink at ſuch diſorders [r]. This year *Criſpus* gained a victory over the *Franks*, the particulars of which are not mentioned in hiſtory: *Nazarius* in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the *Franks*, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father [s].

Laws in favour of priſoners.

THE following year, when *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, the emperor's two ſons, were conſuls, *Conſtantine* publiſhed an edict on the ſeventh of *March*, forbidding all man- *And for keeping holy ſundays.*

[k] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. [l] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 16—27. [m] SOZOM. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 26. Cod Theod. p 643, 644. [n] Idem, p. 251, 252. [o] Idem, p. 68, 69. [p] Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 70, 71. [r] Idem, p. 33. [s] Panegyr. 7. p. 177.

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ner of work on ſundays [t]. *Sozomen* writes, that, out of reſpect to the croſs, he likewiſe ordered fridays to be kept holy [u]. But of this edict no mention is made either by *Euſebius*, or any other hiſtorian. However, the authority of *Sozomen*, who, lived at *Conſtantinople*, was by profeſſion a pleader, and ſhews himſelf every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us. The following year 322, *Petronius Probrianus* and *Anicius Julianus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* gained a great victory over the *Sarmatians* [w]. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles with the *Carpi* and the *Getæ*, that is, the *Goths* [x]. Theſe battles were fought, according to that writer, at *Campona*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*, the firſt in *Pannonia* or *Valeria*, near the preſent city of *Buda*, and the other two in *Upper Mœſia* [y]. *Rauſimodes*, king of the *Sarmatians*, had, as we read in *Zoſimus* [z], beſieged a city, which he does not name; but *Conſtantine*, haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged thoſe who had made their eſcape to repaſs the *Danube*, purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time with great ſlaughter, their king being killed among the reſt, and returned with an incredible number of captives. *Euſebius* does not ſpeak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the goſpel [a]. The *Sarmatian* games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, probably took their riſe from this victory [b]. The next conſuls were *Severus* and *Ruſinus*. *Conſtantine*, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to *Theſſalonica*; but while he was buſied there in making a port, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, entered *Thrace* and *Mœſia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Conſtantine* marched againſt them with incredible expedition; and, having gained a complete victory over them, purſued them with great ſlaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly reſenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. *Conſtantine* endeavoured to appeaſe him; but as *Licinius*, diſſatisfied with the late partition of

Conſtantine *defeats the* Sarmatians.

***And the* Goths.**

[t] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Juſt. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250. [u] Sozom. l. i. c 8. p. 412. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 680. [x] Optat. c 2. [y] Baud. [z] Zos. l. ii. p. 860. [a] Euseb. vit. Conſtant. p. 431. [b] Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 22.

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the empire, waited only a plauſible pretence to break with *Conſtantine*, after ſeveral embaſſies and unſucceſsful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. *Conſtantine* diſpatched expreſſes into all the provinces, ordering his troops to haſten into *Illyricum* and join him [c]. *Zoſimus* writes, that his army was an hundred and thirty-thouſand men ſtrong, and that he aſſembled at the port of *Athens* a fleet conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred veſſels of different rates and ſizes; whereas *Licinius* had with him but an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies [d]. *Conſtantine* was ſtill at *Sirmium* on the twenty-fifth of *May* [e], and a few days after at *Theſſalonica*, whence he marched into *Thrace*, and found *Licinius* encamped there on the banks of the *Hebrus*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The two armies continued ſome days encamped over-againſt each other, being parted by the river. *Conſtantine* was for laying a bridge croſs the *Hebrus*; but, in the mean time, having diſcovered a ford at ſome diſtance, he paſſed it at firſt with twelve horſemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army croſſed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the enſuing engagement, which was likely to prove deciſive. *Euſebius* writes, that the author of the war, that is, *Licinius*, gave the ſignal for the onſet, and that *Conſtantine*, having firſt with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole *God our Saviour*, ordered the croſs, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his ſoldiers, to be diſplayed at the head of his army. His confidence, ſays the ſame writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared [f]. *Conſtantine*'s men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, eſcaped only with a ſlight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt, though advantageouſly poſted upon a riſing ground, obliged to betake themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. *Licinius* eſcaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, to *Byzantium*; and the next morning ſuch of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*, who, tranſported with joy for ſo ſignal a victory, granted a diſcharge to many of his veterans [g]. This

War between Conſtantine and Licinius.

Licinius intirely defeated at Adrianople.

[c] Anonym. p. 474. [d] Zos. l. ii. p. 681. [e] Cod. Theod. p. 23. [f] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445. 447. [g] Euseb. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681.

memorable

memorable battle was fought on the third of *July* of this year 323. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Licinius*, before the battle, retired to a neighbouring wood to sacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told those who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their ancestors had ever adored, but the enemy had forsaken, to embrace a religion unknown to the *Romans*, whose standards he dishonoured with the ignominious sign of a cross. He added, that as *Constantine*, transported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himself an enemy rather to his gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the world might conclude from the success of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the *Roman* empire, how weak the unknown God adored by *Constantine*. "If we are overcome, "continued he, we must despise those deities whom we now "adore, and adore that deity whom we now despise. But "if our gods bless our endeavours with success, as I am "confident they will, we must with an eternal war pursue "their enemies, and utterly extirpate the christian name." *Eusebius* tells us, that he learnt this speech, soon after the battle, of those who were with *Licinius* when he made it [h]. *Sozomen* likewise writes, that *Licinius* had resolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to pursue with fire and sword their enemies the christians; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring instance to prove, that the christians were, in a special manner, favoured by heaven, and that their religion was not a human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty [i]. As *Licinius* had fled to *Byzantium*, *Constantine* pursued him thither without loss of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his son *Crispus*, to repair to the same place. *Crispus* immediately put to sea, and sailing along the coasts of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, entered the streights of *Gallipoli*, where the enemy's fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, under the command of *Abantus*, or, as others call him, *Amandus*, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, *Crispus* thought it advisable to engage him only with eighty of his best ships. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obstinacy and resolution: but in the end the enemy, being encumbered by the great number of their ships running foul of one another in so narrow a place, were utterly defeated,

And his fleet by Crispus *in the streights of* Gallipoli.

[h] Euseb. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446. [i] Sozom. l. i. c. 7. p. 409.

with

with the loſs of five thouſand men, and one hundred and thirty ſhips. *Amandus*, the enemy's admiral, with the utmoſt difficulty ſaved himſelf aſhore [k]. *Zoſimus*, who deſcribes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for *Conſtantine*, in order to render the victory of the ſon by ſea no leſs glorious than that of the father had been by land [l]. *Criſpus* himſelf haſtened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the moſt tender expreſſions of paternal affection and eſteem. *Conſtantine* had already laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, after having gained ſome new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, *Licinius* made his eſcape by ſea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treaſures, paſſed the ſtreights, and ſhut himſelf up in *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to raiſe a new army in *Aſia*. In that city he preferred to the dignity of *Cæſar* one *M. Martinianus*, the chief officer of his houſhold, and diſpatched him with a conſiderable force to *Lampſacus*, to make head againſt *Conſtantine*, in caſe he attempted to enter the *Helleſpont* [m]. But *Conſtantine*, leaving *Byzantium*, embarqued his troops, and, croſſing over into *Aſia*, landed in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; and finding *Licinius* encamped on a riſing ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a ſecond engagement. But, in the mean time, deputies arriving from *Licinius*, with propoſals for an accommodation, *Conſtantine* hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they propoſed, which were, ſays *Euſebius* [n], no leſs advantageous to *Licinius*, than to the whole empire. But this agreement was ſhort-lived; for *Conſtantine* being ſoon after informed that *Licinius* was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to inveſt the place, and oblige *Licinius* to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached *Chryſopolis*, the port of *Chalcedon*, he was there, to his great ſurprize, met by *Licinius* at the head of a very numerous army. *Zoſimus* writes, that he had with him above an hundred and thirty thouſand men, counting the troops commanded by *Martinianus*, whom he had ordered to leave *Lampſacus* and join him [o]. *Conſtantine* drew up his

Licinius creates M. Martinianus Cæſar.

An agreement between Licinius and Conſtantine which is broken by the former.

[k] Zos. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. [n] EUSEB. ibid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 451. [o] Zos. l. ii. p. 683.

men in battle-array; but, ſcrupling to break the treaty, waited till the ſignal was given by the enemy; which was no ſooner done, than he fell upon them with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withſtand him, they immediately gave way and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. In this battle *Licinius* loſt, according to the anonymous writer of *Conſtantine*'s life, twenty-five thouſand men [p]; but, according to *Zoſimus*, above an hundred thouſand [q]. It was fought on the eighteenth of *September*; and a few days after the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* opened their gates to the conqueror. *Licinius* fled, with what forces he could rally, to *Nicomedia*, whither *Conſtantine* purſued him, and immediately inveſted the place; but, on the ſecond day of the ſiege, his ſiſter *Conſtantia* intreating him with many tears, by the tenderneſs he had ever ſhewn to her, to forgive her huſband, and grant him at leaſt his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; and the next day *Licinius*, finding no means of making his eſcape, preſented himſelf before the conqueror, and, throwing himſelf at his feet, yielded to him the purple and the other enſigns of ſovereignty. *Conſtantine* received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to *Theſſalonica*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould live unmoleſted, ſo long as he raiſed no new diſturbances [r]. However, he was ſoon after ſtrangled by *Conſtantine*'s orders, who, on that account, is highly blamed by *Zoſimus* and *Aurelius Victor*. St. *Jerom* has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that the ſoldiers having demanded the death of *Licinius*, *Conſtantine* complied with their requeſt, fearing he might, in imitation of *Maximian*, one day reſume the empire. *Zonaras* writes, that upon the complaints brought againſt *Licinius* by the ſoldiery, *Conſtantine* referred the whole affair to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death [s]. *Socrates* ſays in expreſs terms, that *Licinius* began privately to make new preperations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his aſſiſtance; which *Conſtantine* no ſooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war [t]. *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the ſixteenth of *May* 324, the other the twelfth of *February* 325, annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws

Licinius utterly defeated.

He ſubmits to Conſtantine.

He is by his order put to death.

[p] Anonym. p. 475. [q] Zos. l. ii. p. 683. [r] Idem, p. 684. Vict. epit. p. 543. [s] Zonar. vit. Conſt. p. 4. [t] Socrat. l. i. c. 4. p. 8.

which

which had been published by him, or his officers in his name [u]. As for *Martinianus*, *Zosimus* writes, that *Constantine* abandoned him to the fury of the soldiery [w], as soon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and *Victor* the younger assure us, that *Constantine* at first granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the designs of *Licinius* [x]. All those, who had prompted him to persecute the christians, underwent the same fate [y], and among the rest his son *Licinius*, who was this year degraded from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and two years after, that is, in 325, according to St. *Jerom*, sentenced to death. *Licinius* had been created emperor on the eleventh of *November* 307, and consequently had reigned near sixteen years. We have not thought it necessary to take notice of the miracles, which *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus* have inserted in their account of the defeat of *Licinius*, as things not vouched by any antient writer. For this victory *Constantine*, and after him his son and several of his successors, assumed the title of *Victorious*, which we find still prefixed to some of his letters [z]. Not long after the defeat of *Licinius*, he preferred *Constans*, at that time his third son and six years old, to the dignity of *Cæsar*.

Constantine, now master of all the eastern provinces, made it his chief study to establish there the worship of the true God, as he had already done in the west, and to abolish all remains of idolatry, which had been no less countenanced by *Licinius*, than the christian religion persecuted and oppressed. He began with two edicts, whereof both *Greek* and *Latin* copies were sent into all the provinces of the empire, signed with the emperor's own hand, and addressed the one, *To the churches of God*, the other, *To the people of each province*. By these edicts he reinstates in their former condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other punishment; orders their goods and estates to be forthwith restored to them or to their heirs; gives leave to such as had been deprived of their military employments to resume them, if they please; and commands the officers of the revenue, as well as private persons, of what rank or condition soever, to deliver up to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the sentence of the magistrates, what houses, tenements, gardens,

Constantine *orders whatever had been taken from the churches, &c. to be restored to them.*

[u] Cod. Theodos. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404, 405. [w] Zos. p. 685. [x] Anonym. p. 475. VICT. epit. p. 543. [y] EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 452. Anonym. ibid. [z] EUSEB. ibid. p. 452. OPTAT. p. 284.

orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them, but more eſpecially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation ſuch as ſhall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he ſays, compriſes thoſe too who may have purchaſed ſuch lands, houſes, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a preſent, or by way of reward for their paſt ſervices. Theſe, however, he encourages to depend upon his generoſity; but requires of them, as well as of the reſt, an immediate compliance with his edict *.

He enacts ſeveral edicts againſt the worſhipping of idols.

Theſe ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of ſacrifices to idols, the conſecrating of any new idol, and the conſulting, either in public or in private, the aruſpices, ſoothſayers, oracles, &c. He had no ſooner cauſed theſe laws to be publiſhed, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the perſecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for that purpoſe; and thoſe whom he appointed to overſee ſuch buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true God. He wrote upon the ſame ſubject to all the metropolitan biſhops, ſtyling them his *beloved brethren*, and among the reſt to *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, who relates his letter at length, and tells us, it was the firſt he had received from him †. Not long after, he publiſhed an edict drawn up by himſelf, and addreſſed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their antient ſuperſtition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the univerſe, and to place all their hopes in Jeſus Chriſt. This edict is related at length by *Euſebius*, who tranſlated it out of the original *Latin* into *Greek* ‡. *Con-*

Orders the temples to be ſhut.

ſtantine, not thinking it yet adviſeable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be ſhut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodſhed; to be ſtripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houſes, and revenues belonging to them to be applied to pious uſes. In virtue of this ordinance, the *Pythian* and *Smynthian Apollo*, the tripod of *Delphos*, the muſes of *Helicon*, the famous *Pan*, whom all the cities of *Greece* had conſecrated after the *Perſian* war, and whatever miſled antiquity had for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the ſtreets, and either

* Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 19—28. p. 453. 458. † Idem ibid. c. 44, 45. p 464, 465. ‡ Idem ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466.

daſhed

daſhed in pieces, or made uſe of as maſter-pieces of art to adorn the ſquares, villas, palaces, public galleries, *&c* [b]. From the ſeveral laws enacted this and the following year 324, when the emperor's two ſons, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, were conſuls, it appears, that *Conſtantine* continued in the eaſt, reſiding for the moſt part at *Nicomedia*. The next year, *Paulinus* and *Julianus* being conſuls, the emperor, to put a ſtop to the diſturbances and diviſions that rent the church, aſſembled the famous council of *Nice*, at which he aſſiſted in perſon, and afterwards condemned to baniſhment the refractory hereſiarch *Arius*, with *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and ſeveral others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, the emperor ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occaſion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the biſhops of the council, treated them with the utmoſt reſpect, made them ſeveral preſents, and cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor, diſpatching at the ſame time orders to all the governors of provinces to ſupply yearly the ſacred virgins, widows, and eccleſiaſtics in each city of their reſpective diſtricts with a certain quantity of corn [c]. *Conſtantine* paſſed this year partly at *Nice*, partly at *Nicomedia*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws. By one publiſhed at *Nicomedia* on the ſeventeenth of *October*, and addreſſed to all the ſubjects of the empire, he encourages ſuch as had been, or ſhould be, oppreſſed, or anyways injured by his miniſters, counſellors, governors of provinces or cities, *&c.* to apply to him for redreſs, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, ſince he had employed none but ſuch as he believed to be men of integrity. But the beſt princes, adds he, are liable to be deceived and impoſed upon by wicked miniſters; if therefore thoſe in whom I repoſed an intire confidence, have deceived me by a falſe appearance of integrity, and injured the meaneſt of my ſubjects, let the perſon thus injured lay his complaints before me, and accuſe me as the author of the injuries he has ſuffered, if I do not revenge them [d]. In the beginning of *November* he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, inſtead of being obliged to fight in the arena, ſhould, for the

Aſſembles a council at Nice.

He encourages all his ſubjects to recur to him.

[b] Idem p. 10. 511. SOZOM. p. 449. [c] EUSEB. p 491. SOZ. p. 438. [d] Cod. Theod. chronol p. 25.

future,

future, be condemned to work in the mines [e]. The following year, *Conſtantine* entered upon his ſeventh conſulſhip, having his third ſon *Conſtans* for his collegue. The emperor paſſed the winter in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; for he was on the third of *February* at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *March* at *Sirmium*. From thence he went to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Rome*, where he was on the eighth of *July*; but he did not ſtay long there, being, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, in the beginning of *October* at *Spoletum*, on the twenty-third of the ſame month at *Milan*, and on the laſt day of *December* at *Sirmium* [f]. *Zoſimus*, a declared enemy to *Conſtantine*, writes, that the whole *Roman* people loaded him with injuries and curſes, for having abandoned the religion of his anceſtors, and promoted with great zeal the worſhip of an unknown God; and adds, that the diſreſpect and averſion which the *Romans* ſhewed him prompted him to transfer the ſeat of the empire to *Byzantium* [g]. *Libanius* tells us, that he bore with great patience the ſatires and lampoons that were daily publiſhed againſt him during his ſtay at *Rome*. He left the city, highly diſſatisfied with the diſreſpectful behaviour of the *Roman* people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it [h]. But the moſt remarkable event of this year was the death of *Criſpus*, *Conſtantine*'s eldeſt ſon. The empreſs *Fauſta*, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her own children, falſly accuſed him of having ſolicited her to inceſt. Some ſay, that ſhe charged him with aſpiring at the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, hearkening to the accuſation, and not only forgetting on this occaſion his uſual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of juſtice and equity, without examining an accuſation of ſuch importance, without giving the accuſed prince room to clear himſelf, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he was diſpatched with poiſon; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was ſtruck off. He was, according to the moſt probable opinion, executed at *Pola* in *Iſtria*, on the firſt of *March*, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner againſt the *Franks* and in the war with *Licinius*, and was univerſally beloved by the people and ſoldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to perſons of all ranks, his generoſity, and other princely qualities. He had in all

He is inſulted by the Roman *people.*

He puts his ſon Criſpus *to death.*

[e] Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5 p. 397. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 28.
[g] Zos. l. ii. p. 686. [h] Liban. orat. xv. p. 412.

likelihood

likelihood embraced the chriſtian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to *Baronius*; but the authority of *Nicephorus*, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us. The death of *Criſpus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Conſtantine*'s nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age [l]. St. *Jerom* ſtyles theſe executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty [k]. *Fauſta* did not long outlive her ſon-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accuſed him falſly, and moreover of having proſtituted her honour to perſons of the meaneſt rank, *Conſtantine* cauſed her to be ſuffocated with the ſteam of a hot bath [l]. With *Fauſta* many perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to have been acceſſary to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately diſpatched with poiſon, or publicly executed [m]. *Evagrius*, to excuſe *Conſtantine*, denies all theſe facts [n]; but they are too well atteſted, both by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, to be denied, or even called in queſtion. *Euſebius*, in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, which he publiſhed before the death of *Criſpus*, beſtows the higheſt encomiums upon that prince, and tells us, that he had great ſhare in the victory gained over *Licinius* [o]; but, in the life of *Conſtantine*, he ſuppreſſes thoſe encomiums, and though he deſcribes at length that memorable victory, yet he does not ſo much as mention the name of *Criſpus*. This ſilence is, in our opinion, a ſtrong argument againſt *Evagrius*, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of *Conſtantine*, becauſe he does not find them in *Euſebius*; but as they are ſufficiently atteſted by ſeveral other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from the ſilence of *Euſebius*, that he was well appriſed nothing could be alledged to excuſe *Conſtantine*, and therefore took no notice of thoſe executions, chuſing rather to incur the cenſure of having tranſgreſſed the known laws of hiſtory, than to take upon him the juſtifying of facts, which all the world but too juſtly condemned. This inexcuſable cruelty and injuſtice in *Conſtantine* drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite miniſters were, ſoon after his death, all maſſacred by *Conſtantius*, his ſecond ſon by *Fauſta*, whom he loved and cheriſhed above the reſt. *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon was killed by *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Conſtans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their

And likewiſe his nephew Licinius, *and his wife* Fauſta.

His cruelty and injuſtice puniſhed by heaven

[l] Zos. l. ii. p. 685. AUR. VICT. p. 527. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p 29. EUTROP. p. 588. [k] HIER. chron.. [l] Zos. p. 685. VICT. epit. PHILOSTORG. hiſt. eccleſ. 470. AMMIAN. p. 56. HIER. chron. [m] EUTROP. p. 588. [n] EVAG. l. iii. c. 41. p. 371. [o] EUSEB. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.

conſtan

couſin by *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Conſtantine*, which every one expected, would have furniſhed the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four ſons, ſeveral ſiſters and daughters, and nine nephews [p]. *Conſtantine* ſeems to have paſſed the following year 327, when *Conſtantius* and *Maximus* were conſuls, in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; for on the twenty-ſeventh of *February* he was at *Theſſalonica*, on the eighteenth of *May* at *Sardica*, and at *Heraclea* on the fifth of *Auguſt*. He probably paſſed the following winter at *Nicomedia*; for he was in that city on the firſt of *March* [q]. This year, *Conſtantine* granted the privileges of a city to the village of *Drepanum* in *Bithynia*, ſtyling it, from the name of his mother, *Helenopolis*. This honour he beſtowed upon the place out of reſpect to the holy martyr *Lucianus*, who had ſuffered under *Maximin* in the year 312, and was interred there [r]. About this time the empreſs *Helena* is ſaid to have diſcovered the ſepulchre and croſs of our Saviour, which induced *Conſtantine* to build at *Jeruſalem* the famous church *of the reſurrection*, which was conſecrated in the year 335 [s]. The pious princeſs died ſoon after in the arms of her ſon, who cauſed her body to be conveyed with great pomp to *Rome*, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors [t]. To honour her memory, he gave the name of *Helenopolis* to a city of *Paleſtine* [u], and that of *Helenopontus* to a part of the *Euxine* ſea [w], and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to her honour at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. From this ſtatue the ſtreet in which it ſtood took the name of *Auguſtal* [x]. The following year, *Januarius* and *Juſtus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* was, as we have hinted above, on the firſt of *March* at *Nicomedia*, and on the thirteenth of *July* at a place in *Mœſia* called *Oiſcos* and *Eſcos* [y]; whence ſome conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in thoſe parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria* [z], that this year the emperor paſſed the *Danube* ſeveral times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river. Both the *Victors* mention this bridge amongſt his other great works; and on ſeveral ancient coins of this and the following years, notice

Makes Drepanum *a city.*

The empreſs Helena *dies.*

[p] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. [q] Cod. Theod. p. 29. [r] Hier chron. p. 662. Socrat. l. i. c. 18. p. 49. [s] Philostorg. hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474. [t] Theodoret. l. i. c. 17. p. 564. Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. [u] Sozom. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443. [w] Cod Juſt. p. 235. [x] Suid. p. 443. [y] Cod. Theod. p. 30. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 662.

is

is taken of a bridge, of his paſſing the *Danube*, and his defeating the *Goths* [a]. According to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [b], he began this year the city of *Conſtantinople*; but, according to others, on the twenty-ſixth of *September* of the following year 329. Notwithſtanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from baniſhment the two biſhops *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, great ſticklers for the doctrine of *Arius*, and ſuffered them to gain a great aſcendant over him. The next year, *Conſtantine* took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, having his eldeſt ſon, the fourth time conſul, for his collegue. He paſſed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*; for on the nineteenth of *June* he was at *Sardica* in *Dacia*; on the twenty-ſecond of *July* at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month at *Naiſſus* in *Dardania*; on the third of *Auguſt* at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and twenty-ninth of *September*, at *Sardica*; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* at *Heraclea* [c].

The emperor recals from baniſhment two Arian *biſhops.*

THE following year 330, when *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus* were conſuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of *Conſtantinople*, the greateſt of all *Conſtantine*'s works. Authors are divided in their opinions with reſpect to the motives that prompted *Conſtantine* to undertake the building of that city. *Zoſimus* writes, that he did it out of hatred to the *Romans*, ſeeing himſelf ſcorned and inſulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion [d]. He had, according to *Eutropius*, nothing elſe in view but to diſplay his power, and ſhew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to *Rome*, which, for ſo many ages, had been not undeſervedly looked upon as the wonder of the univerſe [e]. Others only tell us, that *Conſtantine*, diſliking *Rome* for motives unknown to them, reſolved to build a city elſe-where, and reſide there. That he diſliked *Rome*, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been maſter of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long ſtay in it, but paſſed moſt of his time in *Gaul*, and, after his victory over *Licinius*, in *Thrace*. *Sozomen* writes, that *Conſtantine*, ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole empire, and not being diſturbed by any domeſtic tumults or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and reſolved, as he did not care to reſide at *Rome*, to

Conſtantine *undertakes the building of a new city.*

[a] BIRAG. p. 467. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 602. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237.
[d] Zos. l. ii. p. 686. [e] EUTROP. p. 488.

 ſ.tle

ſettle the imperial ſeat there [f]. The firſt place he choſe for executing his deſign was between *Troas* and ancient *Ilium*, on the coaſt of *Aſia*; but afterwards changing his mind upon a viſion which he had, or imagined to have had, he reſolved to inlarge the ancient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the ſecond, or, if he could, the firſt, of the empire. This pretended viſion is much ſpoken of by the modern *Greek* and *Latin* writers [g]; and *Conſtantine* himſelf, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of heaven [h]. He began with entending the walls of the ancient city from ſea to ſea; and while ſome of the workmen were buſied in rearing them, others were employed in raiſing within them a great number of ſtately buildings, and among the reſt a palace no-ways inferior in magnificence and extent to that of *Rome*. As he deſigned to fix his own court there, and was deſirous that the ſucceeding emperors ſhould follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary reſidence, he ſpared no coſt or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient. With this view he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, ſeveral forums, porticoes, and public baths, and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, ſecuring the inhabitants with many wholeſome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means *Byzantium*, became in a ſhort time one of the moſt flouriſhing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, eſpecially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia*, *Conſtantine* having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that ſuch as had lands in thoſe countries, ſhould not be able to diſpoſe of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unleſs they had a houſe in his new city. The common people were inticed thither from the different and moſt diſtant provinces, and even from *Rome* itſelf, by the emperor's largeſſes, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily diſtributed among them [i]. But however deſirous the emperor was to ſee his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it ſhould be inhabited by any but chriſtians; and therefore cauſed all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be conſecrated to the true God. He built beſides an incredible number of churches, and cauſed croſſes to be erected in all the ſquares and public places. When moſt of the buildings were finiſhed, the

He inlarges the city of Byzantium.

Adorns it with many new buildings.

[f] Soz. l. ii. c. 3. p 444. [g] Vide Du Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcript. l. i. p. 23, &c. [h] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64. [i] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p 90.

emperor,

emperor, on the eleventh of *May* of the year 330, the twenty fifth of his reign, cauſed his new city, by a very ſolemn dedication, to be conſecrated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the virgin *Mary* [k]; but, according to *Euſebius* [l], to the God of martyrs. Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of *Nice*, that the ſolemnity laſted forty days, and that *Conſtantine*, during the whole time, cauſed an immenſe quantity of all ſorts of proviſions to be daily diſtributed among the populace [m]. It was on this occaſion that *Conſtantine* ſtyled the new city from his own name *Conſtantinople*, or the city of *Conſtantine*, and likewiſe *Second*, or, as others will have it, *New, Rome* [n]. At the ſame time he equalled it to ancient *Rome*, granting it the ſame rights, immunities, and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis [o]. He eſtabliſhed a ſenate and other magiſtrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* ſenate [p], and declared *New Rome* the metropolis of the eaſt, as *Old Rome* was of the weſt. *Conſtantine*, having accompliſhed this great work, according to ſome in five, according to others in two, years, fixed his reſidence in the new city, and never more returned to *Rome*. The removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, happened in the year of the chriſtian æra 330, the twenty-fifth of *Conſtantine*'s reign, and 1078, after the foundation of *Rome*. By this removal the *Roman* empire received a fatal ſtroke, and ſhrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

And ſolemnly conſecrates it, and equals it to Rome

[k] Vide DU CANGE de Conſtantinop. l. i. p. 27. [l] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 48. p. 507. [m] Vide GEORG. cod. in antiq. Conſtantinop. p. 25. [n] SOCRAT. p 45. [o] SOZOM. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [p] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 220, 223.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *to the death of the emperor* Julian.

CONSTANTINE having fixed his court at *Conſtantinople*, continued there, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws [q], great part of the enſuing year 331, when *Baſſus* and *Ablavius* were conſuls, being chiefly em-

[q] Cod. Theod. p. 353, & ſeq.

ployed in building new churches, and adorning with other ſtately monuments the city he deſired might be honoured with the reſidence of the ſucceeding emperors. The next year, *Pacatianus* and *Hilarius* being conſuls, the *Sarmatians* having implored the aſſiſtance of *Conſtantine* againſt the *Goths*, who had made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in perſon, or, as ſome write, by his ſon *Conſtantine*, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near a hundred thouſand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or periſhed after the battle with hunger and cold; inſomuch, that the barbarians were obliged to ſue for peace, and deliver up hoſtages to the emperor, among whom was the ſon of their king, *Ariaric* or *Araric* [r]. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Conſtantine*, who had miraculouſly aſſiſted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion, which had been firſt preached among them about ſeventy years before [s]. The *Sarmatians*, unmindful of the aſſiſtance they had received from *Conſtantine*, as ſoon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of *Mœſia* and *Thrace*; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſubmit to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them [t]. The next conſuls were *Dalmatius*, either the brother or nephew of *Conſtantine*, and *Xenophilus*, or *Zenophylus*. This year *Conſtantine* created *Conſtans*, his youngeſt ſon, *Cæſar*, who was born in 320, and is ſtyled in all the antient inſcriptions *Flavius Julius Conſtans* [u]. The ſame year, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace*, were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence and famine, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people. *Theophanes* tells us, that at *Antioch* the wheat was ſold at four hundred pieces of ſilver the buſhel [w]. During this calamity, *Conſtantine* ſent to the biſhop of *Antioch* thirty thouſand buſhels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all ſorts of proviſions to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, eccleſiaſtics, &c. [x] Towards the cloſe of this year, embaſſadors arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the *Blemyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and *Perſians*, with rich preſents for

Conſtantine *gains a complete victory over the* Goths.

And the Sarmatians.

The emperor's charitable behaviour during a famine.

[r] Amm. p. 476. Jul. orat. i. p. 16. Euseb. vit. Conſtant. l. iv. p. 529. [s] Soz. p. 48. Socrat. p. 411. [t] Anonym. p. 476. [u] Euseb. ibid. p. 533. [w] Theoph. p. 23. [x] Idem ibid.

the

the emperor, whoſe friendſhip they courted, acknowledging him, ſays *Euſebius* [y], for their ſovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing ſo much as to live in peace and amity with ſo great a prince, ſo renowned a warrior. The *Perſian* embaſſadors, in the name of *Sapor* their king, renewed the ancient treaties between the two empires. *Conſtantine* received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed that the chriſtians were very numerous in *Perſia*, he was tranſported with joy; and looking upon himſelf as their general protector, he wrote a letter in their behalf to *Sapor*, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [z] and *Theodoret* [a]. The letters from *Conſtantine* to the biſhops, begging their prayers, and thoſe both from him and his children to the great *Antony* for the ſame purpoſe, which we read in *Euſebius* [b], *Athanaſius* [c], *Sozomen* [d], and *Proſper* [e], are ſuppoſed to have been written this year. The following year, when *Optatus* and *Anicius Paulinus Junior* were conſuls, the *Goths*, under the command of *Geberic* their king, who had ſucceeded *Araric*, made new irruptions into the country of the *Sarmatians*, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the *Meriſus*, in which their king, by name *Wiſimar*, and moſt of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The *Sarmatians* in this extremity armed their ſlaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; but the victorious ſlaves, ſenſible of their ſtrength, threw off the yoke, and turning their arms againſt their maſters, for whoſe defence they had been intruſted with them, drove them out of the country, and ſeized their houſes, lands, and effects for themſelves. St. *Jerom* [f] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [g] call theſe ſlaves *Limigantes*; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were ſtyled *Arcaragantes*. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to *Conſtantine*, who received them, to the number of three hundred thouſand, incorporated in his legions ſuch of them as were fit for ſervice, and gave ſettlements to the reſt in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedon*, and *Italy* [h]. Another party of the fugitive *Sarmatians* had recourſe to certain barbarians, called by *Ammianus Victohales*, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame people

Embaſſadors ſent to him from the moſt diſtant nations.

He allots the Sarmatians *ſettlements in the dominions of* Rome.

[y] EUSEB. ibid. l. i. c. 8. p. 409, 410. [z] Idem ibid. c. 9—13. p 350—535. [a] THEOD. l. i. c. 24. p. 573—575. [b] EUSEB. ibid. l. iv. c. 14. p. 533. [c] ATHEN. vit. Anton. p 497. [d] Soz. p. 47. [e] PROSP. chron. [f] Hier. chron. [g] AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 107. [h] EUSEB. p. 529. AMMIAN. p. 478. JORNAND. rer. Goth. p. 641.

people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. Theſe were re-eſtabliſhed in their antient poſſeſſions by the *Romans* in the year 358, after they had driven out the *Limigantes* [j]. This year *Euſebius*, biſhop of *Cæſarea*, pronounced before *Conſtantine* his ſpeech *on the holy ſepulchre*; and returning afterwards to his diocefe, wrote and inſcribed to *Conſtantine* a book *on the feaſt of* Eaſter; for which the emperor returned him thanks by a very kind and reſpectful letter, deſiring him at the ſame time to cauſe fifty copies of the holy ſcriptures to be tranſcribed, and ſent him for the uſe of the churches of *Conſtantinople*. *Euſebius* immediately complied with his requeſt, and, in his anſwer to him, acquainted him with the converſion of *Maiuma*, the port of *Gaza* in *Paliſtine*, of the city of *Conſtantina* in *Phœnicia*, and of ſeveral others; which gave *Conſtantine* an inexpreſſible pleaſure [k]. The learned cardinal *Noris* takes *Conſtantina* to be the city and iſland of *Aradus*; for a biſhop of that place, by name *Atticus*, ſtyled himſelf *biſhop of* Arcadia Conſtantia; which the above-mentioned writer ſuppoſes to have been, through miſtake, put inſtead of *Aradus Conſtantina* [l]. *Conſtantine* was this year, on the ſeventeenth of *June*, at *Conſtantinople*, on the fifth of *July* at *Singidunum* in *Mœſia*, and on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia* [m]. The next conſuls were *Flavius Julius Conſtantius*, the emperor's brother, and *Rufius Albinus*. As *Conſtantine*, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year 335, entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to no emperor ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, he celebrated that day at *Conſtantinople* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and ſoon after aſſembled two councils, the one at *Tyre*, hoping by that means to appeaſe the diſturbances raiſed in the church by the followers of *Arius*; the other a few weeks after at *Jeruſalem*, to conſecrate the magnificent church which he had built there. But the council of *Tyre* condemned, for ſeveral pretended crimes, and depoſed, the great *Athanaſius*, biſhop of *Alexandria*; and that of *Jeruſalem* admitted *Arius* and his followers to the communion of the church.

The councils of Tyre *and* Jeruſalem.

Conſtantine *favours the* Arians.

The emperor miſled by the *Arians*, eſpecially by *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and by a prieſt, whom his ſiſter *Conſtantia*, the widow of *Licinius*, had earneſtly recommended to him on her death-bed, conformed to the deciſions of both councils; and though the crimes laid to the charge of *Athanaſius* were evidently falſe, yet he was ſo far prepoſſeſſed

[j] Ammian. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111. [k] Euseb. ibid. p. 542—545. [l] Noris. epoch. p. 363. Concil. tom. 4. p. 921. [m] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 34.

againſt

againſt him, that inſtead of examining the accuſations, when he appealed to his tribunal, he baniſhed him into *Gaul*, and at the ſame time depoſed and ſent into exile three other biſhops; *viz.* *Euſtathius* of *Antioch*, *Aſclepas* of *Gaza*, and *Lucas* of *Adrianople*, for zealouſly oppoſing the wicked and impious tenets of *Arius* [n]. The emperor, not ſatisfied with having created his three ſons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, *Cæſars*, raiſed this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of *September*, to the ſame dignity his nephew *Dalmatius*, ſon to his brother of the ſame name, and appointed *Annibalianus*, brother to young *Dalmatius*, king of *Pontus* [o]. Soon after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any miſunderſtanding, jealouſy, or quarrels between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: *Conſtantine*, the eldeſt, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Conſtantius*, the ſecond ſon, all the *Orient*, that is, *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Conſtans*, the youngeſt, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. To his nephew *Dalmatius* he gave *Thrace* and part of *Illyricum*; that is, *Macedon* and *Achaia*; and to king *Annibalianus*, his other nephew, *Armenia Minor* and the neighbouring provinces; that is, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæſarea*, which he deſired might be the capital of his kingdom [p]. About this time one *Calocerus*, a man of great intereſt and authority in the iſland of *Cyprus*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. But *Dalmatius*, who was ſent with an army againſt him, defeated the rebel, took him priſoner, and, carrying him to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city [q]. On an antient medal quoted by *Spanheimius* [r], mention is made of one *Tiberius*, who uſurped the ſovereignty in the time of *Conſtantine*; but of him we find nothing in hiſtory. As for one *Azotus*, who was overcome by *Conſtantine*, as we read in *Suidas* and *Codinus*, it appears from ſeveral epigrams in the *anthology*, that both he and that *Conſtantine*, by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. *Athanaſius* was accuſed of having ſupplied with money a rebel, by name *Philumenes* [s]; but of him not the leaſt mention is made in hiſtory. The emperor was

Divides the empire amongſt his children and nephews.

[n] EUSEB. ibid. p. 545, & 510. [o] EUTROP. p. 588. AUR. VICT. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zos. l. ii. p. 692. [p] EUSEB orat. in tricennal. Conſt p. 609. VICT. epit. p. 544. Anonym. p. 476. [q] THEOPH. p. 23. AUR. VICT. p. 296. [r] SPANH. l. vi. p. 601. [s] ATHAN. apol. 2. p. 779.

this

this year at *Conſtantinople* on the thirtieth of *March*, at *Viminacum* in *Mœſia* on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, and again at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-ſecond of *October* [t]. The following year, *Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being conſuls, died the famous hereſiarch *Arius*, and ſoon after him *Alexander* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who *Conſtantine* had ſolicited in vain to re-admit the anathematized heretic to the communion of the church. The holy biſhop *Paul* was raiſed to the ſee of *Conſtantinople* in the room of *Alexander*; but the emperor was perſuaded by *Euſebius*, biſhop of *Nicomedia*, to baniſh him into *Pontus* [u]. Towards the cloſe of this year *Conſtantine* married his ſecond ſon *Conſtantius* to the daughter of *Julius Conſtantius* and *Galla*. *Julius Conſtantius* was brother to the emperor, and his wife *Galla* ſiſter to *Ruſinus* and *Cerealis*, of whom hereafter. He had by *Galla Gallus Cæſar*, born in *Hetruria* in the year 325 or 326, another ſon who was killed in 337, and one daughter, married this year to *Conſtantius*, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The emperor *Julian*, ſpeaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of *Conſtantine*, ſays, that a ſtrange confuſion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and troden under foot [w]. But there were yet no laws forbidding marriages between couſin-germans. On occaſion of this marriage, *Conſtantine* cauſed large ſums, and great quantities of proviſions, to be diſtributed among the people of all the cities and provinces of the empire [x]. He had long before married his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine*; but to whom, we are no-where told. The year enſuing, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were conſuls, the *Perſians*, after having lived in peace with the *Romans* for the ſpace of forty years, that is, ever ſince the year 297, began to commit hoſtilities in *Meſopotamia*, becauſe the emperor refuſed to reſtore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to *Galerius*. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other neceſſary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a deſign to invade the *Perſian* dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his approach, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which ſeeming very reaſona-

Arius *dies.*

Conſtantius *married to the daughter of* Julius Conſtantius.

The Perſians *awed by the terror of* Conſtantine's *arms.*

[t] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35. [u] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 49. p. 551. [w] Julian. orat. vii. p. 425. [x] Euseb. ibid. p. 551.

ble

ble to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew. Thus *Euſebius* [y]. But *Feſtus* and moſt other hiſtorians tell us, that *Conſtantine*, deſirous of triumphing over the *Perſians*, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions [z]. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, having celebrated this year with extraordinary ſolemnity the feaſt of *Eaſter*, which fell on the third of *April*, was ſoon after taken ill, being then in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourſe to the warm baths of *Conſtantinople*; but his diſtemper increaſing, he removed, for change of air, to *Helenopolis* in *Bithynia*, and from thence to a caſtle at a ſmall diſtance from *Nicomedia*, called *Achyrona*, or *Aguyrona*. Being there appriſed that his end approached, he declared in a ſpeech, which he made to the biſhops who attended him, his eager deſire of being baptized, adding, that he deſigned to have received that ſeal of ſalvation in the waters of the *Jordan*; but ſince God, in his infinite wiſdom, had otherwiſe diſpoſed of him, he acquieſced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards ſo much as touch or ſee his purple robes, paſſing moſt of his time in pious meditations, and edifying diſcourſes with the biſhops on the immortality of the ſoul, and the rewards and puniſhments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expreſſing with a flood of tears their concern for the loſs of ſo good a prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, ſince he was going to exchange a ſhort and miſerable, for an eternal, life, happy beyond conception or expreſſion [a]. St. *Jerom* writes, that he was baptized by *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*; and that, by receiving baptiſm at his hands, he fell into the hereſy of *Arius* [b]. But *Athanaſius* and all other eccleſiaſtic writers, *Lucifer* alone excepted, aſſure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council at *Nice*, tho', deceived and miſled by the *Arians*, he perſecuted thoſe who defended it againſt the tenets of that hereſiarch. As for *Euſebius*, though he held, yet he did not openly profeſs, the doctrine of *Arius*; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore biſhop of the place, *Conſtantine* could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewiſe tranſgreſſing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great *Athanaſius*

Conſtantine taken ill.

He is baptized.

[y] EUSEB. ibid. p. 554, 555. iii. p. 120. EUTROP. p. 117. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 29 p. 75.

[z] FEST p. 57. LIBAN. orat.

[a] EUSEB. c. 62. p. 557, 558.

[b] HIER. chron.

He orders Athanasius *to be recalled from baniſhment.*

to be recalled from baniſhment, notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, who did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of that zealous champion of the true faith [c]. He probably ordered at the ſame time the other catholic biſhops to be recalled; for *Athanaſius* tells us, that they were all reſtored with him to their reſpective ſees by the children of *Conſtantine* [d]. By his laſt will he bequeathed ſome revenues to the city of *Rome*, and others to that of *Conſtantinople*. He likewiſe confirmed the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire among his three ſons and two nephews [e]. The emperor *Julian* writes, that he committed to *Conſtantius* his ſecond ſon the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either becauſe he loved him above the reſt, or becauſe *Conſtantius*, who was nearer, arrived before the reſt, at leaſt before *Conſtantine*, the eldeſt, who was then in *Gaul* [f]. But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, though he had diſpatched expreſſes to them all as ſoon as he found himſelf paſt recovery. Not long therefore before he expired he privately put his will into the hands of an eccleſiaſtic, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of *Arius*, and obliged him to promiſe upon oath not to deliver it to any but *Conſtantius*. This commiſſion proved very prejudicial to the church, on account of the credit which it procured to the eccleſiaſtic and his ſect with the new emperor [g]. *Conſtantine*, having ſettled matters in the manner he judged beſt both for the church and ſtate, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, that year 337, *Whitſunday*, after having lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-ſeven days. His death was bewailed by perſons of all ranks, as the greateſt misfortune that could befall the empire. The ſoldiers no ſooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell proſtrate on the ground, and gave other public teſtimonies of their deep concern, calling him *their deliverer*, *their beloved leader*, *their common parent*. The people of *Conſtantinople*, overwhelmed with ſorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loſs of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expreſſed their grief in a manner ſuitable

He dies, and is univerſally lamented.

[c] Sozom. l. iii c. 2. p. 498. Athan. apol. 2. p. 806. [d] Athan. ſolit. p. 814. [e] Socrat. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. Soz. l. i. c. 34. p. 495. [f] Julian. orat. i. ii. p. 83. & 175. [g] Socrat. p. 75. Zos. p. 495. Theodor. p. 585. Rufin. p. 167.

to ſo general a calamity [h]. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched with the diſmal tidings to his children, and in the mean time the body of the deceaſed prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, being attended by all the troops in that neighbourhood, who had aſſembled upon the firſt notice of his death. It was expoſed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candleſtics. All the great officers both civil and military, the ſenate, and other perſons of diſtinction, came to pay their devoirs to the corpſe, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been ſtill alive. Court was kept in the ſame manner as when he was living, and thoſe who attended his perſon came at the uſual hours, as if he had ſtill wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceaſed emperors, as appears from *Herodian* and other writers, ſeems to have been long before laid aſide, and to have been revived now in honour of *Conſtantine*. His children were daily expected to pay him the laſt duty; but *Conſtantius* alone came, the other two being probably at a great diſtance; and, ſoon after his arrival, cauſed the corpſe to be conveyed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the *Apoſtles*, which the emperor had built cloſe to the palace, deſiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, ſay *Euſebius* [k], partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apoſtles. That magnificent ſtructure was built in the form of a croſs, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt braſs. *Conſtantine* and the ſucceeding emperors were buried, not in the church itſelf, but in the porch, where mauſoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for the biſhops of the city; the prieſthood, ſays *Sozomen* [l], claiming equal honour and reſpect with the imperial dignity, eſpecially in holy places, where it holds the firſt rank. This church had been finiſhed and conſecrated a little before *Conſtantine*'s death. *Conſtantius* attended the body to the church, but withdrew with the ſoldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the miniſters of the church began the holy ceremonies [m]. As ſoon as they were over, the body was depoſited in the porch, where *Conſtantius* cauſed a magnificent mauſoleum to be raiſed over it [n]. Not many years after, that is, in 358 or 359, the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was

Honours done him after his death.

His obſequies.

[h] EUSEB. c. 65 p. 559. [k] EUSEB. p. 555. 556. [l] SOZOM l. ii. c. 34. p. 469. [m] EUSEB. c. 71 p. 562. [n] Idem ibid. & JULIAN. orat. i. p. 29.

conveyed from thence to the church of St. *Aacius*, a native of *Conſtantinople*, and martyr, built likewiſe by *Conſtantine* [o]; but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the *Apoſtles* [p], where it was to be ſeen, with the bodies of other princes of the ſame family, many ages after. Though *Conſtantine* had never made any conſiderable ſtay at *Rome*, and had in the end intirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people expreſſed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no ſooner heard of it then they ſhut up their ſhops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of ſports and diverſions, as was uſual in time of ſome great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to *Rome*; and expreſſed the greateſt concern imaginable, when they underſtood, that it was, by his will, to remain at *Conſtantinople* [q]. It appears from ſome antient coins, that the ſenate of *Rome* conferred divine honours upon him [r]. He was by moſt churches, eſpecially in the eaſt, honoured as a ſaint, as he is ſtill by the chriſtians in *Egypt*, and the *Greek* church, which ſolemnizes his feſtival on the twenty-firſt of *May* with a very ſolemn office. The *Muſcovites* celebrate his anniverſary on the ſame day, though they can give no reaſon for their preferring that day to the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, on which he died, as is agreed on by all writers, both antient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his ſtatue, which was ſet up upon a column of porphyry [s]. The modern *Greeks* equal him to the apoſtles, as one to whom we owe all our being chriſtians: the apoſtles, ſay they, preached the goſpel in all parts of the world; but it never prevailed over paganiſm, till it was countenanced and eſtabliſhed by the great *Conſtantine*; which in reality is preferring the emperor to all the apoſtles. But of thoſe high flights, intirely ſuitable to the temper of the *Greeks*, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a great encourager of learning, and himſelf much addicted to read, write, and meditate. But, as to his character in general, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and the chriſtians extolling him as the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. The emperor *Julian* ſpeaks of him as a

He is honoured by the eaſtern churches as a ſaint.

Encomiums beſtowed upon him by the modern Greeks.

Authors diſagree as to his character.

[o] Socrat. l. ii. c. 38. p. 145. [p] Chrysost. 2. Cor. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 527. Euseb. c. 69. p. 561. [r] Goltz. p. 128. [s] Theodoret. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 34. p. 66.

prince

prince extremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing ſo much at heart as the aggrandizing of himſelf and his family; and adds, that the bad example he ſet therein to his children armed them againſt each other [u]. He is charged by ſome with having inriched the imperial robes with pearls not uſed before his time, and with conſtantly wearing the diadem. But this charge is quite groundleſs, it being certain, that *Diocleſian* was the firſt who added pearls to the imperial robes, and *Conſtantius Chlorus* the firſt who wore conſtantly the diadem, even when he was only *Cæſar*, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* [w] and *Eutropius* [x], and is evident from his medals [y]. The emperor *Julian* [z] and *Zozimus* [a] repreſent him as a voluptuous prince, intirely abandoned to all manner of diverſions and pleaſures, to banquets and revellings, to publick ſhows, *&c.* inſomuch, that he could ſpare no time from ſports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the ſtate. On the other hand, *Victor* [b], *Euſebius* [c], and *Libanius* [d], tell us, that he was conſtantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, compoſing ſpeeches, (ſome of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times) hearing embaſſies, giving audience to his miniſters and ſubjects; in ſhort, that he was never idle, but ever buſied, either in forming or executing ſome great deſign or other for the good of the empire. Moſt of his laws were dictated by himſelf; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often obſerved, continually moving from one city or province to another; ſo that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundleſs as the former. *Julian* and *Zoſimus*, zealous ſticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced againſt a prince, who had enacted ſo many ſevere laws againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip. We are told, that he kept with him for the ſpace of thirty years one *Samæus*, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with buſineſs. This was not a diverſion worthy of ſo great a prince. It proves, however, that *Conſtantine* applied himſelf ſeriouſly to buſineſs. *Victor* the younger, after having told us that he was addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign: *Conſtantine*, ſays he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten firſt like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten laſt like a prodigal [e]. The ſame charge is brought a-

Several groundleſs charges brought againſt him by the pagan writers.

[u] JUL. orat. vii. p. 423, 424. [w] AUR. VICT. p. 523. [x] EUTROP. p. 586. [y] SPANH. p. 683. [z] JUL. Cæs. p. 23, 42, 52. [a] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. [b] VICT. epit. p. 543. [c] EUSEB. p. 539. [d] LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 107. [e] VICT. epit. p. 543.

gainſt

gainſt him by *Zoſimus*, who writes, that, when he became maſter of the whole empire, he abandoned himſelf without controul to his rapacious temper, loading the people with heavy taxes, and at the ſame time ſquandering away the money thus raiſed upon undeſerving favourites, or uſeleſs buildings [f]. Amongſt the other impoſts with which that virulent writer pretends that *Conſtantine* oppreſſed the people, he mentions one called the *chryſargyrum*, and will have *Conſtantine* to have been the firſt who enacted it. But this *Evagrius* maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church [g]. And truly long before *Conſtantine*'s time a tax was laid upon the public proſtitutes, which moſt writers take to be meant by the *chryſargyrum*. *Conſtantine*, to ſave charges in raiſing it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. *Zoſimus* aſcribes to him another tax called *follis*, which was levied upon all perſons of quality, and occaſioned, according to that writer, the ruin of all the cities of the empire [h]. But he is the only author who ſays, that it was introduced by *Conſtantine*. *Aurelius Victor* writes in expreſs terms, that it was firſt raiſed by *Maxentius* [i]. In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that *Conſtantine* laid any new burdens upon the people, ſeeing he generouſly remitted to all his ſubjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and diſcharged ſeveral cities of contributions, which they had paid for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years; among the reſt *Tripolis* in *Libya*, and *Nice* in *Bithynia* [k]. From an antient inſcription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire [l]. *Zoſimus* writes, that, during his reign, rods, priſons, and all kinds of ſevere treatment, were made uſe of by him in levying the common taxes [m]; whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding theſe violences under the ſevereſt penalties, are ſtill extant, as we have obſerved above. Whence we leave the reader to judge what credit that implacable enemy to *Conſtantine* and the chriſtian religion deſerves. *Zoſimus* and *Julian* are rather accuſers than hiſtorians; and an accuſer is not to be believed, unleſs witneſſes can be produced to vouch what he ſays. Hence the accuſations brought againſt *Conſtantine* by theſe two writers are of no weight with us, unleſs confirmed by the authority of other hiſtorians. *Aurelius Victor*, [n], *Ammi-*

[f] Zos. l. ii. p. 685. [g] Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. [h] Zos. p. 691. [i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Euseb. p. 528. Aur. Vict. p. 527. [l] Vide Baron. ad ann. 312. [m] Zos. p. 691. [n] Aur. Vict p 527.

anus

anus Marcellinus [o], and even his panegyrift *Euſebius* [p], complain of his employing in the adminiſtration of affairs, perſons altogether unworthy of the confidence he had repoſed in them, and ſuffering them to inrich themſelves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcuſable in a prince, *Euſebius* aſcribes to his exceſſive goodneſs, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict ſlight puniſhments on, ſuch of his miniſters as were found guilty of the moſt enormous extortions. He could not, ſays *Euſebius*, prevail upon himſelf to condemn thoſe whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his miniſters, preſuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great diſorders in the provinces, and oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to puniſh the crimes of his miniſters, rendered him, without all doubt, no leſs guilty than if he had committed them himſelf.

Several regulations introduced by Conſtantine.

WE ſhall now proceed to ſeveral regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been firſt introduced by *Conſtantine*. Before his time there were, according to *Zoſimus* [q], two captains of the guards, known by the name of *præfecti prætorio*, who had an equal authority over all the troops diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the empire. But *Conſtantine*, jealous of their too great power, leſſened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the *Orient*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, governed by the four *præfecti prætorio*, each of whom had ſeveral dioceſes or diſtricts under his juriſdiction. To the *præfectus prætorio orientis*, were ſubjected the five following dioceſes; *viz. Thrace*, *Aſia*, *Pontus*, *Egypt*, and the *Orient*. Each of theſe dioceſes compriſed ſeveral provinces, as is manifeſt from the *Theodoſian* code, and the acts of ſeveral antient councils. The dioceſe of *Thrace*, whereof *Heraclea*, and afterwards *Conſtantinopl*, was the metropolis, conſiſted of five provinces, *viz. Europe*, *Thrace*, *Hemimuntum*, *Rhodope*, *Mæſia Secunda*, or *Lower Mæſia*, and *Scythia*. The dioceſe of *Aſia*, which had *Epheſus* for its metropolis, compriſed ten provinces, *viz. Pamphylia*, the *Helleſpont*, *Lydia*, *Pyſidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Leſbos*, and the *Cyclades*. In the dioceſe of *Pontus*, the metropolis of which was *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, were

The præfecti prætorio, *and diviſion of the empire into four prefectures.*

[o] AMMIAN. l. xvi p. 68. [p] EUSEB. p. 540. [q] Zos. l. ii. p. 687.

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eleven provinces, *viz.* *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, ***Bithynia***, ***Honoriades***, *Cappadocia Prima*, *Cappadocia Secunda*, ***Pontus Polemoniacus***, ***Helenopontus***, *Armenia Prima*, ***Armenia Secunda***, *Galatia Salutaris*. The dioceſe of *Egypt* which had *Alexandria* for its metropolis, conſiſted of ſix provinces, *viz.* *Upper Libya*, or *Libya Pentapolitana*, *Lower Libya*, *Thebaïs*, *Egypt*, *Arcadia*, and *Auguſtamnica*. The *Orient* compriſed fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was *Antioch*: the provinces were, *Palæſtina Prima*, *Palæſtina Secunda*, *Phœnicia Prima*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Iſauria*, *Palæſtina Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libanenſis* or *Phœnicia Secunda*, *Euphratenſis*, *Syria Salutaris*, *Oſrhoene*, *Meſopotamia*, *Cilicia Secunda*. The *præfectus prætorio Illyrici* had but two dioceſes under his juriſdiction, *viz.* *Macedon*, and *Dacia*; of which the former conſiſted of ſix provinces, *viz.* *Achaia*, *Macedon*, the iſland of *Crete*, *Theſſaly*, *New* and *Old Epirus*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*: the metropolis of this dioceſe was *Theſſalonica*. The dioceſe of *Dacia* compriſed five provinces, *viz.* *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripenſis*, *Mœſia Prima*, *Dardania Prævalitana*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The *præfectus prætorio Galliarum* had three dioceſes under his juriſdiction, *viz.* *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. In the dioceſe of *Gaul* were ſeventeen provinces, *viz.* *Viennenſis*, *Lugdunenſis Prima*, *Germania Prima*, *Germania Secunda*, *Belgica Prima*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, *Alpes Penninæ*, *Maxima Sequana*, *Aquitania Prima*, *Aquitania Secunda*, *Novempopulana*, *Narbonenſis Prima*, *Narbonenſis Secunda*, *Lugdunenſis Secunda*, *Lugdunenſis Turonica*, *Lugdunenſis Senonica*. In the dioceſe of *Spain* were ſeven provinces, *viz.* *Bætica*, *Luſitania*, *Galicia*, *Tarraconenſis*, *Carthaginienſis*, *Tingitana*, and the *Balearic* iſlands. The dioceſe of *Britain* conſiſted of five provinces, *viz.* *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. The *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy* had three dioceſes under his juriſdiction, *viz.* *Italy*, *Illyricum Occidentale*, and *Africa*. *Illyricum* conſiſted of ſix provinces, *viz.* *Pannonia Secunda*, *Savia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Noricum Ripenſe*: *Sirmium* was the metropolis of this dioceſe. *Africa* compriſed five provinces, *viz.* *Africa Carthaginienſis*, *Byzacene*, *Mauritania Sitifienſis*, *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, and *Tripolitana*.

Italy *divided into ſeventeen provinces.*

Italy was divided into ſeventeen provinces, which were *Venetia*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* and *Picenum*, *Annonarium*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, *Lucania* and *Brutium*, *Alpes Cottiæ*, *Rhætia Prima*, *Rhætia Secunda*, *Samnium*, *Valeria*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*.

The

The prefects were the firſt officers of the empire, and generally looked upon, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had ſeveral other officers under them, viz. *proconſuls*, *vicars*, *rectors*, *conſulars*, *correctors*, and *preſidents*. In the eaſt were two proconſuls; one in *Achaia*, and another in *Aſia*, and ſometimes, but very ſeldom, a third in *Paleſtine*: in the weſt there was but one, *viz.* the proconſul of *Africa*. The vicars repreſented the prefects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the antient inſcriptions, they are ſtyled *pro-præfecti*, or *vice-prefects*. There were vicars in the provinces of *Aſia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, the *Orient*, *Macedon*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, and two in *Italy*, *viz.* the vicar of the city of *Rome*, and the vicar of *Italy*: under the former were the ten following provinces, *Campania*, *Hetruria*, *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, *Brutium*, *Samnium*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Valeria*: under the vicar of *Italy* were five provinces, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Flaminia*, *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Venetia*; to which were afterwards added *Iſtria*, the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and both the *Rhætias*. The provinces under the vicar of *Rome* were called *provinciæ ſuburbicariæ*; and thoſe under the vicar of *Italy* *provinces of Italy*. The vicar of *Italy* reſided at *Milan*, which by that means became the metropolis of all the *Italian* provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the prefect or his vicars, as did likewiſe the conſulars, the correctors, and the preſidents: *Phœnicia* was governed by a conſular, who reſided ſometimes at *Tyre*, ſometimes at *Berytus*, and ſometimes at *Damaſcus*: ſeveral provinces of *Italy* had likewiſe a conſular for their governor, viz. *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Picenum*, *Sicilia*, *Flaminia*, and *Campania*: *Hetruria*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, and *Brutium*, were governed by correctors; and *Samnium*, *Valeria*, the *Alpes Cottiæ*, both *Rhætias*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, by preſidents. We find ſeveral laws in the *Theodoſian* code addreſſed to the prefects, proconſuls, vicars, rectors, conſulars, and correctors, but very few to the preſidents. The prefects under *Conſtantine* and his ſon *Conſtantius* had only the title of *clariſſimi*, which was common to all ſenators, but were ſoon after diſtinguiſhed with that of *illuſtres*. Moſt writers, upon the authority of *Zoſimus*, aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe four prefects to *Conſtantine*; but that author was perhaps therein miſtaken, it being certain, that the empire was by *Dioclefian* divided into four parts, and governed by two emperors, and two *Cæſars*, each of whom had an army, and a *præfectus prætorio*; nay, even

The ſeveral officers under the prætecti prætorio.

even before *Dioclesian*'s time, we find one *Clarus* ſtyled *prefect of* Illyricum *and* Gaul [r]. The prefects were originally military; but after this diviſion of the empire, became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two *magiſtri militiæ*, the inſtitution of which office is likewiſe aſcribed by *Zoſimus* to *Conſtantine* [s]. In *Dioclesian*'s time, each province had its peculiar general, ſtyled *dux* or *duke*; but *Conſtantine* in their room created the two above-mentioned *magiſtri militiæ*, one for the foot, and another for the horſe, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of puniſhing the ſoldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of diſcharging and admitting into the army whom they pleaſed, *&c.* Sometimes both commands were veſted in one perſon; for in a law, dated the ſeventeenth of *June*, 315, mention is made of one *Euſebius* commander in chief both of the horſe and foot; and one *Sylvanus*, in two laws addreſſed to him in 349, is ſtyled *magiſter utriuſque militiæ* [t]. But their number was ſoon increaſed; for in the time of *Theodoſius* I. they were at leaſt five, *viz.* one for the court, called *præſentalis*; one for *Thrace*, one for the *Orient*, one for *Illyricum*, and one for *Gaul* [u]. Theſe *magiſtri militiæ* were afterwards diſtinguiſhed with the title of *comites* or *counts*, and raiſed to the rank of the firſt officers of the empire. The *patricii* or *patricians* were ſuperior in rank both to the *magiſtri militiæ*, and the prefects. This was a new dignity inſtituted by *Conſtantine*, but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, though raiſed above all the other ſubjects of the empire, were nevertheleſs obliged to give the precedency to the conſuls [w]. *Conſtantine* conferred this dignity on *Julius Conſtantius*, his brother, and *Optatus*, his brother-in-law [x]. The patricians are ſeldom mentioned by the writers of the fourth century; but frequently by thoſe of the fifth. The title of *comes* or *count* ſeems likewiſe to owe its origin to *Conſtantine*. Before *Conſtantine*'s time, thoſe who attended the emperors out of *Rome* in quality of counſellors, ſtyled themſelves *comites*; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In *Conſtantine*'s time, the name of the prince was omitted, and thoſe who accompanied him were ſtyled ſimply *comites*, *companions*, and in the modern languages *counts*: one *Dionyſius* is the firſt

The magiſtri militiæ.

The patricians.

The comite or counts.

[r] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [s] Zos. p. 688. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 6. & chronol. p. 48. [u] Notit. c 5, 8, 34, 38. [w] Zos. p. 692. Cod. Theodoſ. p. 74, 75. [x] Idem ibid.

to

to whom we find that title to have been given: afterwards it became a title of honour, and was beſtowed upon all officers of any rank, though they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. Theſe *comites* or *counts* were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks; and hence the expreſſions which we frequently meet with in the writers, who flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* and his ſucceſſors, *comes domeſticus primi ordinis, ſecundi ordinis*, &c. [y]. We find no mention made of the title of *nobiliſſimus*, or *moſt noble*, before *Conſtantine*'s time, who gave it to two of his brothers, *viz. Julius Conſtantius* and *Annibalianus* [z]. It was, under the ſucceeding princes, beſtowed upon their ſons, before they were raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*. Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (F).

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[y] Vide DU CANGE. gloſſ. p. 1074. [z] Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(F) We ſhall begin with thoſe who have written the hiſtory of *Conſtantine*. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* publiſhed his life in four books; but declares, in the beginning of his work, that he deſigns to inſert in his hiſtory ſuch accounts only as ſerve to ſhew his piety and religion, and may prove edifying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, ſince the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendſhip, and informed him himſelf of many tranſactions. He compoſed this work ſoon after the emperor's death; for he tells us, that he began it when *Conſtantine*'s children reigned; and, on the other hand, it is certain, that he did not ſurvive the emperor two full years. Beſides the life of *Conſtantine*, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325, which has been long ſince loſt; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335, which has reached our times, but gives us no great inſight into the tranſactions of thoſe times (1). Several other panegyrics on *Conſtantine*, compoſed in the beginning of his reign, are ſtill extant, and have been of great uſe to us, as the reader muſt have obſerved, in writing the hiſtory of his life. Among theſe there are two, the authors of which are not known; one of them was pronounced in the year 308, on occaſion of the marriage of *Conſtantine* and *Fauſta*; and the other in 313, after the defeat of *Maxentius* (2). Two other panegyrics were compoſed by *Eumenius*, of whom we have ſpoken in the text, the one about the year 309, and the other in 311, to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of *Autun*: that

(1) *Euſeb. or. habit. in tricennal. Conſtantin. p.* 605. (2) *Panegyr.* 5. *p.* 124. & 7. *p.* 152.

The armies acknowledge Constantine's *three children.*

THE news of *Constantine*'s death no sooner reached the armies, than they all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors

written by *Nazarius* was pronounced on the first of *March* 321. *Eumenius* was professor of eloquence in the city of *Autun*, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. *St. Jerom* speaks of *Nazarius* as a celebrated orator in 324, and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. *Vinctus*, in his comments upon *Ausonius*, calls her *Eunomia*; and styles her, upon what authority we know not, a christian virgin (3). *Praxagoras*, by birth an *Athenian*, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of *Athens*; and, three years after, two others, comprising the life of *Constantine*. At the age of thirty-one he published the life of *Alexander the Great* in six books (4). An abridgment of his life of *Constantine* is to be found in *Photius* (5). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on *Constantine*. He is supposed to have flourished under *Constantius*, and to have been contemporary with the sophist *Bemarchus*, who was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of *Constantine* in ten books (6). But none of his works have reached our times. *Libanius* mentions one *Bemarchus*, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by *Constantius* (7). *Eunapius* likewise wrote the history of *Constantine*, but comprised without all doubt in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of *Alexander Severus* (8). We may well rank *Constantine* himself amongst the writers and men of learning who flourished in his time; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in *Eusebius*, who has transmitted them to us. Of these, the chief, or at least the most diffuse and extensive, is his oration *ad sanctorum cœtum*, or his discourse addressed to *the assembly of saints*. *Eusebius* assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himself. His speech, and several letters, he wrote in *Latin*, and caused them to be afterwards translated into *Greek*, though he must have been well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue too, having passed most of his time in the east. Of his letters or edicts the following are still extant in *Eusebius*: the edict of *Milan* in 313, in favour of the christians; his letters to *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, for the ecclesiastic immunity, and ordering whatever had been taken from the churches to be restored; his letter to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, concerning the alms, which were, by his orders, to be distributed among the indigent christians in *Africa*;

(3) *Vinct. in Auson. p.* 158. (4) *Phot. c.* 62. *p.* 64. (5) *Idem, p.* 64. (6) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c.* 17. *Suidas. β. p.* 551. (7) *Liban. vit. p.* 15. (8) *Eunap. p.* 40. *Voss. ibid. c.* 18.

his

rors but the ſons of *Conſtantine*, whom they accordingly proclaimed emperors, as did, ſoon after, the ſenate of *Rome*, without

his letter to *Melchiades*, biſhop of *Rome*, in 313, touching the council of that city againſt the *Donatiſts*; that which he wrote in 314, to *Chreſtus*, biſhop of *Syracuſe*, concerning the council of *Arles*; his edict addreſſed to the inhabitants of *Paleſtine*, and the people of the eaſt, in 323, for the re-eſtabliſhing of the confeſſors; his letter to *Euſebius* the hiſtorian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the eaſt, exhorting them to embrace the chriſtian religion; his letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, touching their diſputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches concerning what had been decided in the council of *Nice* in 325, with reſpect to the celebration of *Eaſter*; the letter he wrote to *Macarius* for the building of the church of the *Reſurrection* at *Jeruſalem*, and that to the biſhops of *Paleſtine* for the building of another at *Mambre*; three touching the promotion of *Euſebius* to the ſee of *Antioch* about the year 331, part of the edict which he addreſſed to the heretics; his letter to *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, in behalf of the chriſtians; two to *Euſebius*, the one touching his treatiſe on *Eaſter*, the other requiring him to ſend him fifty copies of the ſcripture; his letter to the biſhops of the council of *Tyre* in 335, for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Beſides theſe letters or edicts in *Euſebius* (9), others have been tranſmitted to us by different authors, *viz.* five touching the *Donatiſts*, written about the year 314 (10); one to *Arius* and his diſciples about the year 324, complaining of their obſtinacy (11); one to the church of *Alexandria*, upon the condemnation of *Arius* by the council of *Nice*; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and thoſe of his followers, to be burnt (12); one to the church of *Nicomedia*, on the baniſhment of the two *Arian* biſhops, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice* (13); another, on the ſame ſubject, to *Theodotus*, biſhop of *Laodicea* (14); one to *Arius*, inviting him to court (15); ſome lines of which he wrote to *Athanaſius*, injoining him to admit *Arius* to the communion of the faithful (16); one to the church of *Alexandria*, wherein he commends the conduct of *Athanaſius* (17); one to *Athanaſius* himſelf, condemning thoſe who had ſlandered him (18); one to *Johannes Melecianus*, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church (19); one to the *Euſebians* of the council of *Tyre*, inviting them to *Conſtantinople*

(9) *Euſeb. hiſt. l. x. c.* 5, 7. & *vit. Conſt. l. ii. c.* 24, 25, 46, 48, 64. *l. iii. c.* 17, 20, 30, 32, 52, 60, 64. *l. iv. c.* 9, 13, 35, 42. (10) *Cæcil. Optat. p.* 280, 283, 285, 287. (11) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 319. (12) *Socrat. l. i. c.* 9. *p.* 30, 32. (13) *Gelaſ. Cyzicen. acta Nic. concil p* 217. (14) *Idem, p.* 224. (15) *Socrat. l. i. c.* 25. *p.* 61. (16) *Ath. apol. p.* 778, 779. (17) *Idem, p.* 785. (18) *Idem, p.* 787. (19) *Idem, p.* 803.

(20).

without taking the leaſt notice of their two couſins, *Dalmatius Cæſar*, and *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the two ſons of their uncle

(20). To theſe we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet *Optatianus*, thanking him for a poem which he had publiſhed in his commendation; and aſſuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Beſides the authors of the *Auguſtine* hiſtory, of whom we have ſpoken already, ſeveral other authors flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*. *St. Jerom* extols, among the reſt, the orator *Attius Patera* or *Paterius*, a native of *Bayeux*, and ſprung, according to *Auſonius* (21), from the antient *Druids*. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applauſe, about the end of *Conſtantine*'s reign, and afterwards at *Bourdeaux* (22), ſince *Auſonius* ranks him among the profeſſors of that city. He was the father of the orator *Delphidius* (23), of whom hereafter; and *Hcäibias*, to whom *St. Jerom* wrote his hundred and fiftieth letter, was deſcended from him. He was a pagan, as *St. Jerom* tells us in expreſs terms (24). The reader will find in *Auſonius* (25) ſeveral things relating to him, which it would be too tedious to inſert here. *Suidas* aſcribes ſeveral rhetorical pieces to one *Onaſimus*, a native of *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, who lived in the time of *Conſtantine*, and is ſtyled by *Suidas* both an hiſtorian and ſophiſt (26). At the ſame time flouriſhed *Palladius*, a native of *Methone* in *Peloponneſus*, who publiſhed a treatiſe on the feaſts of the *Romans*, and ſome other philological pieces (27). And this is all we know of theſe two writers, whom *Voſſius* ranks among the *Greek* hiſtorians (28). The reader will find in *Photius* (29) ſeveral grammatical obſervations copied by him from four books written in *Iambic* verſe written by one *Helladius*, a native of *Antinopolis*, or *Biſantinopolis*, as he ſtyled it, in *Egypt*. This work was intitled *Chreſtomathia*: he publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, was a pagan, and lived under *Licinius* and *Galerius* (30). *Photius* ſpeaks elſewhere of one *Helladius*, author of a very copious lexicon (31). In the time of *Conſtantine* flouriſhed the celebrated *Platonic* philoſopher *Iamblichus*: he was a native of *Chalcis* in *Lower Syria*, ſprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from *Eunapius*, who wrote his life (32). He ſtudied philoſophy firſt under one *Anatolus* or *Anatolius*, and afterwards under the celebrated *Porphyrius*. He had an incredible number of diſciples, taken with his probity, ſays *Eunapius*, and not with his eloquence; for he both ſpoke and

(20) *Vide Baron. ann.* 325. (21) *Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdigal. car.* 4. *p.* 145. (22) *Idem, car.* 6. *p.* 150. *Hier. epiſt.* 150. *p.* 410. (23) *Auſon. ibid. p.* 145. (24) *Hier. p.* 140. (25) *Auſon. ibid. p.* 149. (26) *Suid. o, v. p.* 311. (27) *Idem, v. p.* 405. (28) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *p.* 486. (29) *Phot. c.* 279. (30) *Idem, p.* 1592. (31) *Idem, c.* 145. *p.* 317. (32) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 23.

wrote

uncle *Conſtantius Dalmatius*; though *Conſtantine* had, in the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire, allotted to each of them

wrote very improperly. From what *Eunapius* ſays of him, it is manifeſt, that he ſtudied magic with no leſs application than philoſophy (33). He died at *Alexandria* before the year 331, ſome time after he had put the laſt hand to the life of a philoſopher of that place, named *Alypius*, who was his contemporary. This work has not reached our times, nor ought we to regret the loſs of it; for *Eunapius* ſpeaks of it as a very mean performance (34). Several works of a philoſopher, named *Iamblichus*, are ſtill extant, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges, but commonly aſcribed, not to the diſciple of *Porphyrius*, but to another *Iamblichus*, who lived at *Apamea* in *Syria*, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor *Julian*'s chief favourites, as appears from the ſeveral letters he wrote to him (35). Theſe two philoſophers bore the ſame name, lived in the ſame country, and had each of them a diſciple named *Sopater*; no wonder, therefore, that moſt writers have confounded them. A third philoſopher, of the ſame name, lived under the emperor *M. Aurelius*. Several works have reached our times, under the name of *Iamblichus*; but which of theſe three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the hiſtory of the life and ſect of *Pythagoras*, with an exhortation to the ſtudy of philoſophy, containing an explication of the proverbs and maxims of that philoſopher (36); an explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*; a treatiſe on mathematics in general; an anſwer to the letter of *Porphyrius* to *Anebo*, on the myſteries of the *Egyptians*; a collection of the tenets of the *Pythagoreans*; and a ſhort treatiſe on the ſun. The firſt of theſe works was tranſlated into *Latin*, and publiſhed in 1598, by one *Johannes Arcerius*, a native of *Friſia*; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in ſeveral paſſages, and, beſides, his ſtyle is both obſcure and improper. *Samuel Tennulius* publiſhed in 1668, *Iamblichus*'s explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*, promiſing at the ſame time to publiſh ſoon after his treatiſe on mathematics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being publiſhed. *Iamblichus*, in his anſwer to the letter of *Porphyrius*, endeavours, under the name of *Abammon*, to confute his arguments againſt the power of magic. *Holſtenius* deſigned to publiſh all the works of *Iamblichus*, together with obſervations; but he was prevented by death from executing his deſign. *Iamblichus*'s life of *Pythagoras* was in great part copied from that of the ſame philoſopher, written by *Porphyrius* (37).

(33) *Idem, ibid.* (34) *Idem, c.* 3. *p.* 28. (35) *Julian. epiſt.* 40, & *p.* 186, *&c.* (36) *Iam. vit. Pyth. p.* 25. (37) *Voſſ. l. iii. c.* 16. *p.* 293, 294.

St. *Jerom*

them their ſhare. However, the three brothers did not, for what reaſon we are no-where told, take upon them the title of

St. *Jerom* tells us, that the philoſopher *Iamblichus* wrote copious comments on the precepts of *Pythagoras*, commonly called the *golden maxims* (38). The emperor *Julian* equals *Iamblichus* of *Chalcis* to *Plato* himſelf. *Gothofredus* is of opinion, that *Gregorius* and *Hermogenes*, or rather *Hermogenianus*, the authors of the two different, but like, codes, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* and his children. They both begin with the laws of *Adrian*, and ſeem to end with thoſe of *Dioclefian*, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of *Conſtantine*, by reaſon of the many changes that prince had introduced into the *Roman* juriſprudence (39). Tho' they were both pagans, yet they might have inſerted ſuch laws of *Conſtantine* as no-ways related to religion. In compiling their reſpective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards obſerved in the codes of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*. The codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* are thought to be the moſt ancient of all; and were both abridged by thoſe who abridged the *Theodoſian* code (40). Only ſome fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of juriſprudence. *Gregorius* is commonly believed to have been the moſt ancient of the two. The ſtyle of *Hermogenianus* is very uncouth, and often obſcure. *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius* flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, and is thought to have publiſhed the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326, on occaſion of the ſolemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two *Cæſars*, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, his children. He had before that time inſcribed another poem to *Conſtantine*: which being well received by the prince, *Optatianus* returned him thanks by a letter, which is ſtill extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a ſecond poem, addreſſed likewiſe to *Conſtantine*. Theſe two poems have been long ſince loſt; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. *Conſtantine* calls him in his letter *his dearly beloved*, and *Optatianus* ſtyles *Conſtantine emperor of the whole earth*; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, *Optatianus* was, upon ſeveral charges brought againſt him, baniſhed. He owns ſome of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was ſent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is ſtill extant, to beg of *Conſtantine*, that he would recal him from baniſhment, and allow him to ſee again his ſon and family. The poem is a panegyric on *Conſtantine*, filled with acroſtics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment and true taſte in the writer (41).

(38) *Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c.* 10. *p.* 246. (39) *Cod. Theod. chronol. p.* 185. (40) *Idem, p.* 184.

of *Auguſtus* till the ninth of *September* of this year 337, that is, near four months after the deceaſe of their father.

(41). St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that the emperor, pleaſed with this poem, recalled the author (42). Several epigrams in the *anthology* are aſcribed to the ſame author; and *Fulgentius*, the grammarian, quotes ſome of his verſes (43): *Rabanus Maurus* and venerable *Bede* ſpeak of his poem as an elegant performance (44); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reaſon, deſpiſe all compoſitions, and *difficiles nugas*, as *Martial* ſtyles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the ancient *Latin* poets, whoſe writings ought to be our ſtandard. Some authors are of opinion, that ſeveral of the pieces, which paſs under the name of *Petronius Arbiter*, were written by *Optatianus*. *Sopater*, the diſciple of *Iamblichus*, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, and, after the death of that philoſopher, became the head of the *Platonic* ſect that followed *Plotinus*. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and both ſpoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was ſtyled a ſophiſt, as well as a philoſopher (45). After the death of *Iamblichus*, not deigning to converſe with other philoſophers, ſays *Eunapius* his admirer, he repaired to the court of *Conſtantine*, to try whether he could prevent the downfal and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the *Romans*. He gained, adds the ſame writer, a great aſcendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the moſt honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyriſt *Eunapius*; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of *Sopater*'s great credit with *Conſtantine*. *Sozomen* tells us, that *Conſtantine* had recourſe to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his ſon *Criſpus*; and that both the philoſopher, and the pagan pontiffs, anſwered, that, in the religion of the *Greeks*, there was no atonement for ſo heinous a crime (46). Hereupon he began to hearken to the chriſtians, ſays *Zoſimus* (47), who aſſured him, that the virtue of their baptiſm was capable of waſhing off any wickedneſs, however enormous. We can ſcarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Beſides, it is certain, that *Conſtantine* had hearkened to the chriſtians, and embraced their religion, before the death of *Criſpus*. While *Sopater* was with the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, there being great ſcarcity of proviſions in that city, by reaſon the veſſels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people aſſembled in the theatre broke one day on a ſudden into bitter invectives againſt *Sopater*, as a magician, who ſtopt the favourable winds, and pre-

(41) *P. Opt prol. c.* 11. *apud Valeſ.* (42) *Hier. ann.* 329.
(43) *Jonſ. l. iii. c.* 15. *p.* 290. (44) *Optat prol. p* 2.
(45) *Eunap. p.* 23. *Sozom. l. i. c.* 5. *p.* 406. *Suid. p.* 781.
(46) *Sozom. l. i. c.* 5. *p.* 406. (47) *Zoſ. l. ii. p.* 685.

father [a]. Soon after the ſoldiery, under colour of preventing diſturbances in the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces *Julius*

[a] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 68. p. 560.

vented the arrival of the ſo long-expected veſſels. Hereupon *Conſtantine* abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who being underhand ſtirred up by the prefect *Ablavius*, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by *Eunapius* (48); and from him *Zoſimus* copied what he wrote on this ſubject (49). It is ſurpriſing, that *Conſtantine* ſhould have treated in this manner, without the leaſt provocation, ſo great a favourite as *Eunapius*, and after him *Zoſimus*, pretend *Sopater* to have been. *Suidas* writes, that *Conſtantine* put him to death, to give the world a ſignal inſtance of his hatred and averſion to paganiſm (50). *Sopater* left a treatiſe on providence, and on thoſe who had been undeſervedly happy or miſerable (51). *Voſſius* ſeems to confound *Sopater* of *Apamea* with another philoſopher of the ſame name, who was a native of *Alexandria*, and abridged the works of ſeveral hiſtorians and other authors. Theſe abridgments are greatly eſteemed by *Photius*, though interwoven with ſeveral fables. They were divided into twelve books (52). *Julian* ſpeaks of one *Sopater* of *Apamea*, who lived in his time (53), and conſequently muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the diſciple of *Iamblichus*. To the other writers, who flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, we may add the two chriſtian poets *Commodianus* and *Juvencus*. The former wrote, according to *Rigault*, who publiſhed his work with thoſe of St. *Cyprian* in 1666, in the time of *Sylveſter*, biſhop of *Rome*; was a native of *Gaza*, or at leaſt bore the name of *Gazeus*; he was deſcended of pagan parents, but in reading the holy ſcripture, diſcovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verſe, commonly ſtiled *inſtructions*, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into ſeveral articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may beſtow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but ſeems not to have been yet well inſtructed himſelf in the truths of the chriſtian religion (54). *Juvencus*, frequently mentioned by St. *Jerom*, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*: he was by birth a *Spaniard*, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and not only a chriſtian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, and wrote a poem, compriſing the four goſpels in as many books He keeps cloſe to the text, chuſing rather to preſerve the truth of the hiſtory, than to diſplay his genius. This

(48) *Eunap.* c. 4. p. 34, 37. (49) *Zoſ.* l. ii. p. 692. (50) *Suid* c p 782. (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Phot* c. 161. p 344. (53) *Julian. epiſt.* 40, 53, p. 185, 186. (54) *Comm.* p. 23. c. 33. *Gennad.* c. 15.

poem

Julius Conſtantius, the deceaſed emperor's brother, *Dalmatius Cæſar*, *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the patrician *Optatus*, who had, as is commonly ſuppoſed, married *Anaſtatia*, the late emperor's ſiſter, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldeſt ſon of *Julius Conſtantius*, the præfect *Ablavius*, and moſt of the great *Conſtantine*'s miniſters, ſuppoſing them attached to the intereſt of his nephews [b]. Thus was the numerous family of *Conſtantine* reduced at once to his three ſons, and two nephews *Gallus* and *Julian*, the ſons of *Julius Conſtantius*; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at moſt but ſeven years old [c], *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* writes, that *Julian* was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death [d]. All authors agree, that neither young *Conſtantine*, nor *Conſtans*, had any hand in the maſſacre of the imperial family: as for *Conſtantius*, *Eutropius* [e], and *Socrates* [f] write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. *Julian* [g], St. *Jerom* [h], and *Zoſimus* [i], tell us in plain terms, thas he was the author of that cruel maſſacre; and St. *Athanaſius* openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and couſins [k]. The three brothers met in *Pannonia* in the beginning of the enſuing year 338, when *Urſus* and *Polemius* were conſuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceaſed princes, *Dalmatius* and *Annibalianus*; but all we know of this diviſion is, that *Conſtantine* had *Thrace* (for he is ſaid to have reign-

But put Dalmatius *and* Annibalianus *to death.*

Their dominions divided amongſt the three brothers.

[b] EUSEB. ibid. p. 541. Zos. l. 2. p. 692. JULIAN. epiſt. ad Athenienſ. p. 497, 498. [c] SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1, p. 164 AMMIAN. p. 298. [d] NAZIAN. orat. 3. p. 90. [e] EUTROP. p. 558. [f] SOCRAT. p. 115. [g] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 407. [h] HIER. chron. [i] Zos. p. 692. [k] ATHAN. ſolit. p. 856.

poem was compoſed when *Conſtantine* had ſettled both the church and empire in peace (55), that is, after the defeat of Licinius. Some of his verſes are quoted by the venerable *Bede* (56). The council of *Rome* held in the time of *Gelaſius*, biſhop of that city, approved of this work, ſtyling it a laborious and excellent performance (57). He wrote another poem on the order of the ſacraments, of which the abbot *Tritenham* (58) aſſures us he had ſeen and peruſed two books; but they have not reached our times. *Crinitus* aſcribes to him ſome hymns (59), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

(55) *Juven. l. iv.* p. 657. *ver.* 1, 2. (56) *Vide Labb de ſcript. eccleſiaſt.* (57) *Concil tom iv.* p. 1264. (58) *Trit. de ſcript. eccleſ.* p. 14. (59) *Bib. pat. t. viii.* p. 657.

ed at *Conſtantinople*) [l]; and *Conſtans*, *Greece* and *Macedon*; for *Corinth* and ſome places in *Macedon* are ſaid to have belonged to him [m]. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by *Conſtantine* in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his laſt will, viz. *Conſtantine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Conſtantius*, *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Conſtans*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. *Conſtantine* ſeems to have yielded this very year *Thrace* to *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans Africa* to *Conſtantine*. While *Conſtantius* was abſent in *Pannonia*, the *Perſians*, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered *Meſopotamia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the ſame time the *Armenians* revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the *Romans*, and joined the *Perſians*, who being thus ſtrengthened, laid ſiege to *Niſibis*: but, after having continued before it ſixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that enterprize, and retire. The preſervation of that important place is aſcribed by *Theodoret* to the prayers of the holy biſhop *James*, during whoſe life and reſidence there, all the attempts of the enemy againſt it proved ineffectual [n]. *Conſtantius*, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left *Pannonia*, and returned into the eaſt, where he aſſembled all his forces, with a deſign to relieve *Niſibis*; but finding the *Perſians* had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms againſt the *Armenians*, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of *Arabia*, no doubt the *Saracens*, who, by frequent inroads into the *Perſian* dominions, made a powerful diverſion, and greatly annoyed the enemy [o]. The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles were fought, ſome gained by the *Romans*, and ſome by the *Perſians*: the cities of *Meſopotamia* were often taken and retaken; and that of *Niſibis* three times beſieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, that the *Romans* gained great advantages when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, but were conſtantly defeated when headed by the emperor in perſon [p]. The following year, three hundred thirty nine, when *Conſtantius* was conſul, the ſecond time, with his brother *Conſtans*, ſeveral laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and among the reſt one forbidding, under no leſs a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which

The Perſians *invade the* Roman *dominions.*

Raiſe the ſiege of Niſibis, *and retire.*

[l] Chron. Alex. p. 670. [m] Liban. orat. 9. p. 212. [n] Theonor. in vit. patrum. c. 1. p. 770. [o] Liban. p. 122. Julian. orat. 1. p. 37. [p] Ammian. l. xx. p. 177.

had

had been allowed by a decree of the ſenate, iſſued in favour of the marriage of *Claudius* and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Notwithſtanding this decree, ſuch marriages were ever looked upon by the *Romans* as inceſtuous, but frequently practiſed by other nations, eſpecially the *Phœnicians*, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-firſt of *March* of this year, is addreſſed [q]. The next conſuls were *Acyndinus* and *Preculus*. This year *Conſtantine*, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having ſolicited in vain his brother *Conſtans* to yield to him *Italy*, or at leaſt part of that country, raiſed a conſiderable army, and, under pretence of marching to the aſſiſtance of *Conſtantius*, who was at war with the *Perſians*, left *Gaul*, and, entering the dominions of *Conſtans*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places. Hereupon *Conſtans*, who was then in *Dacia*, detached part of his forces againſt him, who, having drawn him into an ambuſcade near *Aquileia*, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river *Aniſa*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Aquileia*; but being afterwards diſcovered, it was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and interred there near the tomb of his father [r]. Such was the end of the great *Conſtantine*'s eldeſt ſon. He was born at *Arles*, as is commonly believed, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, 316, created *Cæſar* the firſt of *March*, 317, and ſaluted *Auguſtus* on the ninth of *September*, 337, ſo that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyriſt paints him as a prince endowed with great accompliſhments both of body and mind; and adds, that he ſtudied the ſcriptures, and, to the utmoſt of his power, practiſed what they required [s]. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the leaſt provocation, can by no means be juſtified. He received and treated with great kindneſs the great *Athanaſius*, when he was baniſhed by his father into *Gaul*; which province he then governed [t]. By his death, *Conſtans* remained ſole maſter of the weſtern provinces, *Conſtantius* voluntarily yielding to him the whole ſhare of the deceaſed prince [u]. *Conſtans*, ſoon after the death of his brother, arrived at *Aquileia*, where he was on the ninth of *April*, and on the twenty-fifth of *June* at *Milan* [w]. All we find of *Conſtantius* this year is, that on the fifth of *Auguſt* he was at *Beſſus* in *Thrace*, and on the ninth of *September* at *Antioch* [x]. The next year, when

Conſtantine invades the dominions of Conſtans, *and is killed.*

[q] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294. [r] Zonar. p. 11. Vict. epit. p. 544. Eutrop. p 588. [s] Monodia. ſeu orat. in Conſtantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Soz. l. iii. p. 499. Jul. orat. 2. p. 175. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 97. chronol. p. 41. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 42.

Marcellinus

Marcellinus and *Probinus* were conſuls, many cities in the eaſt were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake [y]; and the *Franks* in the weſt, having croſſed the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Conſtans* marched againſt them, gave them battle; but as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the enſuing year [z]. On occaſion of this war, *Libanius* ſpeaks much at length of the turbulent and reſtleſs temper of the *Franks* [a]. This year a law was enacted in the name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, all manner of idolatrous worſhip [b]. *Firmicus Maternus* writes, that *Conſtans* ordered ſeveral temples to be demoliſhed, and likewiſe the celebrated altar of *Victory* in the ſenate at *Rome* [c]. *Conſtantius* built this year, and fortified, the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Meſopotamia*. *Stephanus* the geographer takes no notice of this city; however, it is certain, that it ſuſtained a long ſiege in the latter end of the preſent reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of *Meſopotamia*, properly ſo called, as *Edeſſa* was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of *Oſrhoene*. The *Arabians*, the preſent inhabitants, call it *Hemit* or *Ameth*, and the *Turks Caramit* [d]. The following year, *Conſtantius* entered upon his third, and *Conſtans* upon his ſecond, conſulſhip. The latter either conquered or appeaſed the *Franks*, to uſe the expreſſion of *Idatius*; and that warlike people ſubmitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was pleaſed to appoint over them [e]. *Conſtans* being thus diſengaged, paſſed over into *Britain* the following year 343, when *Placidus* and *Romulus* were conſuls, to oppoſe the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but the ſilence of *Libanius* with reſpect to this expedition, is a manifeſt proof, that he performed no great exploits againſt that brave and gallant nation. He was at *Boulogne* on the twenty-fifth of *January* on his way to *Britain*, and returned to *Treves* on the thirtieth of *June* [f]. As for *Conſtantius*, he was, on the fifth of *April*, and the eleventh of *May* of the preceding year, at *Antioch* [g]; and this year, on the eighteenth of *February*, at *Antioch*, and on the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, and fourth of *July*, at *Hierapolis* in *Euphrateſiana* [h]. By a law enacted

The Franks invade Gaul

But are quieted by Conſtans.

[y] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. Thophan. p. 30. [z] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. [a] Liban. orat. 3. p 138. [b] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2. [c] Firm. Mat. p. 57. [d] Vide Baudr. p. 35. [e] Idat. p. 85. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 44. [g] Idem, p. 43. [h] Idem ibid.

this

this year on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, and commonly aſcribed to him, the eccleſiaſtics and their domeſtics are exempted from all new impoſitions, and an intire immunity from all cuſtoms granted to ſuch of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading [i]. When the church acquired ſufficient wealth to ſupport her miniſters, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandiſe, or follow any trade. *Theophanes* tells us, that *Conſtantius* triumphed this year over the *Perſians*; for, as we obſerved above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign [k]; but he often triumphed, when he had been overcome, to conceal the ſhame of his defeat [l]. The following year, when *Leontius* and *Saluſtius* were conſuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which intirely ruined the city of *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, no one edifice having withſtood the violence of the ſhock, except the church, and the habitation of the biſhop who was ſaved, with the clergy and ſome other pious perſons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins [m]. *Theophanes* ſpeaks of a battle this year between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, in which the latter were defeated with great loſs [n]. The year enſuing, when *Amentius* and *Albinus* were conſuls, the city of *Duras* on the coaſt of *Greece* was ſwallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* overturned. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by *Conſtantius* the fourth time, and *Conſtans* the third time, conſuls. The latter was at *Ceſena* in *Italy* on the twenty-third of *May*, at *Milan* on the twenty-firſt of *June*, from whence he paſſed into *Macedon*, and was at *Theſſalonica* on the ſixth of *December*; from *Macedon* he ſeems to have returned to *Gaul*; for he ſent from thence *Athanaſius* and *Oſius* to the council of *Sardica*, held the following year 347 [o]. As for *Conſtantius*, he was, on the ſeventh and twenty-ſixth of *May*, and the twenty-third of *Auguſt* at *Conſtantinople* [p]. The law dated the twenty-ſixth of *May*, and addreſſed to the biſhops, confirms to them and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children and domeſtics, ſeveral immunities and exemptions [q]. This year *Conſtantius* cauſed an harbour to be made at *Seleucia*, at an immenſe charge, for the convenience of the city of *Antioch*, which ſtood on the *Orontes*, at a ſmall diſtance from thence. This work coſt him, according to

Neocæſarea ruined by an earthquake

The port of Antioch at Seleucia.

[i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. li. viii. p. 32. [k] THEOPH. p. 30. [l] LIBAN. orat. 12. p. 309. [m] GREG. NYSS. in vit. Greg. Thaumat. [n] THEOPH. p. 31. [o] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. Ath. apol. 1. p. 676. [p] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 10. p. 34.

Libanius

Libanius and the emperor *Julian* [r], incredible ſums, the mouth of the *Orontes*, where the port was made, being full of rocks and ſands. He likewiſe rebuilt the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*; whence the lattter, in the acts of ſome councils, is called from him *Conſtantia* [s]. The ſame year, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, beſieged *Niſibis* a ſecond time; but was obliged to retire with diſgrace, after having continued before it three months, as we read in St. *Jerom*, or ſeventy-eight days, as *Theophanes* will have it. The following year, when *Rufinus* and *Euſebius* were conſuls, the emperor *Conſtantius* pretended to have gained a conſiderable victory over the *Perſians* [a]: he was at *Ancyra* on the eighth of *March*, and at *Hierapolis* on the eleventh of *May* [o]. The next conſuls, were *Flavius Philippus*, a great ſtickler for the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Flavius Sallea* or *Salia*, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of *Nice*. This year, *Conſtans* filled with indignation againſt the *Arians*; and aſhamed of the weakneſs of his brother, who ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon and deluded by thoſe ſubtle heretics, threatened to reſtore by force of arms the orthodox biſhops, whom he had baniſhed at their inſtigation, unleſs he recalled them of his own accord. *Conſtantius* was, either by fear, or the reaſons alledged by *Conſtans* in behalf of the exiled biſhops, prevailed upon to give his conſent to their return [p]. The ſame year, *Conſtans* ſent *Macarius* and *Paulus*, two officers of diſtinction, into *Africa*, with large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor of that province. They were likewiſe injoined by that moſt religious prince, as he is ſtyled by a council [q], to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in reclaiming the *Donatiſts*, and reuniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs; for the moſt obſtinate and ſtubborn among theſe ſectaries being driven out of the province, the reſt yielded to reaſon, and were received again into the church; ſo that the chriſtians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity; till thoſe who had been baniſhed were recalled by the emperor *Julian* [r]. But this year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the *Perſians* and *Romans*, fought in the neighbourhood of *Singarus*, a city of *Meſopotamia*. The *Perſians* had poſted themſelves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had

Niſibis beſieged in vain by the Perſians the ſecond time.

The Donatiſts *ſuppreſſed in* Africa.

The battle of Singarus

[r] Liban. orat. 13. p. 386. Julian. orat. 1. p. 74. [s] Theoph. p. 31. Baudr. p. 45.. [a] Athan. ſolit p. 819. [o] Cod. Theodoſ. chron p. 46. 47. [p] Theodoret. vit. patrum. l. ii. c. 8. p. 13. [q] Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. [r] Philostorg. l. iii. c. 12. p. 45. Sozat. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107.

placed

placed an incredible number of archers; their army was very numerous, and compoſed almoſt of all the nations of the eaſt, *Sapor* their king being determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, and end, if poſſible, by a ſingle victory, ſo tedious and expenſive a war. He did not doubt but the *Romans* would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the *Romans*, finding they could by no means intice the enemy into the open field, forced *Conſtantius* to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, and forced, in ſpite of the ſhowers of arrows that were diſcharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous reſiſtance they met with from thoſe in the camp. Great numbers of the *Perſians* were cut in pieces, and the reſt either put to flight, or taken priſoners: amongſt the latter was the king's ſon, whom the *Romans* are ſaid to have put to death, after having cauſed him to be publicly beaten with rods [r]. Thus the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treaſures: but while they were, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, quenching their drought with the freſh water, of which they found great plenty in the camp, the *Perſian* archers rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and ſnatched the victory, to uſe the expreſſion of *Libanius* [s], out of their hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made of the *Romans*; but nevertheleſs the *Perſians*, as ſoon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the *Tigris*, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the *Romans* might not purſue them [t]. The loſs was great on both ſides; but the *Romans*, by remaining maſters of the field, claimed the victory [w]. The following year, when *Ulpius Limenius* and *Annius Catulinus* were conſuls, the city of *Berytus* was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which ſo frightened the inhabitants, that ſuch of them as had not yet embraced the chriſtian religion, crouded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of ſuch converts, not inſtructed in the holy myſteries, and the duties of their profeſſion, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace [x]. *Conſtans* in the beginning of this

The Romans *force the* Perſian *camp.*

But ſuſtain a great loſs

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus

[r] LIB. p. 13. EUTROP. p. 588. JULIAN. p. 43. [s] LIB. p. 133.
[t] LIB. ibid. JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 45. [w] AMMIAN. p. 122.
[x] THEOPH. p. 32. CEDREN. p. 299.

year was in *Gaul* [y]: there *Athanasius* took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in *Egypt*. From *Gaul* he passed into *Illyricum*, and was on the twenty-seventh of *May* at *Sirmium* [z]; whence he returned to *Gaul* before winter. As for *Constantius*, he was on the first of *April* at *Antioch*, and some time after at *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*; whence he wrote to *Athanasius*, pressing him to hasten his return to the east. He was at *Constantinople* on the third of *October* [a]. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of *April*, exempting the ecclesiastics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly ascribed to him.

Nisibis *besieged a third time.*

The following year 350, when *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were consuls, is remarkable for many great events. The *Persians*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained in 348, returned this year with a mighty army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds, and, after ravaging *Mesopotamia*, and taking several strong-holds there, sat down before *Nisibis* the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. *Constantius* was then at a great distance, the disturbances which happened this year in the west requiring his presence there. But the city was defended by *Lucilianus*, father-in-law to *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy bishop *James*, in whose prayers the garison and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms [b]. The *Persians* battered the walls for several days together with the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpose, and at the same time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, *Sapor* caused the river *Mygdonus*, flowing through the city, to be turned into a new chanel, hoping by that means to distress the inhabitants for want of water; but finding them sufficiently supplied with wells and springs within the walls, he caused the course of the river to be stopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; insomuch, that it seemed an island in the midst of the sea. His design was to overflow the town; but as it stood on a rising ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ships and boats, of which he assembled an incredible number for that purpose. This attack lasted several days; but proving in the end ineffectual, *Sapor* caused the river to be stopped above the city by a wall or mole of an

All the efforts of Sapor *against it rendered ineffectual.*

[y] Athan. apol. 2. p. 774. [z] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48.
[a] Idem ibid. [b] Philostorg. l. iii. c. 23. Theodor. extraordinary

extraordinary breadth and height; which being ſuddenly broken down, the waters ruſhed with ſuch violence againſt the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground for the ſpace of an hundred cubits. Hereupon the enemy, believing themſelves now maſters of the place, advanced with loud ſhouts to the attack; but, to their great ſurprize, met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, the gariſon and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy biſhop, that they were obliged to retire, after having loſt a great many men, horſes, and elephants, as the reader will find related at length by the emperor *Julian* [c]. Heaven itſelf ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the inhabitants of *Niſibis*; for the *Perſians*, during the attack, were ſo terrified with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themſelves, or offending the enemy [d]. They are ſaid to have loſt in this one attack above ten thouſand men [e]. *Sapor* did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he ſaw, to his great ſurprize, a new wall raiſed, and the gariſon ready to receive him. He continued, however, the ſiege, but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulſed with great loſs. Beſides, his army was annoyed with ſwarms of ſmall flies; which entering the noſtrils of the horſes, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable; inſomuch, that great numbers of the *Perſians* were by them trodden under foot, and cruſhed to pieces. To theſe evils was added a dreadful famine, and ſoon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the *Perſian* camp, and in the end obliged *Sapor*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had laſted near four months, and retire with the loſs of twenty thouſand men and upwards [f]. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the *Perſians* during this memorable ſiege, are aſcribed by *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* to the prayers of *James*, biſhop of the place. Be that as it will, *Sapor* was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the tranſports of his rage, put ſome of his chief commanders to death, and all thoſe who had adviſed him to this war. He gave no farther trouble to the *Romans* till the year 359, when the war was rekindled, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. The hiſtory of the ſiege of *Niſibis* was written by *Velogeſes* biſhop of the place [g],

The vigorous reſiſtance of the gariſon and inhabitants.

The ſiege raiſed.

[c] JUL. orat. ii. p. 116. [d] THEOPH. p. 33. [e] Idem ibid. & chron. Alexand. [f] JULIAN. THEOPHAN. ibid. THEODOR. p. 633. [g] Chron Alex. p. 671.

who probably ſucceeded *James* in that ſee; but that work has not reached our times.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the diſturbances in the weſt, which encouraged the *Perſians* to invade the *Roman* dominions, and lay ſiege to *Niſibis*. *Magnentius*, the ſon of one *Magnus*, a native of *Germany*, and commander of ſome troops appointed to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, finding *Conſtans* univerſally deſpiſed by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, reſolved to diſpatch him, and ſet up for himſelf. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to *Marcellinus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*, to *Chreſtus*, and ſome other officers, and gained them over to his intereſt, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, *Marcellinus*, under pretence of celebrating his ſon's birth-day, invited *Magnentius*, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which laſted till the night was far ſpent, when *Magnentius* withdrew, and ſoon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the enſigns of ſovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the deſign, immediately ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*. The reſt, who looked upon it at firſt as a jeſt, (and for ſuch it had paſſed, had the plot miſcarried), were eaſily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conſpirators; ſo that *Magnentius* was, by all who were preſent, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of *Autun*, on the eighteenth of *January*, while *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were conſuls, four years after the council of *Sardica*, and ten after the death of young *Conſtantine* [h]. The uſurper immediately ſeized on the imperial palace at *Autun*, and diſtributed among the populace what ſums he found there; which induced, not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to eſpouſe his cauſe. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in *Illyricum*, to reinforce that in *Gaul*. *Magnentius*, upon his firſt aſſuming the title of emperor, diſpatched one *Gaïſo*, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put *Conſtans* to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had paſſed, notwithſtanding *Magnentius* had ordered the gates of *Autun* to be kept ſhut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards *Spain*. But *Gaïſo*, informed of the rout he had taken, followed him cloſe with a choſen body of troops, and overtaking him at *Helena*, a ſmall village at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, diſpatched him there

Magnentius *revolts.*

[h] *Zos.* p 692. *Zonar.* p. 12. *Jul.* orat. ii. p. 106, 107. *Hier.* chron.

with

with many wounds [i]. St. *Chryſoſtom* writes, that the unfortunate prince, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, firſt ſlew his children, and then himſelf [k]. But this is not vouched by any antient hiſtorian; nay, we are no-where told, that he had any children. Such was the end of *Conſtans*, the great *Conſtantine*'s youngeſt ſon, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created *Cæſar* on the twenty-fifth of *December* 333, and aſſumed the title of *emperor* on the ninth of *September* 337. He was a zealous defender of the chriſtian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the *Arians*, *Donatiſts*, and all ſectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing ſo much at heart as the propagation of the goſpel, the aboliſhing of idolatry, and the unity of the church [l]. Thus *Athanaſius*, who never ſpeaks of him but with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, giving him conſtantly the title of *Bleſſed*. The ſame writer aſſures us, that he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, and ſeems to rank him among the martyrs [m]. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay ſeveral things to his charge. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that after he had reigned ſome years with great applauſe, he abandoned himſelf to cruelty and avarice [n]. *Libanius* charges him with ſuffering one *Eugenius*, and his other favourites, to oppreſs the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence [o]. *Victor* the younger complains of his preferring to the moſt profitable employments ſuch as were able to lay down moſt money for them, without any regard to merit [p]. *Eutropius* likewiſe finds fault with his miniſters, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciouſneſs of his miniſters, rendered him odious to the ſoldiery, and inſupportable to the people [q]. *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to all princes who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, ſpeaks of him as the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and diſgraced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, and guilty of ſuch crimes as are moſt repugnant to nature [r]. *Aurelius Victor* [s] and *Zonaras* [t] ſeem to confirm this charge. But had it been true, we cannot think the great *Athanaſius*, who could not be unacquainted with it, would have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently does. *Libanius*, in an oration which he pronounced not long

Conſtans *murdered.*

His character.

[i] ZONAR. p. 12. *Zos.* p. 693. [k] CHRYS. in Phil. hom. 15. p. 143. [l] ATHAN. apol. i. p. 678, 679. [m] Idem ibid. [n] AUR. VICT. p. 527. [o] LIBAN. orat. iii p. 212. [p] VICT. epit. p. 544. [q] EUTROP. p. 588. [r] Zos. l. ii. p. 692. [s] AUR. VICT. p. 527. [t] ZONAR. p. 11.

before

before his death, extols his continence, and averſion to unlawful pleaſures; which would have been rather deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-mentioned crimes.

The cruelty of Magnentius.

Zonaras writes, that, before the death of *Conſtans* was publicly known, *Magnentius* ſent in his name for all the officers, whom he thought attached to the deceaſed prince's intereſt, and capable of defeating his own deſigns, and cauſed them to be murdered on the road [u]. But whether the death of *Conſtans*, and the uſurpation of *Magnentius*, could be ſo long kept concealed, we leave the reader to judge. Be that as it will, *Magnentius*, by the death of *Conſtans*, became maſter of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, and ſoon after of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* [w]. To ſtrengthen his intereſt, he declared his brother *Deſiderius*, and *Decentius*, according to ſome, his other brother, according to others only his couſin, *Cæſars*. The latter took alſo the names of *Magnentius* and *Magnus*, and is diſtinguiſhed on his medals with the uncommon title of *Fortiſſimus*, or *Moſt valiant* [x]. The news of the death of *Conſtans*, and the revolt of *Gaul*, no ſooner reached *Illyricum*, than *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, aſſumed the imperial robes, and cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus* by the legions under his command. This happened at *Sirmium*, on the firſt of *May*, according to *Idatius*, or on the firſt of *March*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was a native of *Upper Mœſia*, and ſtricken in years when he uſurped the ſovereignty; but ſo illiterate, that he then firſt learnt to read [y]. *Aurelius Victor* ſpeaks of him as a man of no parts [z]. But the emperor *Julian* writes, that he was no deſpicable man [a]; and *Eutropius* commends him on account of his probity and affability, and adds, that as he had ſerved in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with ſucceſs, he was univerſally beloved by the ſoldiery [b]. It appears, both from the chronicle of *Alexandria* [c] and from his medals [d], that he was a chriſtian [e]. *Philoſtorgius* [f] and *Theophanes* [g] write, that he was inveſted with the purple by *Conſtantia*, the eldeſt ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, who claimed that right, as having been declared empreſs by her brother *Con-*

He declares Deſiderius *and* Decentius Cæſars.

Vateranio *aſſumes the title of* Auguſtus.

[u] Zonar. p. 13. [w] Julian. orat. i. p. 47. Zos. l. ii. p. 693 [x] Birag. p. 483. 485. [y] Zos. p. 693. [z] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [a] Julian. p. 59. [b] Eutrop. p. 388. [c] Chron. Alexand. p. 678. [d] Spanh. l. ii. p. 91. Birag. p. 486. [e] Chron. Alex. 676. [f] Philostorg. p. 22. [g] Theoph. p. 37.

ſtantine.

ſtantine. The emperor *Julian* does not ſpeak of him as an uſurper; and *Zonaras* tells us, that, in aſſuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to *Conſtantius*, aſſuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppoſe the uſurper *Magnentius*; and that he ſhould always look upon himſelf rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or ſovereign [h]. *Philoſtorgius* adds, that *Conſtantius* confirmed to him the title of emperor, and ſent him the diadem [i]. Beſides *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, a third pretender to the empire ſtarted up, *viz. Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, the ſon of *Eutropia*, ſiſter to *Conſtantine the Great*; who, having aſſembled a company of gladiators and ſeveral others of deſperate fortunes, aſſumed the purple on the third of *June*, and in that attire preſented himſelf before the gates of *Rome*. The prefect *Anicetus*, who commanded there for *Magnentius*, ſallied out againſt him with a body of *Romans*, who were ſoon repulſed, and driven back into the city; which *Nepotianus* took not long after, and filled with blood and ſlaughter, putting to death among the reſt the prefect *Anicetus*. *Magnentius* was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than he ſent *Marcellinus*, his chief favourite and prime miniſter, againſt this new competitor. *Nepotianus* received him with great reſolution; whereupon a bloody battle enſued between the ſoldiers of *Magnentius* and the *Romans* who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Nepotianus*; but the latter being betrayed by a ſenator, named *Heraclitus*, his men were put to flight, and he himſelf killed, after having enjoyed the ſovereignty twenty-eight days [k]. *Marcellinus* ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief ſtreets of the city, put all thoſe to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future diſturbances, commanded a general maſſacre of ſuch as were any-ways related to *Conſtantine*. On this occaſion many perſons of great diſtinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the reſt *Eutropia*, the mother of *Nepotianus* [l]. Soon after, *Magnentius* himſelf came to *Rome*, to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war againſt *Conſtantius*, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his ſtay at *Rome*, put many perſons of diſtinction to death, whom *Marcellinus* had ſpared, in order to ſeize their eſtates, and oppreſſed the reſt in a moſt tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death,

Nepotianus *aſſumes the title of emperor, and ſeizes* Rome.

He is ſlain.

Rome *tyrannically oppreſſed by* Magnentius.

[h] ZONAR. p. 14. [i] PHILOSTORG. p. 55. [k] *Zos.* l. ii. p. 693. EUTROP. p. 588. AUR. VICT. p. 527 AMMIAN. p. 316, 319. [l] THEMIST. orat. iii. p. 43. JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 106, 107.

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to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raiſed great ſums, he aſſembled a mighty army, conſiſting of *Romans*, *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Franks*, *Britons*, *Spaniards* &c. but at the ſame time dreading the uncertain iſſues of war, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantius*, with offers of an accommodation [l]. That prince was then at *Antioch*, where, upon the firſt advice of his brother's death, he had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor of the weſt, and, to ſupport that title, had aſſembled all the troops diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the eaſt, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor *Julian* is to be credited, than that with which *Xerxes* formerly invaded *Greece* [m]. *Theodoret* writes, that *Conſtantius*, before he ſet out on his march to *Europe*, exhorted all his ſoldiers to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, and diſmiſſed ſuch as refuſed to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to expoſe to the dangers of a war perſons not initiated in the holy myſteries [n]. This ſeems to us ſome-what ſtrange, ſince *Conſtantius* himſelf was not yet baptized. Be that as it will, *Conſtantius* ſet out from *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn, and paſſing through *Conſtantinople*, arrived at *Heraclea*, where he was met by deputies from *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, who had agreed to ſupport each other, in caſe *Conſtantius* would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms propoſed by their deputies were, that they were ready to aſſiſt him with all their forces againſt the *Perſians* and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the firſt emperor, provided he ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame title. The deputies of *Magnentius* propoſed in his name a match between him and *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, offering at the ſame time to *Conſtantius* the ſiſter of *Magnentius* [o]. We are told, that while *Conſtantius* was deliberating with himſelf whether or no he ſhould yield to theſe terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father *Conſtantine* appeared to him in a dream the night following, and preſenting *Conſtans* to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and aſſured him of ſucceſs in ſo commendable an undertaking. Hereupon *Conſtantius*, reſolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies both of *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, to be committed to cuſtody; and purſuing his march

Conſtantius marches againſt him

Conſtantius rejects the terms of an accommodation propoſed by Magnentius.

[l] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 64. Socrat. l. i. c. 32. p. 127.
[m] Jul. orat. i. p. 77, 78. [n] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. p. 638.
[o] Zonar. p. 14. Themist. orat. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. Jul. orat. ii. p. 55.

with

with incredible expedition, arrived at *Sardica*, before *Veteranio* knew of his departure from *Heraclea*. However, he aſſembled in haſte what troops he could, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; which *Conſtantius* wiſely declined, offering to conclude a ſeparate treaty with *Veteranio*, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. *Veteranio* hearkened to the propoſal, and, being acknowledged emperor by *Conſtantius*, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. *Conſtantius*, who ſpoke the firſt, reminded the ſoldiers, in a very elegant and artful ſpeech, of their obligations to his father; of the bounties they had received at his hands; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his ſons, *&c.* and concluded with exhorting them not to ſuffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the ſon of ſo great a prince, to paſs unrevenged: and declaring, that he only demanded what was in juſtice due to him, it being agreeable to the laws of equity, that to a brother ſhould ſucceed a brother, and not a ſtranger, much leſs an open enemy to the whole imperial family [p]. Tho' this ſpeech was levelled againſt *Magnentius* alone, yet the ſoldiers, applying it to *Veteranio*, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but *Conſtantius*, pulled *Veteranio* down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem; who thereupon threw himſelf at *Conſtantius*'s feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindneſs, embraced him, ſtyled him *father*, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to *Pruſia* in *Bithynia*, where he allowed him a maintenance ſuitable to his quality. This happened, according to ſome, at *Sirmium*, according to others, at *Naiſſus*, on the twenty-fifth of *December* 350. *Veteranio* ſpent the reſidue of his life, which was ſix years, in works of piety, in aſſiſting daily at the holy myſteries, in relieving the diſtreſſed, *&c.* without ever intermeddling with affairs of ſtate; nay, he is ſaid to have written frequently to *Conſtantius*, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the ſovereignty, and by that means procured him the happineſs he enjoyed [q].

Veteranio depoſed by the ſoldiery

THE following year, *Magnentius* entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and took *Gaïſo* for his collegue, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of *Conſtans*; but as neither

[p] JUL. orat. ii. p. 143. ZOS. p. 694. ATHAN. ſolit. p. 844. [q] ZONAR. p. 14. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. ZOS. p. 695.

of them was acknowledged in the countries subject to *Constantius*, the present year is in all the *fasti* dated thus, *the year after the consulate of* Sergius and Nigrinianus [r]. *Constantius*, now master of all *Illyricum*, which was held by *Veterannio*, and of the army he commanded, consisting of an incredible number of foot and twenty thousand horse, resolved to march against *Magnentius*, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the *Persians* were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister *Constantina*, the widow of *Annibalianus*, to *Gallus* his cousin-german, the son of his uncle *Julius Constantius*; created him *Cæsar* on the fifteenth of *March*; allotted him for his share not only the east, but *Thrace* too and *Constantinople*; and sent him to *Antioch* to oppose the *Persians*, in case of an invasion [s]. *Philostorgius* writes, that before the two princes parted, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of *Theophilus*, and the other bishops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other [t]. The *Persians* contented themselves with only making some inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but were constantly repulsed by *Gallus* [u]. These inroads and incursions are the war mentioned by *Philostorgius* [w], and *Theophanes* [x], and said to have been finished with great glory by *Gallus Cæsar*. About the same time that *Gallus* was created *Cæsar* by *Constantius*, *Magnentius* who was then at *Milan*, gave the same title, according to *Zonaras*, to his brother *Decentius*, whom he dispatched into *Gaul*, to defend that country against the barbarians, who had invaded it; for *Constantius* had not only stirred up the *Franks* and *Saxons* to break into that province, by promising to relinquish to them all the places they should reduce, but had sent them large supplies of money and arms for that purpose [y]. The barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded *Gaul* with a mighty army, overthrew *Decentius* in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country to the deplorable condition in which *Julian* found it, as he himself relates at length, in the year 356 [z]. In the mean time, *Magnentius* having assembled a numerous and formidable army, consisting chiefly of *Gauls*, *Franks*, and *Saxons*,

Gallus marries Constantina, and is created Cæsar.

The Franks and Saxons invade Gaul.

[r] Buch. cycl. 240. Socrat. l. ii. c. 29. p. 120. [s] Aur. Vict. p 427. Zos. l. ii. p. 695. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 1, 3. [t] Philostorg. l. iv. c 1. p. 63. [u] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 7, 8. [w] Philostorg. p. 60. [x] Theoph. p. 34. [y] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269. [z] Jul. epist. ad Athen. p. 511, 512.

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left *Italy*, and croſſing the *Alps* that part it from *Noricum*, advanced into the plains of *Pannonia*, where *Conſtantius*, whoſe main ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, was waiting for him. *Magnentius*, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a ſmall diſtance, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him into the extenſive plains of *Sciſcia* on the *Save*, to decide there which of them had the beſt title to the empire: *Conſtantius* accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards *Sciſcia*; but as they marched in diſorder, they fell into an ambuſcade, and were put to flight with great ſlaughter [a]. *Magnentius*, puffed up with this ſucceſs, quickened his march towards *Sciſcia*, without hearkening to the terms propoſed to him by *Philip* in *Conſtantine*'s name, who, dreading the evil conſequences of a civil war, offered to yield to him the prefecture of *Gaul*; that is, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquiſhed *Italy*. *Philip* being diſmiſſed, *Magnentius* attempted to paſs the *Save* in the neighbourhood of *Sciſcia*; but the gariſon ſallying out, and *Conſtantius*, who was at a ſmall diſtance, haſtening with a ſtrong detachment to ſupport them, *Magnentius*'s men were put to flight, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. But the uſurper, notwithſtanding this defeat, ſent a few days after one *Titianus*, a *Roman* ſenator, with the character of embaſſador, to *Conſtantius*, adviſing him, if he tendered his life, to relinquiſh the empire, and paſs the reſidue of his days in retirement. To this haughty meſſage, and the bitter invectives uttered by *Titianus* againſt the great *Conſtantine* and his children, which *Zoſimus* himſelf ſtyles outrageous inſults [b], *Conſtantius* anſwered with great temper, That he did not doubt, but heaven would eſpouſe his cauſe, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death [c]. While the two armies lay at a ſmall diſtance from each other, *Sylvanus*, of whom hereafter, abandoning *Magnentius*, fled over to *Conſtantius*, with a conſiderable body of cavalry under his command. *Magnentius*, no-ways diſheartened at his defection, attacked *Sciſcia*; and having taken it by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waſte the whole country lying on the *Save*, and then ſat down before *Sirmium*, the metropolis of *Illyricum*; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Murſa*; which obliged *Conſtantius* to quit his camp at *Cibale*, where his father had formerly defeated *Licinius*, and haſten to the relief of the place.

Magnentius rejects all terms of peace.

Sciſcia taken by Magnentius and levelled with the ground.

[a] Zos. p. p. 695. JUL. orat. i. & ii. p. 64, 181. [b] Zos. p. 698. [c] Idem. ibid. & JUL. orat. I. ii. p. 88, 181.

Magnentius, informed of his approach, placed four thouſand *Gauls* in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But *Conſtantius*, receiving timely notice of the ambuſcade, ſeized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut off [d]. After this, *Conſtantius* approached *Murſa*, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the *Drave* or *Draw*, on which *Murſa* ſtood, the river being on his right, and *Magnentius*'s left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the preſence of each other till the cloſe of the day, during which time *Magnentius*, though he profeſſed the chriſtian religion, is ſaid to have ſacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine [e]. At length the ſignal was given, and the two armies advanced againſt each other with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Magnentius*'s centre, according to the account of the emperor *Julian* [f], was, at the firſt onſet, put in diſorder by *Conſtantius*'s left wing and cavalry; which *Magnentius*, who had drawn them up unſkilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no ſooner obſerved, than he abandoned them, and betook himſelf to a ſhameful flight. His men, eſpecially the *Gauls* and barbarians, aſhamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken and in the utmoſt confuſion, often rallied in platoons, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the victorious army, ſtood their ground till the night was far ſpent, having no reſource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Thus the emperor *Julian*. But *Zoſimus* [g] and *Zonaras* [h] write, that *Magnentius* did not retire till his army was intirely routed; and *Eutropius*, that he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. *Zonaras* adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horſe looſe, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been ſlain, might not purſue him [i]. As for the battle, *Zonaras* tells us, that fortune favoured ſometimes one ſide, and ſometimes the other [k]; and *Zoſimus*, that the victory was long doubtful; and that *Conſtantius*, grieved to ſee ſo much blood ſhed for a few provinces, ſent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to *Magnentius*, with terms for an accommodation; but that the ſoldiers and offi-

The battle of Murſa.

Magnentius *overthrown.*

[d] Jul. ibid. Ammian. l. xv. p. 44. Zonar. p. 15. Zos. l. ii. p. 698. [e] Zonar. p. 15. [f] Jul. orat. l. ii. p. 65, 106. [g] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. [h] Zonar. p. 15. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

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cers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmoſt indignation, fought like men in deſpair, till the night was far ſpent, when they were at length put to flight by *Conſtantius*'s cavalry, armed cap-á-pé, and purſued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged [l]. Some, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, made their eſcape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or puſhed into the river and drowned [m]. Such was the iſſue of the memorable battle of *Murſa*, fought, according to the emperor *Julian* [n], about the end of the autumn; but, according to *Idatius*, on the twenty-eighth of *September*. *Zonaras* writes, that *Magnentius* loſt on this occaſion twenty-four thouſand men, and *Conſtantius* thirty thouſand; which we can hardly believe. However that be, it is certain that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and that the battle of *Murſa* is generally reckoned by the antients one of the moſt dreadful calamities that ever happened to *Rome* [o]. Moſt of the officers on both ſides were killed, and among the reſt *Menelaus*, who commanded the *Armenian* archers under *Conſtantius*, and had ſignalized himſelf during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was ſlain by *Romulus* the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the perſon, who had given him the wound. We are told, that *Menelaus* was famous for his ſkill in archery; that he uſed to ſhoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places; and that this greatly contributed to the victory [p]. *Marcellinus*, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, ſignalized his courage in the battle, but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river [q]. Though we are not told in expreſs terms by any writer, that *Conſtantius* was in perſon at the battle of *Murſa*, yet we can ſcarce believe what we read in *Sulpicius Severus*, viz. that not daring to appear in the field, he waited the iſſue of the combat in a neighbouring church [r]. As ſoon as it was day, (for the battle continued almoſt all night) the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, could not refrain from tears at ſo melancholy a ſight, and being more grieved at the ſlaughter of ſo many men, than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the ſlain to be buried

The battle of Murſa fatal to the empire.

An inſtance of Conſtantius's good nature.

[l] Zos. p. 699. [m] JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 67, 110. [n] Idem, orat. i. p. 69. [o] VICT. epit. HIER. chron. EUTROP. &c. [p] Zos. l. ii. p 700. [q] JULIAN. orat. ii. p. 106. [r] SULP. SEVER. l. ii p. 158.

without

without diſtinction, and ſuch as were wounded to be attended with care. At the ſame time, he cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed for all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him; thoſe only were excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother *Conſtans* [r]. *Magnentius*, abandoning *Pannonia*, fled with the remains of his ſhattered army into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle [s]. *Conſtantius* did not purſue him, becauſe the winter approached, ſays *Julian* [t], and likewiſe, without all doubt, becauſe his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and conſequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

Magnentius *retires to* Italy.

The following year, *Decentius Cæſar* and *Paulus* were acknowledged conſuls at *Rome*, and *Conſtantius* the fifth time, with *Gallus Cæſar*, at *Conſtantinople*. *Conſtantius* paſſed the winter at *Sirmium*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral of his conſtitutions. By one dated the twenty-ſixth of *February* of this year 352, and addreſſed to the prefect *Ruſinus*, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making teſtaments [w]; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. *Conſtantius* was a great favourer of eunuchs, and intirely governed by them, and his other domeſtics [x]. *Magnentius* having, after the battle of *Murſa*, fortified the paſſes of the *Alps*, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at *Aquileia*, paſſing his time, if *Julian* is to be credited [y], in feaſting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him.

Conſtantius *paſſes the* Julian Alps.

But *Conſtantius*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, aſſembled his troops: and having, without the loſs of one man, ſurprized and taken a caſtle on the *Alps*, in which *Magnentius* had left a ſtrong gariſon, advanced in order to force the reſt. His ſudden approach ſtruck the tyrant with ſuch terror, that he immediately abandoned *Aquileia*, and ordered the troops that guarded the other paſſes on the *Alps* to follow him. By this means *Conſtantius*, entering *Italy* without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Aquileia*, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to *Pavia*, where *Magnentius* gained a conſiderable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the *Po*, *Magnentius*'s men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering up to the enemy

[r] Jul. or. i. ii p. 69. 107. [s] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. Jul. orat. i. p. 69. [t] Jul. ibid [w] Cod. Juſt. l, vi. tit 22. leg. 5. p. 544. [x] Vide Baron. ann. 352. [y] Jul. ibid. p. 132.

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the places they garisoned. This so disheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left *Italy*, and retired with all his forces into *Gaul* [z]. *Zosimus* writes, that he abandoned *Italy*, because he found the city of *Rome* greatly attached to *Constantius* [a]; and *Socrates*, that before he withdrew into *Gaul*, he came to *Rome*, and there put a multitude of persons of all ranks to death [b]. *Constantius* was master of *Rome* and *Italy* before the third of *November*; for we find a law bearing that date, addressed to the *Roman* people, wherein the emperor declares void some of the acts of *Magnentius* [c]. But, not satisfied with driving him from *Italy*, he sent a powerful fleet to seize on *Africa* and *Carthage*; which immediately submitted, as did soon after *Sicily* and *Spain* [d]. At the same time several cities in *Gaul* revolted from the tyrant, and among the rest *Treves*, the inhabitants of which important place shutting their gates against *Decentius Cæsar*, the tyrant's brother, declared for *Constantius*, and chose one *Pemenes* to govern them in his name [e]. *Magnentius*, apprehending his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, dispatched to *Constantius* a senator, and after him some bishops, to treat of a peace, offering to resign the sovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and some honourable employment. But the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and dismissed the bishops, without deigning to return them any answer [f]. Hereupon *Magnentius*, perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the best manner he could, and dispatched an assassin into the east to murder *Gallus Cæsar*, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from *Gaul*, and march in person to the defence of the eastern provinces, threatened by the *Persians*. The assassin had already gained some of *Gallus*'s guards; but the plot being discovered, before it could be put in execution, they were all seized and executed as traitors [g]. Some disturbances however happened this year in the east, raised, in all likelihood, and fomented by the emissaries of *Magnentius*; for in *Palestine* the *Jews* took arms, and cutting the throats of the soldiers in the night, set up one *Patricius* for their prince; and over-running all *Palestine*, and the neighbouring places, committed every-where dreadful disorders, exerting their cruelty chiefly upon the *Samaritans*.

Magnentius *abandons* Italy, *and retires into* Gaul.

Africa, Sicily *and* Spain *declare for* Constantius.

The Jews *revolt, but are severely punished.*

[z] Idem. or. ii. p. 133, 134. AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 457. [a] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. [b] SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [c] Cod. Theodos. tit. 5. p. 408. [d] JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 73 74, 137. [e] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 45. [f] ZONAR. p. 15. [g] Idem p. 15, 16.

But

But *Gallus*, who was then at *Antioch*, marching againſt them upon the firſt news of their revolt, cut great numbers of them in pieces, without ſparing either their women or children, laid waſte their country, and burnt ſeveral of their cities; among the reſt *Tiberias*, *Dioſpolis*, and *Diocæſarea*. The laſt city he razed to the ground, and put all the *Jews* he found in it to the ſword, becauſe the revolt had begun there [h]. The *Jews* committed likewiſe ſome diſorders in *Gaul*, where they ſtabbed a man of great diſtinction, who, after having governed *Egypt*, had been ſent by *Conſtantius* into *Gaul*, and would, in all likelihood, had he not been thus ſuddenly taken off, have prevailed upon the inhabitants to declare for *Conſtantius*. His tomb and epitaph were diſcovered many ages after in the village of *Peyruis* on the *Durance* [i].

Conſtantius *marries* Euſebia.

Towards the cloſe of this, or the beginning of the following year 353, *Conſtantius* married *Euſebia*, a native of *Theſſalonica*, the metropolis of *Macedon*, and the daughter of a conſular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chaſtity, and the extraordinary care ſhe took in educating her children after the death of her huſband [k]. She had two brothers, *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, whom we ſhall ſee conſuls in 359. The emperor ſent for her out of *Macedon*, married her with great ſolemnity, loved her to the laſt, more than he had done any of his other wives, (for he had had ſeveral) and, to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new dioceſe, comprehending *Bithynia*, and ſome other provinces, to which he gave the name of *Pietas* or *Piety*, the import of the *Greek* word *Euſebia* [l].

Her character.

She is greatly commended by *Ammianus* [m], *Zoſimus* [n], and above all by *Julian*, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357 [o], for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, ſkill in polite learning, prudence, *&c.* *Julian* was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of *Cæſar* [p]. She was no ſooner inveſted with power, than ſhe raiſed to the firſt employments all her relations, and the friends of her family [q]. On the other hand *Victor* the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empreſs *Plotina*, who adviſed her huſband *Trajan* to prefer the intereſt of his people to that of the exchequer [r]. *Baronius* ſpeaks of her as a profeſ-

[h] Socrat. l. iv c. 7. p. 545. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p 128. Hier. chron. [i] Spon. miſcel. antiq. p. 202. [k] Julian. orat. iii. p. 205. [l] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. Zang. Byzant. fam. p. 48. Julian. p. 206. Vict. epit. [m] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. [n] Zos. l. iii. p. 702. [o] Jul. orat. iii. p. 190. [p] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. [r] Jul. ibid. p. 116, 117.

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fed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the *Arians*, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in *Athanasius* and *Theodoret*, of whom the former says in general terms, that the *Arians* were supported by the credit of women [r]; and the latter, that the empress having sent money to *Liberius*, bishop of *Rome*, to be distributed among the indigent christians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, saying, Let the empress employ as her almoners her *Arian* bishops, *Auxentius* and *Epictetus* [s]. *Suidas* tells us, that *Leontius*, bishop of *Tripoli* in *Lydia*, refusing to wait upon the empress, because she had received other bishops with great haughtiness, she sent for him; but he, instead of complying immediately with her message, acquainted her, that he thought himself obliged to avoid appearing before her, unless she promised to receive him with that respect which was due to his character; that is, to descend from her throne, as soon as he appeared, to meet him near the door; to receive his blessing in an humble posture; and stand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to sit down. The empress, transported with rage, says the historian, at this answer, and swelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces against the bishop; and complaining to *Constantius* of his unreasonable pretensions, endeavoured to inspire him with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the bishop for thus maintaining his sacred dignity and character, and desired the empress to retire to her apartment till her anger was allayed [u]. Both *Suidas* and *Philostorgius* [w] bestow mighty encomiums on *Leontius*, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he seems to have been, at least, destitute of prudence and discretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaisance; but neither are they allowed, in admonishing them of their faults, to be wanting to that respect which is due to their high station. *Eusebia* proved barren; whence, either out of jealousy, or for some reasons of state unknown to us, she obliged her sister-in-law *Helena*, whom *Julian* had, by her interest, obtained in marriage of *Constantius*, to take a potion, which made her miscarry as often as she proved with child [x]. *Julian* married her about the end of the year 355, and this potion was given her, as *Ammianus* assures us, at *Rome* in 357. Before that time she had been delivered in *Gaul* of a son, the only child she could yet have; but he was dispatched by the midwife, not without

Is this behaviour worthy a Christian Bishop

[r] ATHEN. solit. 813. [s] THEODORET. l. ii. c. 13. p. 609. [u] SUID. λ p. 20. [w] PHILOSTORG. l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. SUID. ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72.

private orders from *Euſebia*, uneaſy at *Julian*'s having any iſſue. *Euſebia* was ſtill living in the year 359, but dead ſome time before the end of the year 360[y]. We are told, that ſhe died of a diſtemper occaſioned by her barrenneſs; and that her death was haſtened by a remedy with which an unſkilful woman pretended to remove it[z]. *Conſtantius* was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ſixth of *February* and fifth of *March* at *Sirmium*; on the eighth of *April* at *Sabaria* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, the thirteenth of *May*, and the twenty-fourth of *June*, at *Sirmium*; on the third of *November* at *Milan*; and on the firſt of *December* again at *Sirmium*[a].

THE following year, when *Conſtantius* was conſul the ſixth time, and *Gallus Cæſar* the ſecond, the war againſt *Magnentius* was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, ſays *Julian*[b], fought by the emperor's generals in the *Cottian Alps*, that is, in the higher *Dauphiné*, near a caſtle called *Mons Seleucus*, or *Mons Seleuci* which ſtood between *Die* and *Gap*, not far from the place where the preſent borough of *Aſpres* ſtands[c]. *Magnentius*'s forces being in this battle likewiſe routed and broken, the tyrant took ſhelter in *Lions*; but the few ſoldiers who attended him, deſpairing now of any further ſucceſs, reſolved to purchaſe the emperor's favour, by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the preſent calamitous war; and accordingly ſurrounded the houſe where he lodged, to prevent his eſcape. It was probably on this occaſion that *Magnentius* addreſſing himſelf to his men, they, inſtead of liſtening to him, cried out with one voice, *Long live* Conſtantius Auguſtus. This at leaſt ſeems to us more probable than what we read in *Socrates*[d] and *Sozomen*[e], *viz.* that *Magnentius*, endeavouring in a ſet ſpeech to encourage his men, whoſe ſpirits began to ſink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a ſuperior impulſe, inſtead of *Long live* Magnentius Auguſtus, cried out with one voice, *Long live* Conſtantius Auguſtus. From this miracle, add theſe two authors, *Magnentius* concluded, that his rival was favoured by heaven; and therefore from that time forward, laying all other thoughts aſide, ſtudied only how to make his eſcape. The tyrant, well appriſed of the intention of his men, and thereupon tranſported with rage and deſpair, firſt ſlew with his own hand his mother, his brother

Magnentius *defeated in* Gaul.

[y] Idem. l. xviii. p. 118. & l. xxi. p. 185. [z] Zonar. p. 20. Chrys. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144. [a] Cod. Juſt. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544. [b] Jul. orat. ii. p. 137. [c] Burdigal. itin. p. 39. Itin. Anton. p. 22. Baud. p. 493. [d] Socrat. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [e] Soz. l. iv. c. 7. p. 544.

Deſiderius,

Deſiderius, whom he had created *Cæſar*, and ſuch of his relations and friends as were with him; and then fixing his ſword in a wall, threw himſelf upon it, to avoid by that means a more ſhameful death, which he well deſerved, and had juſt reaſon to apprehend, if he fell alive into the hands of *Conſtantius* [f]. Such was the deſerved end of the tyrant and uſurper *Magnentius*, the firſt, ſay ſome writers, who brought a ſcandal upon chriſtianity, of which he made an outward profeſſion, by the murder of his lawful ſovereign. But we have ſhewn pretty plain in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, that he was the firſt chriſtian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign. All authors agree, that *Magnentius* died this year 353, about the middle of *Auguſt*, ſays *Socrates*, after he had held the ſupreme power three years, and near ſeventh months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through moſt of the provinces of the empire [g]. His brother *Decentius Cæſar*, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, and had already reached *Sens*, hearing of his death, and finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's forces, choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of *Auguſt* [h]. On ſome of his medals he is ſtyled *Auguſtus*; and both on his, and thoſe of *Magnentius*, mention is made of a victory gained by the two *Auguſti*, and by *Cæſar* [i]. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over *Conſtantius* at *Pavia*, as we have related above; after which *Magnentius* probably gave *Decentius* the title of emperor. *Zonaras* writes, that *Deſiderius* was not killed by *Magnentius*, but dangerouſly wounded; and that, upon his recovery, he yielded himſelf up to *Conſtantius* [k]. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but *Julian* ſays in general terms, that *Conſtantius* after the victory ſheathed his ſword, and ſpared thoſe who were ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidents, and ſuch as, taking upon them to diſcharge his embaſſies, had abuſed their prince in a moſt outrageous manner. The writer means no doubt *Titianus*, of whoſe embaſſy to *Conſtantius*, and inſolent behaviour, we have ſpoken above; as does likewiſe *Themiſtius*, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the perſon, with whoſe outrages he had been moſt affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his invectives

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Decentius Cæſar *ſtrangles himſelf.*

Conſtantius's *clemency extolled by the panegyriſts.*

[f] ZONAR. p. 16. Zos. l. ii. p. 701. JUL. orat. i. p. 73. VICT. epit. [g] VICT. epit. p. 544. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227.
[h] VICT. ibid. Zos. p. 701. SOCRAT. p. 128. ZONAR. p. 16.
[i] BIRAG. p 483—485. [k] ZON. p. 16.

with innumerable favours, the ſenſe of which kindneſs, from the hands of a prince whom he had ſo inſolently abuſed, broke his heart [l]. Thus the panegyriſts. But hiſtorians do not ſpeak ſo favourably of *Conſtantius*; for *Zoſimus* tells us, that not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious [m]; and *Libanius*, that thoſe who had ſerved under *Magnentius*, dreading the ſeverity of *Conſtantius*, and not daring to ſhew themſelves, turned public robbers, and infeſted the highways, till they were again taken into the ſervice by *Julian* [n]. *Ammianus* aſſures us, that the emperor ſpared none who had, or were ſuſpected to have, rendered the uſurper any conſiderable ſervice; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who ſentenced them to death, or ſeized their eſtates, and confined them to deſert iſlands, upon the depoſition of their known enemies, or perſons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare ſuſpicions, when no one appeared againſt them [o]. Many innocent perſons, ſays the ſame writer, were put to death, or baniſhed; among the latter he names one *Gerontius*, who had been honoured by *Magnentius* with the title of *comes* or *count*, and was therefore firſt racked, by *Conſtantius*'s order, in a moſt inhuman manner, and then ſent into exile [p]. As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the moſt miſchievous of that infamous tribe was one *Paulus*, a *Spaniard*, who had the character of ſecretary, and was nicknamed *Catena*; that is, *Chain*, being remarkable for making accuſations ariſe from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was ſent into *Britain*, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had ſided with *Magnentius*; that is, who had obeyed the uſurper, when they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. He diſcharged this commiſſion with ſuch cruelty and injuſtice, that *Martinus* a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the iſland, generouſly interpoſing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unleſs *Paulus* altered his meaſures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to ſee the innocent thus tyrannically oppreſſed, and confounded with the guilty. This *Paulus* highly reſented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and ſend him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon *Martinus* drawing his ſword, attempted to kill the

From whom hiſtorians differ.

And gives us ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty.

Paulus Catena, *a noted informer, ſent into* Britain.

[l] Themist. orat. vi. p. 80. [m] Zos. l. ii. p. 701. [n] Liban. orat. xii. p. 285, 286. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 9. [p] Idem ibid.

informer

informer; but he, dexterously avoiding the push, received only a slight wound; and the brave *Martinus* buried his sword in his own breast [q]. Notwithstanding the odium which the death of so deserving a man cast upon the reign of *Constantius*, all those, whom *Paulus* brought to him, were stripped of their estates, and either proscribed, banished, or put to death [r]. The name of *Paulus* is frequently mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who relates several instances of his cruelty. *Libanius* likewise speaks of one *Aristophanes*, whom that inhuman minister caused to be beaten with balls of lead till he was ready to expire [s]. The emperor was this year, on the sixth of *September* at *Lions*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the usurper, and promises indemnity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting those who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws punished with death. *Gothofredus* endeavours to explain this law [t]. By another law of this year, the date of which is much disputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children, and domestics [u]. From *Lions* the emperor removed to *Arles*, where he passed the winter, and solemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*; that is, from the eighth of *November* 323 [w]. Some modern writers pretend, that on occasion of this solemnity was erected at *Arles* the obelisk, which was not long since discovered there [x]. But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no positive proof of its having been raised in honour of *Constantius*. Before the emperor left *Arles*, he summoned a council there, and on that occasion gave many instances of his irreconcileable hatred to the orthodox, whom he had already begun to persecute, and to the bishops, who stood up in defence of the faith of the council of *Nice*, especially to the great *Athanasius*, and the holy bishop *Paulinus*, who was driven from *Treves*, and sent into exile [y]. *Gaul* was this year miserably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the *Rhine*, and the disbanded troops of *Magnentius*. At *Rome* the populace rose on account of the scarcity of provisions, and committed great disorders. In *Asia* the *Isaurian* robbers over-ran *Lycaonia* and *Pamphylia*, and even laid siege

His cruelty.

Constantius *persecutes the orthodox.*

The Isaurians *overrun several provinces.*

[q] Idem, p. 9, 10. [r] Idem ibid. [s] LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 214. [t] Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270. [u] Cod. Theodos. tit. 6. p. 34, 35. p. 8, 9. Nov. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79. [w] AMMIAN. l. xiv. [x] P. PAGI. p. 353. [y] ZONAR. p. 16.

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to *Seleucia*, a great and populous city, and the capitol of *Isauria*. Count *Castricius* defended the place with three legions, says *Ammianus*; which shews, that the legions were not at this time near so numerous as formerly, but much the same with our regiments. *Gallus Cæsar* no sooner received news of the siege of *Seleucia*, than he dispatched *Nibridius*, count of the east, to the relief of the place, who obliged the *Isaurians* to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inaccessible mountains [a]. At the same time the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Persians*, under the command of *Nohadarus*, attempted to surprise the city of *Batne* in the province of *Anthemusia* on the *Euphrates*, on occasion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of *Indian* and *Chinese* commodities [a]. But the eastern provinces were not so much harassed by the barbarians as by *Gallus* himself, who commanded there with the title of *Cæsar*, and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty four or twenty-five, his great quality (for he was the nephew of *Constantine*, the cousin and brother-in-law of *Constantius*), some slight advantages obtained over the *Jews*, *Persians*, and *Isaurians*, and the flattering panegyrics of *Libanius* and others, pronounced before him, inspired him with such pride and arrogance, that he became altogether insupportable, and abandoned himself to every act of violence and oppression. He is even said to have entertained thoughts of revolting from *Constantius*, and setting up for himself [b]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife *Constantia*, instead of softening his savage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to exasperate him against such as did not yield to her the most slavish submission, being puffed up beyond measure with the thought that she was the daughter and sister of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of *Cæsar*. *Ammianus* styles her the *Megæra* or fury of her sex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition [c]. *Gallus*, being thus egged on by his natural cruelty, and the restless and turbulent spirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and banished. The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and spies, who, insinuating themselves into all companies, related to *Gallus* and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had heard

The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.

His cruelty and suspicious temper.

[a] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 10——15. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem, p. 31. Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Liban. vit. p. 34. [c] Ammian. p. 2, 3.

of

of them; and the perſons thus accuſed were, without ſo much as being heard, hurried to execution, or privately diſpatched. *Gallus* himſelf, in order to make diſcoveries, uſed to walk the ſtreets in the night-time in diſguiſe, and to mix with the populace in public-houſes; but he did not long continue ſo ſhameful a practice, having been often known, by reaſon the ſtreets of *Antioch*, where he reſided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His ſuſpicious and cruel temper being once diſcovered, ſuch as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more eaſy than to deſtroy the moſt innocent perſons, and procure the confiſcataion of their eſtates; for under *Gallus* it was one and the ſame thing to be accuſed or ſuſpected, and condemned. By this means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and ſlaughter, and no man, ſays *Ammianus*, however free from guilt, was ſure to live or enjoy his eſtate a whole day. Among the many innocent perſons, whom *Gallus* unjuſtly deprived of their lives, liberty, or eſtates, authors particularly mention one *Clematius*, a nobleman of *Alexandria*, who refuſing to comply with the luſtful deſires of his wife's mother, ſhe turning her love into hatred, applied to *Conſtantina*, and preſenting her with a necklace of great value obtained a warrant to *Honoratus*, count of the eaſt, to put him to death, which he did accordingly [d]. *Thalaſſus*, at that time prefect of the eaſt, was greatly concerned at the conduct of *Gallus*; and had he been a man of prudence and diſcretion, might have eaſily corrected it, and prevented many diſorders; but being himſelf of a haughty and imperious temper, inſtead of admoniſhing *Gallus* of his faults with the reſpect that was due to his rank, he oppoſed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughneſs and ill-nature; and not ſatisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a deſign *Gallus* ſhould know he had done it; which, inſtead of reclaiming him, prompted him to ſtill greater exceſſes, that he might not ſeem to yield to his inferior [e].

Thalaſſus's *imprudent behaviour.*

THE following year, *Conſtantius* was conſul the ſeventh time, and *Gallus* the third. The emperor, having paſſed the winter at *Arles*, went early in the ſpring to *Valence*, with a deſign to march againſt *Gundomadus* and *Vadomarus*, two brothers, and both kings of the *Alemans*, who had made frequent inroads into that part of *Gaul*, which lay next to their territories.

Conſtantius *marches againſt the* Alemans.

[d] Idem, p. 27. [e] AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 3.

ritories. The rendezvous of the troops designed for this expedition was at *Challon*, on the *Sône*, where they began to mutiny for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from *Aquitaine*. *Constantius* was inclined to send to the mutinous army *Rufinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, with a design, as was supposed, to expose him to the fury of the incensed soldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's side uncle to *Gallus*, on whose ruin the emperor had already resolved. But *Rufinus*'s friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and *Eusebius*, *Constantius*'s great chamberlain, gained over the most mutinous and refractory by distributing money among them underhand. The emperor staid some time at *Valence*, and there received certain advice of what *Gallus* had done [f]; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of *Domitian*, of which we shall speak anon. The mutiny being appeased, and the expected convoys arriving soon after, the army marched chearfully towards *Raurucum* on the *Rhine*, a little above the present city of *Basle*, where

Attempts in vain to lay a bridge over the Rhine.

the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the *Germans* from the other side of the *Rhine* plied the workmen so warmly with incessant showers of darts and arrows, that the design was laid aside as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor to great straights; but while he was at a loss what course to take, a person, well acquainted with the country, shewed him a place where the river was fordable. They were, however, prevented from crossing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's camp to sue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his

Grants a peace to the Alemans.

council, and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leisure to consult what measures might be taken with respect to his cousin *Gallus Cæsar*, of whose extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left *Gaul*, as soon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to *Milan* [g]. He was on the twenty-second of *June* at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, and on the twenty-first of *July* at *Ravenna*; whence he went to *Milan*, the usual place of his residence, and there passed the winter [h].

We shall now give a succinct account of the affairs of the east, and the strange conduct of *Gallus* there, which gave just occasion to the complaints of the people, and induced the emperor to resolve upon his ruin. What happened there the preceding year, we have related above. In the

[f] Idem, p. 23. Theodos. chron. p. 52. [g] Idem ibid. p. 23—25. [h] Cod.

beginning

beginning of the preſent year, great diſturbances were raiſed at *Antioch* on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. For *Gallus* commanding the magiſtrates to lower the prices, and they repreſenting, that this, inſtead of mitigating, would increaſe the evil, he cauſed ſome of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to priſon. But *Honoratus*, who was ſtill count of the eaſt, oppoſed this wild decree, and, in ſpite of *Gallus*, ſet the priſoners at liberty [i]. Some time after *Gallus* being to ſet out for *Hierapolis*, the people of *Antioch* beſeeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he anſwered, that if they were not ſupplied, it was the fault of *Theophilus*, governor of *Syria*. This anſwer the people remembered, and the price of proviſions riſing, four or five mean perſons threw themſelves upon *Theophilus* in the circus; and the mob immediately riſing, they not only murdered him, but, tranſported with rage, dragged his body about the ſtreets; a treatment which he no-ways deſerved, having diſcharged his employment with great mildneſs and integrity. They attempted to treat *Eubulus*, one of the chief men in the city, and his ſon, in the ſame manner; but they found means to eſcape the fury of the populace, who nevertheleſs burnt their houſes [k]. The death of *Theophilus*, thus abandoned by *Gallus* to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one *Sereuianus*, who was univerſally hated by all good men, and had even aſpired at the empire, greatly prejudiced *Conſtantius* againſt him. The emperor, however, wrote ſeveral obliging letters to him; but at the ſame time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the weſt. About this time *Thalaſſus*, prefect of the eaſt, dying, *Conſtantius* named in his room one *Domitian*; and, in giving him his inſtructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that *Gallus* was deſirous of coming to *Italy*, and paying him a viſit; adding, *If you think it proper, you may conduct him to my preſence; but let it be done with all the duty and reſpect owing to his birth and ſtation.* *Domitian* underſtood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the ſon of a tradeſman, he wanted politeneſs and addreſs to execute his tacit orders, agreeable to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at *Antioch*, he went directly to the houſe where the prefects lodged, without paying his reſpects to *Cæſar*, though he paſſed before his palace; and, under colour of being indiſpoſed, kept ſeveral days at home, informing himſelf of the conduct of *Gal-*

Theophilus, *governor of* Syria, *abandoned by* Gallus *to the rage of the populace.*

The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian.

[i] AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit. p. 16. JULIAN. p. 111. LIBAN. or. xiv. p 399.

[k] AMMIAN p.

lus, and ſending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length *Gallus* ſending him word that he ſhould be glad to ſee him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, *You muſt go*, ſaid he abruptly, *to* Italy; *for ſuch is the emperor's will and pleaſure; which, if you refuſe to comply with, I ſhall ſtop the neceſſary appointments for the maintenance of your houſhold.* Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew without uttering a ſingle word more, or waiting the prince's anſwer, who called him back, and afterwards often ſent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. *Gallus*, highly provoked, and not without reaſon, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arreſt. *Montius*, or, as others call him, *Magnus*, then queſtor, foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himſelf obliged to prevent them, and with great frankneſs told *Gallus*, that he ought to pull down the ſtatues of *Conſtantius* before he thought of arreſting or putting to death a prefect [l]. Others ſay, that addreſſing himſelf to *Gallus*, he ſpoke the following words with an air of contempt; *The emperor has not thought fit to truſt you with the power of creating a ſingle magiſtrate, and you talk of putting a prefect to death* [m]! *Gallus*, offended at the liberty which the queſtor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately ſeizing *Montius*, and faſtening cords to his feet, dragged him to the houſe of *Domitian*, whom they threw down ſtairs, and dragged with *Montius* through the chief ſtreets of *Antioch*, caſting, after many inſults, both their bodies into the river [n]. This bold attempt, in which *Conſtantina* is ſaid to have had a great ſhare, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the eaſt, at the inſtigation of *Gallus* and his wife *Conſtantina*, whoſe thirſt after blood was as great as that of her huſband. The reader will find in *Ammianus Marcellinus* [o] a detail of theſe cruel and inhuman executions. It being diſcovered that a purple garment was making privately at *Tyre*, the two *Apollinares*, father and ſon, the former governor of *Phœnicia*, and the latter ſon-in-law to the prefect *Domitian*, were by *Gallus*'s orders arreſted, as if they aſpired at the ſovereignty; and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to baniſhment. But thoſe who conducted them, at ſome diſtance from *Antioch*, purſuant to their private orders,

He and Montius murdered.

And many others.

[l] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 16, 17. Zonar. p. 16. [m] Philostorg. l. iii. p. 61. [n] Socr. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Ammian. p. 17. Zon p. 17. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 18—23.

broke

broke their thighs, and then put them to death [p]. *Urſicinus*, general of the horſe, was obliged to abandon the defence of *Niſibis*, and haſten to *Antioch*, to preſide at the inquiry which the emperor ordered to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and well inſtructed before-hand by *Gallus* and *Conſtantina*, he could not proceed as he would have otherwiſe done; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ſerved under him, ſpeaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemiſhed character. As this commiſſion gave him an opportunity of diſcovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt, and preſſed him to redreſs the many evils which afflicted thoſe provinces [q]. Beſides the informations the emperor received of *Gallus*'s male-adminiſtration and cruelties, he was told, that, not ſatisfied with the dignity of *Cæſar*, he aſpired at the ſovereignty, and harboured evil deſigns againſt the emperor. This charge was believed by *Socrates* [r], and is not denied by *Ammianus* [s]. But other writers will have theſe to have been mere inventions of *Dynamus* and *Picentius*, two mean and infamous informers [t]. To them *Zoſimus* adds the prefect *Lampridius*, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great aſcendant over the emperor, eſpecially his chief chamberlain *Euſebius*. *Conſtantius*, giving credit to their accuſations, whether true or falſe, reſolved upon the ruin and death of *Gallus*, tho' his couſin-german and brother-in-law; but, leſt he ſhould openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging letter to *Gallus*, inviting him to *Italy*, that he might adviſe with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the ſame time, he wrote to *Urſicinus*, at that time *magiſter equitum*, or general of the horſe in the eaſt, to come with all ſpeed to *Milan*, in order to deliberate about the moſt proper meaſures that might be taken with reſpect to the *Perſians*, who were aſſembling their forces, as was pretended, with a deſign to invade *Syria*. This was likewiſe a pretext, which the emperor made uſe of to remove *Urſicinus*, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the eaſt during the abſence of *Gallus*. For the eunuch and courtiers, dreading the merit and abilities of that worthy man and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with ſuch fears and jealouſies, in order to compaſs his ruin. One *Proſper*, a *comes* or count, was ſent to ſucceed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to

Gallus *accuſed of aſpiring at the ſovereignty.*

Gallus *and* Urſicinus *invited into* Italy;

[p] Idem, p. 21, 22. [q] Idem ibid. [r] SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. [s] AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 701.

remove from him all aphrehenſions of his being ſuſpected [u]. *Urſicinus*, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, ſet out immediately, accompanied by *Ammianus* the hiſtorian, and arrived at *Milan* much ſooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting *Gallus* into his power. In order to this, beſides the above-mentioned letter to *Gallus*, he wrote ſeveral others to *Conſtantina*, expreſſing a great deſire to ſee her, and inviting her to court, with the moſt tender inſinuations imaginable; for he thought that the readieſt way to draw *Gallus* thither. They were both too ſenſible of their evil conduct not to apprehend the worſt from the emperor: however, *Conſtantina*, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful inſinuations to diſarm his rage; and, without any farther deliberation, ſet out on her journey, leaving *Gallus* at *Antioch*: but ſhe had ſcarce entered the province of *Bithynia*, when ſhe was ſeized with a fever at a place called *Cæni Gallicani*, of which ſhe died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in hiſtory. Her body was carried to *Rome*, and buried on the *Nomentan* way, where ſtood the church of the martyr *Agnes*, which ſhe had founded [w]. Her death threw *Gallus* into the utmoſt perplexity; as he had now loſt his only advocate with the emperor, he deſpaired of being able to appeaſe him; and therefore began to think of aſſuming the title of *Auguſtus*, which he had done, had he met with the leaſt encouragement; but moſt of his friends deſerting him on account of his inconſtant temper, and the reſt hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of *Conſtantius*, he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of openly revolting. In the mean time, the emperor, with frequent letters and repeated meſſages, importuned him to come with all ſpeed to court. Among the reſt, he ſent one *Scudilo* to him, a crafty inſinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable aſſurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave *Antioch* and begin his journey to *Italy*. He ſtopt ſome time at *Conſtantinopl*, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public ſhows, and diverted himſelf and the people with the circenſian ſports. This confident behaviour increaſed the emperor's fears and jealouſies, who thereupon ordered all the gariſons to be removed out of the cities and towns through which he was to paſs, leſt he ſhould debauch them; and at the ſame time diſpatched ſe-

And likewiſe Conſtantina.

Conſtantina *dies on her journey*

Gallus *ſets out from* Antioch.

[u] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 26. Philostorg. 62.

[w] Ammian l. xv. p. 27.

veral

veral officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with such ſtrictneſs, that, though the *Thebean* legions encamped in *Thrace*, upon his arrival at *Adrianople*, ſent deputies to him, aſſuring him, that they were ready to ſtand by him, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, yet, during the twelve days he ſtaid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of ſpeaking with him. In the mean time he received freſh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haſte he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers ſent to him by *Conſtantius* adviſing him to leave his court at *Adrianople*, he ſet out with a ſmall retinue for *Milan*, where the emperor then was; but upon his arrival at *Petavium* in *Noricum*, he was there met by *Barbatio*, who, entering the ſame evening the houſe where he lodged, with a company of ſoldiers, ſtript him of all the enſigns of his dignity, and diſpatched one *Apodemus* with his purple ſhoes to the emperor, aſſuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing elſe was intended by the emperor againſt him; but nevertheleſs, putting him into a cloſe litter, he hurried him away to *Flanona*, now *Fianone*, in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Pola*, where *Criſpus Cæſar*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor ſent his two moſt inveterate enemies, *Euſebius* the eunuch, and *Pentades* his ſecretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect *Domitian*, and others, and to hear what plea he could make [x]. *Julian* [y] and *Libanius* [z] write, that he was condemned without ſo much as being heard; and truly, a prince, who hears only with the ears of his favourites, may be ſaid not to hear at all. *Gallus* owned moſt of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alledged, that they proceeded chiefly from the inſtigation and evil counſels of his wife *Conſtantina*. The emperor provoked at this plea, which reflected in ſo high a meaſure on his ſiſter, and conſequently on himſelf, and egged on by the enemies of *Gallus*, perſuading him, that his ſafety depended upon the deſtruction of ſo dangerous a rival, reſolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly ſigned a warrant for his execution [a]. Some authors write, that the emperor, ſoon after changing his mind, countermanded the execution; but that *Euſebius*, and the other enemies of *Gallus*, pretended that it came too late [b]. Be that

Is carefully watched by the officers of Conſtantius.

Is arreſted at Petavium, *and ſtript of the enſigns of his dignity.*

And put to death.

[x] AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 178. & l. xiv. p. 27—29. [y] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 500. [z] LIBAN. or. xii. p. 266. [a] AMMIAN. l. xiv p. 29. & 31. [b] Idem, p. 30.

as

as it will; it is certain that *Gallus* was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent perſons, which he had ſhed. Thus fell *Gallus Cæſar*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great meaſure to the malice of *Euſebius*, *Scudilo*, and *Barbatio*, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed [c]. All thoſe who had been any ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect *Domitian*, the queſtor *Montius*, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's diſpleaſure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the eaſt in chains to *Aquileia*, where they were tried by *Euſebius* and one *Arbora*, men deſtitute of all mercy and compaſſion, and on that very account charged by *Conſtantius* with that commiſſion. Theſe mercileſs judges, without making any diſtinction between the guilty and innocent, ſentenced ſome to the rack, and after that to baniſhment, others to ſervile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, ſparing none but ſuch as could redeem themſelves with large ſums. *Luſcus*, the firſt magiſtrate of *Antioch*, was burnt alive. But *Gorgonius*, *Gallus*'s great chamberlain, the moſt guilty of all, eſcaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, though no-ways concerned in his crimes, was kept ſeven months under cloſe confinement, and would have been put to death, had he not been ſaved by the favour of the empreſs *Euſebia* [d]. By the death of *Gallus*, the *Roman* empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the ſpace of near ſeventy years, that is, from the year 285, or 286, when *Dioclefian* took *Maximian* for his collegue; for ever ſince that time there had been either ſeveral emperors, or one *Cæſar*. *Ammianus* obſerves, that *Conſtantius*, ſwelled with pride upon ſeeing himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, aſſumed the title of *eternal*, ſtyled himſelf *lord of the univerſe*, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and inſinuating courtiers [e]. As for *Urſicinus*, general of the horſe in the eaſt, of whom we have ſpoken above, he was accuſed of having put *Gallus* upon all the wrong meaſures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But *Ammianus*, his faithful friend and inſeparable companion, aſſures us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eu-

[c] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. [d] Idem, l. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. [e] Ammian. l. xv. p. 32, 33.

nuchs

nuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of *Gallus*, it was resolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he should be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, *Ursicinus* escaped, and *Constantius* was soon after obliged to have recourse to the valour and address of so brave and experienced a commander, as we shall see anon [f].

THE next consuls were *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*. During their administration the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addressed to *Volusianus*, vicar of *Rome*, and dated the thirtieth of *April*, forbidding the marriage of a brother or sister-in-law, and declaring the children born of such a marriage illegitimate: the other dated the twenty-third of *September*, and addressed to one *Severus*, ordaining bishops to be judged by bishops, and not by the civil magistrates [g]. In the beginning of this year *Constantius* summoned a council of bishops at *Milan*, and banished *Liberius*, bishop of *Rome*, into *Thrace*, because he would not consent to the sentence passed by the council against the great *Athanasius* [h]. Before the emperor left *Milan*, *Africanus*, governor of *Pannonia Secunda*, was brought prisoner to that city, with several others, who, after being tortured in a most cruel manner, were thrown into prison, because they had at an entertainment expressed themselves with great freedom on matters of state; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on some plot, and that *Africanus* aspired at the sovereignty. A tribune, by name *Marinus*, who was present at this entertainment, chose rather to lay violent hands on himself at *Aquileia*, than to endure the torture [i]. *Ammianus*, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of *Africanus* and the other prisoners; but seems elsewhere [k] to insinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor soon after left *Milan* to march against the *Germans*, who made frequent inroads into the empire towards the *Brigantine* lake, now the lake of *Constance*. The emperor himself remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the *Grisons*, in the neighbourhood of the present city of *Coira*, and detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against the enemy. *Arbetio* fell into an ambuscade, and lost great numbers of his men; but this loss

Africanus and several others cruelly tortured upon bare suspicions.

[f] Idem, l. xiv. p. 26, 33, 34. [g] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12. p. 37. [h] HILAR. or. in Const. [i] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34, 35. [k] Idem, l. xvi. p. 67.

Was

was ſoon retrieved by the valour of *Arintheus*, who became famous under the emperor *Valens*, and of two other officers, who falling upon the *Germans*, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the *Roman* territories. The emperor, ſatisfied with this, returned to *Milan*, and there took up his winter-quarters [l]. From *Milan* he wrote a long letter to the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* in commendation of the philoſopher *Themiſtius*, whom he had created ſenator of that city. *Themiſtius* anſwered this letter ſoon after by a panegyric on *Conſtantius*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he was the greateſt philoſopher in the whole empire [m]. The emperor's letter, and the oration of *Themiſtius*, are ſtill extant [n]. The tranquillity which *Conſtantius* enjoyed at this time, was ſoon interrupted by the apprehenſion of a pretended conſpiracy, which produced a true one. *Sylvanus*, the ſon of *Bonitus*, a leading man among the *Franks*, commanded in *Gaul*, and had performed there great exploits againſt the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, eſpecially of *Arbetio*, the conſul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had propoſed him to the emperor as the beſt qualified perſon in the empire for driving the barbarians out of *Gaul*, and reſtoring that province, diſtreſſed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly *Sylvanus* well deſerved the character which *Arbetio* gave him; but the conſul's main deſign in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's preſence, in order to compaſs his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One *Dynames*, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving *Gaul*, begged of *Sylvanus* letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor eraſed all but the ſubſcription; and having inſerted directions to the friends of *Sylvanus* for the carrying on of a conſpiracy, delivered the letters to the preſect *Lampridius*, who being privy, as was ſuppoſed, to this wicked contrivance, ſhewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately iſſued for the apprehending of ſuch perſons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of *Franks* of diſtinction at court, they all interpoſed in favour of their countryman; among the reſt, *Malaricus*, their chief, well appriſed that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into *Gaul*, and bring the ſuppoſed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if perſons, whom *Sylvanus* miſ-

The Germans defeated.

Sylvanus falſly accuſed of aſpiring at the empire.

[l] Idem, l. xv. p. 36, 37. [m] Themist. or. Conſ. p. 18. & or. ii. p. 24, 40. [n] Idem, ibid.

truſted,

truſted, ſhould be ſent for that purpoſe, he might be prompted by fear, to attempt what he was falſely accuſed of having already attempted. But *Conſtantius*, without hearkening to the juſt and reaſonable propoſal of *Malaricus*, was perſuaded by *Arbetio* to name *Apodemus*, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to inquire into this affair. He immediately ſet out for *Gaul*; but inſtead of preſenting to *Sylvanus* as ſoon as he arrived, purſuant to his inſtructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he ſeized on his eſtate, and cauſed his friends in *Gaul* to be apprehended and put to the torture. This coming to the ears of *Sylvanus*, who was then at *Cologn*, and too well acquainted with the emperor's ſuſpicious temper, and the aſcendant his enemies at court had over him, to ſuffer himſelf to be arreſted, he reſolved at firſt to take ſhelter among the *Franks*, his countrymen; but being perſuaded by his friends not to truſt a people ſo remarkable for their fickleneſs and treachery, he determined for his own preſervation, to do what otherwiſe he would never have thought of; and accordingly aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command [l]. Some of his coins have reached us, on which he bears the title of *Auguſtus*, and the prænomen of *Flavius*, common, ſince *Conſtantine*'s time, to ſuch as had none of their own, eſpecially foreigners [m]. While theſe things paſſed in *Gaul*, *Dynames*, to ſtrengthen his accuſation againſt *Sylvanus*, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of *Malaricus*, to a tribune, deſiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himſelf further. The tribune, being at a loſs about the meaning of it, ſent it to *Malaricus*, who, knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other *Franks*, demanded vengeance on thoſe who were by ſuch malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the emperor againſt thoſe of their nation. This occaſioned an inquiry, and unravelled the whole ſcene of iniquity. The emperor, well appriſed of the innocence of *Sylvanus* and the malice of his accuſers, depoſed the prefect *Lampridius*, and even ordered him, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to be put to the torture, on which ſome of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end all abſolved, ſo great was the power of their faction at court; and *Dynames* was even preferred to the government of *Hetruria*. As *Syl-*

Is forced to aſſume it in his own defence.

He is declared innocent.

[l] AMMIAN. p. 39, 76. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 503. & or. ii. p. 183. [m] GOLTZ. p. 131.

vanus was declared innocent, they were all greatly surprised by the arrival of a messenger from *Gaul*, dispatched to acquaint the emperor, that *Sylvanus* had actually assumed the title of emperor. The messenger arrived at *Milan* about the close of the evening, and the emperor, thunder-struck at the unexpected tidings, summoned a council the same night, the result of which was, that *Ursicinus*, of whom we have spoken above, should be sent forthwith into *Gaul*, the courtiers, who dreaded *Ursicinus* no less than *Sylvanus*, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. *Ursicinus* made what haste he could to reach *Cologn*, that *Sylvanus*, supposing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For *Ursicinus* was charged with letters from the emperor to *Sylvanus*, confirming him in his post of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to *Ursicinus*. But *Ursicinus*, notwithstanding the haste he made, came too late, the news of *Sylvanus's* revolt being known at court having got to *Cologn* before him; which obliged him to change his measures, and pretend that he had deserted *Constantius*, and was come to share with *Sylvanus* his success or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of dispatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatness of soul which *Ammianus* so much admires in his hero. *Sylvanus* received him with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness, freely opened all his thoughts to him, advised with him about the measures that were to be taken for their mutual security, and reposed in him an entire confidence; which gave *Ursicinus* an opportunity of gaining over some of his guards with large promises, who early one morning forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering sword in hand, met *Sylvanus*, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take sanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days [n]. Thus fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to assume the purple. He had served under *Magnentius*; but deserting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of *Mursa*, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of *Constantius*, who,

Ursicinus *sent against him.*

Sylvanus *slain by the treachery of* Ursicinus.

[n] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 38—42. ZONAR. p. 17.

in

in regard of his eminent ſervices, had raiſed him to the poſt of *magiſter peditum*, or general of the foot. But no merit or ſervices, however great, are a ſufficient antidote againſt the poiſonous tongues of artful and inſinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engroſſed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. *Conſtantius* expreſſed an extraordinary joy at the news of *Sylvanus*'s death; but though he owned that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour againſt ſuch as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. *Pemenes*, who had defended *Treves* againſt *Decentius*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of *Sylvanus* to death, without diſtinction; but were therein oppoſed by the emperor, alledging that friendſhip ought not to be puniſhed as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and eſtate of the unhappy *Sylvanus* to be reſerved for his ſon, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as an hoſtage at court, perceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced, him to revolt [o].

The empire in great danger.

THE barbarians, whom the brave *Sylvanus* had driven out of *Gaul*, that is, the *Franks*, *Alemans*, and *Saxons*, no ſooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the reſt *Colegn*, which they levelled with the ground [p]. At the ſame time, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entering *Pannonia*, laid all waſte before them [q]; and the *Perſians* over-ran without oppoſition *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, *Proſper*, who had ſucceeded *Urſicinus*, and the prefect *Mauſonianus*, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care [r]. *Conſtantius* appriſed of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it adviſeable to ſtir out of *Italy* himſelf, after various conſultations, reſolved in the end to raiſe his couſin *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, to the dignity of *Cæſar*. This deſign was oppoſed by all the ſycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of ſuſtaining the burden of the empire alone, inſinuating at the ſame time, that it was no-ways ſafe for him to raiſe *Julian* to that high ſtation. But the empreſs *Euſebia*, interpoſing in favour of *Julian*,

[o] AMMIAN. p. 44. & JULIAN. i. & ii. p. 89, 183. 184. [p] AMMIAN. l. XV. p. 47. [q] *Zos.* p. 702. [r] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 57.

prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions. The emperor therefore, being returned to *Milan* before the thirty-first of *October* from a short progress, ordered *Julian* to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the sixth of *November* having assembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing *Julian* on his right hand, he acquainted the soldiers with his design of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of *Cæsar*, and asked their consent. The army with one voice approved of his resolution; whereupon the emperor cloathed him with a purple robe, saluted him with the title of *Cæsar*, and of *most loving brother*; appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a stout army, not doubting but upon occasion he would signalize at their head his own courage, and be witness of theirs. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new *Cæsar*. A few days after *Constantius* gave him his sister *Helena* in marriage; and this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to *Eusebia*, who, besides many other things of great value, presented the young prince on this occasion with a large and well-chosen library [r]. But at the same time his whole house was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him honour; but his real design was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not so much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, insomuch, that he thought it advisable to desire his best friends to forbear visiting him, lest they should expose themselves or him to danger [s]. Before he set out for *Gaul*, the emperor gave him instructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences of his table, as if he had been a child, says *Ammianus* [u], sent to school. At the same time, he greatly restrained and curtailed his authority, injoining the generals who served under him, to watch his actions with no less care than those of the enemy, and investing one *Marcellus* with the command of the army, who was sent to succeed *Ursicinus*, though the latter was order to continue in *Gaul*, till the war was ended, with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being still in some degree prejudiced

Julian *created* Cæsar

He marries Helena, *the emperor's sister.*

His power gives the emperor jealousy.

[r] Ammian. p. 47—49. Zos. l. iii. p. 709. Julian. ad Athen. p. 504. Socr. l. ii. c. 34. [s] Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. [u] Ammian. l. xx. p. 168.

against

againſt him w. *Julian* was, above all, ſtrictly injoined not to give any largeſſes to the army; and authors obſerve, that *Conſtantius* himſelf, contrary to cuſtom, gave none upon his promotion x. Several writers tell us, that the emperor ſent *Julian* into *Gaul* on purpoſe to deſtroy him y. But what others write ſeems to us more probable, *viz.* that he treated him thus on account of his youth, and want of experience, and to deprive him of all means of revolting, and ſetting up for himſelf. *Julian* ſet out from *Milan* on the firſt of *December*, the emperor himſelf accompanying him as far as *Pavia*, from whence he purſued his journey to the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers. On his arrival at *Turin*, he was firſt acquainted with the loſs of *Cologn*, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at *Vienne* before the end of the year, and was received by the people of that city and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy z. While he was entering the city, an old woman, who had been long blind, cried out, if *Ammianus* is to be credited, that he would one day reſtore the temples of the gods a. *He is ſent into* Gaul.

THE following year, 356, *Conſtantius* took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, and choſe *Julian* for his colleague. The latter paſſed the winter at *Vienne*, deliberating about the operations of the enſuing campaign. During his ſtay there, he received intelligence, that the city of *Autun* was beſieged by the barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulſed the enemy when they were already ſcaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigorous ſally. However *Julian*, having aſſembled what forces he could, marched to the relief of the place; but finding the ſiege raiſed, from *Autun* he went in purſuit of the barbarians to *Auxerre*, croſſing with no ſmall danger thick woods, and from *Auxerre* to *Troies*. On his march he found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took ſome priſoners. From *Troies* he haſtened to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army, commanded by *Marcellus*, waited his arrival. Leaving *Rheims*, he took his rout towards *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze*, on the *Scille* in *Lorrain*, with a deſign to fall upon the *Germans*, who were buſied in *Autun beſieged by the barbarians; who raiſe the ſiege.*

w Idem, l. xvi p. 60. x Idem, l. xxii. p. 206. y EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76. SOCRAT. l. iii c. 1. SOZOM. l. v. c. 2. p. 596. z AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 50. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 270. a AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 50.

ravaging

ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the reſt of the army, alarmed at the ſudden noiſe, turned back to their aſſiſtance. The *Germans* themſelves were defeated a few days after, though not with great loſs, in the neighbourhood of *Brocromagus*, now *Brumt*, in *Alſace*, between *Straſbourg* and *Haguenau* [b]. This ſmall victory opened him a way to *Cologn*, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but *Julian* ordered the antient fortifications to be with all ſpeed repaired, and the houſes rebuilt [c]. *Libanius* adds, that he re-eſtabliſhed another great city in that country, perhaps *Tongres* or *Treves*, which had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced to a miſerable condition. During his ſtay at *Cologn*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, ſent deputies to him to ſue for a peace; but *Julian* granted him only a ſhort truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of *Cologn*, he removed to *Baſle* to ſupport the emperor, who was making war upon the *Germans* in *Rhætia*, and to prevent their eſcaping from him into *Gaul*. He continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of *Sens*, and there took up his quarters [d]. This campaign proved, according to the account which *Ammianus* gives us of it, very glorious for *Julian*. But the many advantages which he is ſaid to have gained, muſt either have been leſs conſiderable than they are repreſented by that writer, or counterbalanced by equal loſſes, ſince *Julian* himſelf writes, that his firſt campaign proved unſucceſsful, and that during this ſummer he performed nothing worthy of notice *. Beſides, we ſhall ſee him the next winter beſieged in *Sens* by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himſelf owns [e]; but *Ammianus* has paſſed it over in ſilence. *Libanius* ſays, that the greateſt victory he gained this year was over himſelf, in reſtraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of thoſe about him, who, inſtead of ſeconding his great deſigns, made it their whole buſineſs to thwart them, in compliance with their private inſtructions, and to humour the jealous temper of *Conſtantius* [f]. The ſame writer adds, ſpeaking, we ſuppoſe, like an orator, that *Julian*

Cologn retaken by Julian, & rebuilt.

Authors diſagree about his firſt campaign.

[b] Idem, p. 59. Liban. or. ix. p. 237. & or. xii. p. 271. [c] Ammian. p. 40. Julian. p. 512. [d] Ammian. p. 61. 72. * Julian. ad Athen. p 510. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liban. or. ix. p. 237.

lian

lian was allowed not to act, but only to ſhew himſelf [g]. As for *Conſtantius*, it appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, that he did not ſtir from *Milan* till after the eleventh of *April* [h], and then took a progreſs into *Illyricum* [i]. He was returned to *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *October*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of *Rome* all their privileges [k]. He left *Milan* ſoon after to make war upon the *Germans*, who had for their kings the two brothers *Gondomadus* and *Vadomarus*. He paſſed the *Rhine*, entered their dominions on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte their country far and wide. This obliged them to ſue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to *Milan*, the uſual place of his reſidence [l]. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empreſs *Euſebia* viſited the city of *Rome*, and was received there by the ſenate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her ſtay in that metropolis, ſhe gave great largeſſes to the people, and upon her departure made rich preſents to the heads of the tribes [m]. The ſame year, *Conſtantius*, exerting his zeal for the doctrine of *Arius*, drove *Athanaſius* from his ſee at *Alexandria*; and put *Georgius*, an *Arian*, in his room. He likewiſe baniſhed the orthodox biſhops, *Hilarius* of *Poitiers*, and *Rhodanes* of *Toulouſe*. But as for *Athanaſius*, he perſecuted him even beyond the limits of the empire, writing letters againſt him to the princes of *Auximus* in *Ethiopia*, where he imagined the perſecuted biſhop had taken ſhelter. Conſtantius *obliges the* Germans *to ſue for peace.*

The ſame year, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one, dated the twentieth of *February*, condemning thoſe to death who ſhould for the future ſacrifice, or pay any manner of worſhip to idols [n]; the other, dated the eighth of *March*, declaring the effects of condemned perſons, except in caſes of magic or treaſon, to belong to their children and relations within the third degree [o]. But this law the emperor himſelf revoked in two years after [p]. *Forbids, upon pain of death, the worſhipping of idols.*

THE next conſuls were, *Conſtantius* the ninth time, and *Julian* the ſecond. The latter had taken up his winter-quaters at *Sens*, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a ſmall number of troops, the reſt being diſperſed about the

[g] Idem, or. xii. p. 271. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 55. [i] ATHANAS. ſolit. p. 841. [k] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 13. p. 39. [l] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 77, &c. JULIAN. or. iii. p. 240. [m] JULIAN. or. iii. p. 240, 241. [n] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 6. p. 266. [o] Ibid. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 2. p. 329. [p] Ibid. leg. 4. p. 331.

country

Julian besieged in Sens.

country for the convenience of their quarters in a province so often ravaged and laid waste. The barbarians, appriſed of this, came in great numbers, and laid ſiege to the place, hoping to take *Julian* himſelf priſoner. But he, with the few forces he had, made ſo vigorous a defence, that the enemy, deſpairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while *Marcellus*, the commander in chief, never ſtirred to reſcue *Julian*, or relieve the place, though he was quartered in the neighbourhood [q]. *Ammianus* tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to *Sardica*, the place of his nativity [r]. But *Julian* ſays only, that *Conſtantius* began to ſuſpect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was inveſted [s]. *Libanius* writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppreſſed the ſubjects of the empire, treated *Julian* himſelf with great haughtineſs, thwarted all his deſigns, and upon his removal repaired to *Milan* to diſcredit him with the emperor. But *Julian*, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealouſy and credulity of the other, ſent the eunuch *Eutherius*, his great chamberlain, to anſwer ſuch things as might be alledged againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that the emperor remained fully ſatisfied with the conduct of *Julian* [t]. *Ammian* beſtows great encomiums upon this eunuch. Not long after *Conſtantius* declared *Julian* commander in chief of all the forces in *Gaul*, being perſuaded to it either by the empreſs, or the eunuch *Eutherius*, or probably by both [u]. At the ſame time he appointed *Severus* an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper from *Marcellus*, to command under him. Upon his arrival in *Gaul*, *Julian*, who received him with great joy, raiſed new troops, and ſupplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arſenal [w]. This year *Conſtantius* ſentenced to death a great many perſons convicted of having conſulted the magicians, and publiſhed a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourſe to the augurs, aruſpices, or any other diviners whatſoever [x]. By another law, dated the fourth of *December*, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beaſts [y]. This year, the emperor took a progreſs to *Rome*, which he had never yet ſeen, with

He is created commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul.

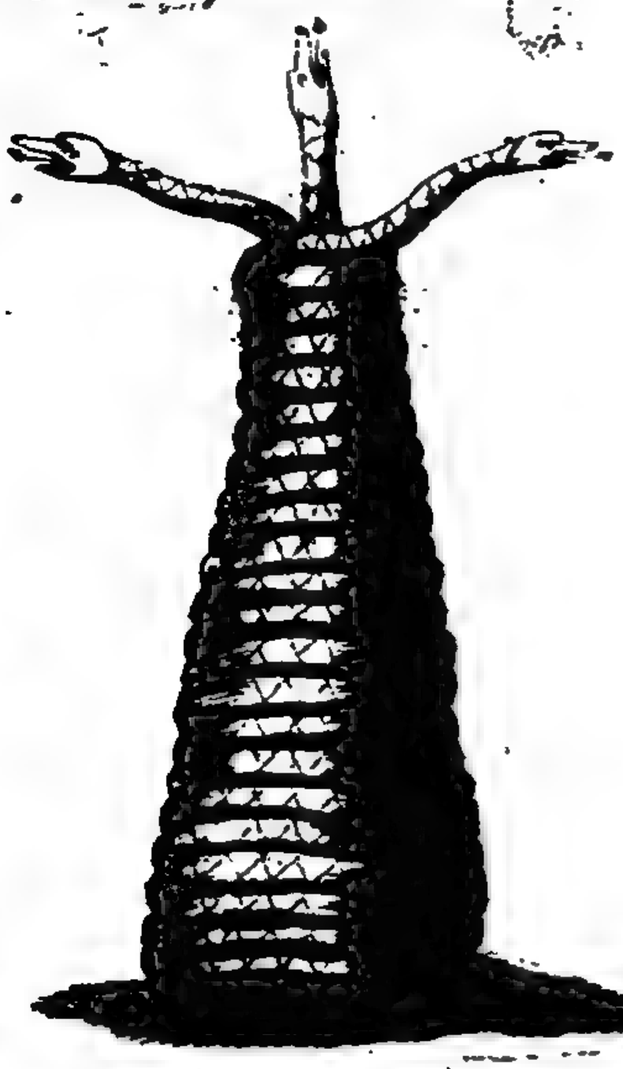
[q] Julian. p. 510. Ammian. p. 61. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 64, 66. [s] Julian. p. 511. [t] Ammian. p. 64, 65. [u] Zos. l. iii. p. 703. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 72. [w] Zos. l. iii. p. 704. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 16. l. iv. p. 119. [y] Ibid. leg. p. 121, 122.

the

THE HISTORICAL PILLAR
from Du Fresne Lib: 1 Pag 9.



The Serpentine Pillar



The Porphyrry Pillar

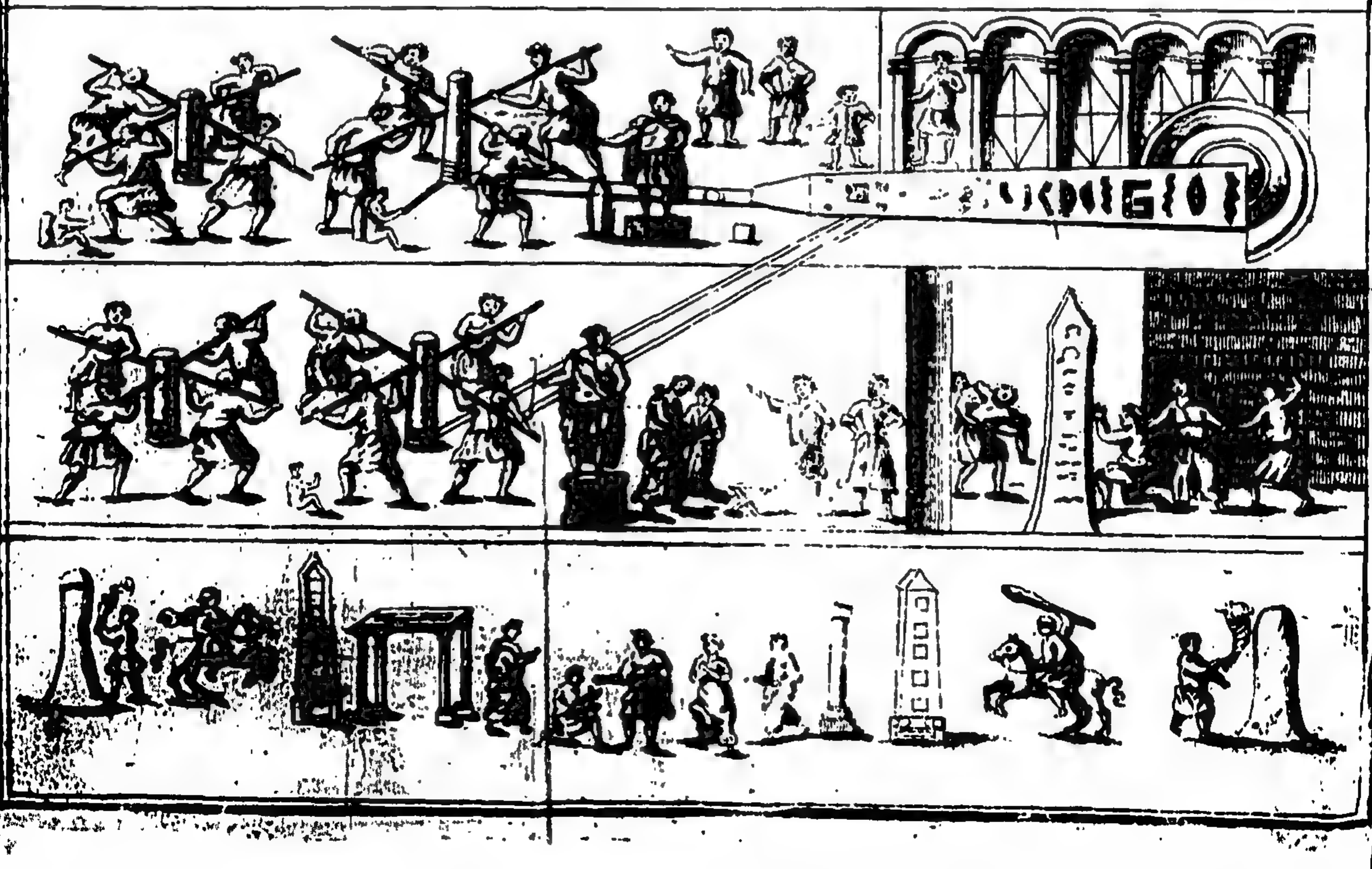


The Pillar of the Emp.r Marcian



D.P Sculpt.

The Hippodrome *n.r y.r* Thebean Obelisk *and* [illegible] *with it was erected.*



the empreſs *Euſebia*, and his ſiſter *Helena*, the wife of *Julian*. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth of *April*, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number of precious ſtones, being attended by the ſenate, and the whole nobility, who came out in their robes, and richeſt apparel to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in *Ammianus*, who deſcribes it at length [z]. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, with the multitude of the people, with the loftineſs of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the public baths, the amphitheatre, *Pompey*'s theatre, and the ſquare of *Trajan*. He is ſaid to have complained of fame, far exceeding truth in other things, but coming ſhort of it in what related to *Rome*. He harangued both the people and the ſenate, the former from the roſtra, and the latter in the ſenate-houſe. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323, when he was created *Gæſar*; and it was perhaps on occaſion of that ſolemnity that he ordered public ſports to be exhibited, not only in *Rome*, but in all the other cities of *Italy* [a]. During his ſtay at *Rome*, he was preſented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by ſeveral cities, and among the reſt by the city of *Conſtantinople*, which had appointed *Themeſtius* to preſent it; but he falling ſick, the diſcourſe, which he had compoſed for the occaſion, was ſent to the emperor, who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ordered a ſtatue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a ſecond diſcourſe or panegyric [b]. The emperor, deſiring to add ſomething of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obeliſk thither, which had been removed by his father *Conſtantine* from *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* with that deſign, and had been carried as far as *Alexandria*. But that prince dying in the mean time, it ſtill remained there. *Conſtantius* therefore ordered it to be brought to *Rome*, where it was with much difficulty ſet up in the *Circus Maximus* about the beginning of the following year [c]. This is the obeliſk which was erected in *Rome* in the pontificate of *Sixtus* V [d]. *Conſtantius* would not enter the place, where the ſenate aſſembled, till the ancient altar of *victory* was removed from thence, leſt he ſhould defile his eyes, ſays St. *Ambroſe* [e], with the unhallowed ſight of an altar conſecrated to the infernal

Conſtantius *takes a progreſs to* Rome.

Is taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the city.

[z] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71, &c.
[a] AMMIAN. ibid.
[b] THEMIST. or. iv. p. 53—57.
[c] AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 92.
[d] BARON. ann. 357.
[e] AMBROS. rel. ſym. p. 196.

fernal ſpirits. He was greatly taken with the pleaſures and diverſions of *Rome*, ſays *Ammianus* [f]; but was ſoon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the *Suevians* had entered *Rhætia*, the *Quadians Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*. He therefore left *Rome* on the twenty-ninth of *May*, after he had been there about a month; and was at *Milan*, if no miſtake has crept into the code, on the third of *June*; and likewiſe on the thirteenth of *July* [g]; whence we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While *Conſtantius* was at *Milan*, he received letters from *Muſonianus* prefect of the eaſt, informing him, that *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, was engaged on the moſt remote frontiers of his kingdom in a mighty war with the *Chionitæ* and other people; that he had ſuffered great loſſes, and conſequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the *Romans*, which *Muſonianus* had taken care to propoſe to *Tamſapor*, the *Perſian* general on the frontiers of *Meſopotamia*, who had written on that ſubject to his maſter. Theſe negotiations came to nothing, as will appear anon. However, the emperor ſent for *Urſicinus*, who was ſtill in *Gaul*, in order to adviſe with him about the moſt proper method of dealing with the *Perſians*. In the mean time, *Conſtantius*, leaving *Milan* about the middle of *July*, went to *Trent*, and from thence into *Illyricum*, viſited the frontiers of the empire towards the *Danube*, and conferred with the chiefs of the *Quadians* and other neighbouring nations, who aſſured him of their friendſhip. *Urſicinus* found him at *Sirmium*; and was, after ſeveral conferences, ſent by him into the eaſt, with the character of general, and the ſame power with which he had been inveſted before his diſgrace [h]. The emperor was at *Milan* on the fourth and ſixth of *December*; but returned to *Sirmium* before the eighteenth of *December* [i], and, according to *Ammianus* [k], paſſed the winter there.

He returns to Milan.

Urſicinus recalled from Gaul. *and ſent into the eaſt.*

To return to *Gaul:* The emperor, reſolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devaſtations committed there chiefly by the *Alemans*, wrote to *Julian*, to march with all his forces againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent *Barbatio*, who had been created general of the foot in the room of *Sylvanus*, out of *Italy*, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thouſand men, in order to ſurpriſe and incloſe the enemy between the two armies. *Barbatio* was generally eſteemed a

Barbatio *ſent into* Gaul.

[f] Amnian. p. 72. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chr. p. 56, 57. [h] Ammian. ibid. p. 72. Julian. ad Athen. p. 513. [i] Cod. Theod. p. 57. [k] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 103.

good

good officer [l]; but all his bravery conſiſted, according to *Ammianus* [m], only in words. He had betrayed *Gallus*, under whom he ſerved, and ſtudied how to check the progreſs of *Julian*; who no ſooner heard of his arrival at *Baſle*, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thouſand men: but the *Leti*, a *German* nation, paſſing between the two armies, advanced as far as *Lions*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe and pillage that wealthy city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave over all thoughts of taking the place, and contented themſelves with ravaging the country all round it. *Julian*, upon the firſt notice of what had happened, detached ſtrong parties to guard the paſſes, through which he knew they muſt return; by this means they were all cut off, except thoſe who marched near the camp of *Barbatio*, who was ſo far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to *Conſtantius* of ſome officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be caſhiered. One of theſe was *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor [n]. The other barbarians either fortified themſelves in the countries which they had ſeized, ſtopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took ſhelter in the iſlands formed by the *Rhine*. *Julian* reſolved firſt to attack the latter, and with this view ſent to demand ſome boats of *Barbatio*, who, inſtead of complying with his juſt requeſt, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did, on another occaſion, the proviſions which had been ſent for both armies, after he had plentifully ſupplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to *Julian*, or in compliance with private inſtructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes [o]. Be that as it will, *Julian*, not in the leaſt ruffled or diſheartened at the unaccountable conduct of *Barbatio*, perſuaded ſome of the moſt reſolute among his men to wade over to one of the iſlands, where they killed all the *Germans* who had taken ſhelter there; and ſeizing their boats, purſued the ſlaughter in ſeveral other iſlands, till the enemy abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their reſpective countries [p]. After this, he undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres-tabernæ*, a fort near *Straſbourgh* in *Alſace*, now known by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demoliſhed. As it was ſo ſituated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but

The Germans *attack* Lions *in vain, and are cut in pieces by* Julian.

Barbario *endeavours to thwart his deſigns.*

Julian *rebuilds* Saverne.

[l] LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 272. [m] AMMIAN. p. 73. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem p. 73. 74. [p] Idem ibid. & LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 273.

added new works to them, ſtored the place with proviſions for a whole year, and left a numerous gariſon in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe [q]. While *Julian* was buſied in this work, *Barbatio* was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*; but the enemy, appriſed of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which being carried by the ſtream againſt the boats, ſunk ſeveral of them, and parted the reſt. *Barbatio*, ſeeing his work ruined, thought it adviſeable to retire; but the enemy, falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon *Barbatio*, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, though it was then but harveſt-time, returned to court, to make war there upon *Julian* with his calumnies and ill offices [r]. The barbarians, elated with this ſucceſs, aſſembled in great numbers, under the banners of *Chnodomarius*, a prince of great renown among them, and of ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straſbourgh*. Being informed there by a deſerter, that *Julian* had only thirteen thouſand men with him, *Chnodomarius* ſent him a haughty and menacing meſſage, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the *Germans* had conquered by their courage and valour [s]. *Libanius* adds, that the meſſenger produced to him the letters of *Conſtantius*, promiſing to relinquiſh to them what countries or cities they ſhould ſeize in *Gaul* [t]. By ſuch promiſes *Conſtantius* is ſuppoſed to have ſtirred them up againſt the tyrant *Magnentius*. But *Julian*, paying no regard to them, detained the meſſenger as a ſpy, and purſued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving *Saverne*, he marched directly againſt them. When he was about half way, he halted, with a deſign to reſt his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and ſoldiers demanding to be led without delay againſt the enemy, he purſued his march, and found the *Germans*, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thouſand ſtrong, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great diſtinction. Both armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way,

Barbario *put to flight by the barbarians.*

Julian *marches againſt them.*

The battle of Argentoratum *or* Straſbourg

[q] Julian. p 512. Liban. p. 273. [r] Ammian. p. 75.
[s] Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76. [t] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269.

nor

nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally and return to the charge: but the vigorous reſiſtance made by the foot ſo diſheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuoſity; which the *Romans* perceiving, they made a laſt effort; and charging the barbarians, already quite ſpent, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Great numbers of them threw themſelves into the *Rhine*, which was in their rear, and were drowned. *Chnodomarius* himſelf was taken in a wood, and preſented to *Julian* in the ſight of the whole army, who thereupon ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his ſoldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to *Conſtantius*, under whoſe auſpices they had fought [u]. He loſt in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Germans* ſix, or, as others willl have it, eight, thouſand men were killed in the field; but a great number of dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river [w]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſixty thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, and an equal number drowned; but he muſt have been miſled by bad memoirs, which makes us queſtion the truth of what he adds, *viz.* that, after the battle, *Julian* obliged ſix hundred of his horſemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women [x]. The battle of *Straſbourgh* is famous in hiſtory. *Julian* himſelf ſtyles it a ſucceſsful action, which reſtored *Gaul* to its antient liberty [y]. *Mamertinus* ſays, that, by this ſingle battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined [z]. It is at leaſt certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. This memorable battle was fought in the plains near *Strasbourgh*, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the laſt quarter [a]. *Julian* aſcribed the whole glory of it to *Conſtantius*, and immediately ſent his royal captive *Chnodomarius* to him, whom he had treated with great reſpect, looking upon him as an inſtance of the inſtability of all human grandeur. *Conſtantius* ſent him to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after a natural death [b]. This victory was greatly leſſened by the ſycophants at court, and all the other actions of *Julian* turned into ridicule; which, however, was leſs prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a ſuſpicious, weak, and timorous prince.

The Germans intirely defeated.

[u] AMMIAN. p. 84, 85. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 237. JULIAN. ad Athen p. 512. [w] AMMIAN. ibid. [x] Zos. l. iii. p. 704. [y] AMMIAN. l. xx p. 160. [z] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. [a] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 78. [b] Idem l. xvii. p. 103.

Conſtantius

Constantius *assumes to himself the whole glory of this action.*

Constantius was not ashamed to ascribe the whole glory of this great action to himself, as appears from an edict published about this time, wherein he speaks of himself as if he had fought at the head of his army, without so much as mentioning the name of *Julian* c. *Aurelius Victor*, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, speaks in the same strain d; and *Themistius*, in magnifying his victories over the *Germans*, and the valour with which he delivered *Gaul* from their inroads, and restrained them within their antient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himself had sent to the senate of *Constantinople* e. *Julian*'s first care, after the battle, was to cause all the dead to be buried, without distinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned to *Saverne*, to finish the works begun there, and then advanced with all his army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered *Germany*, having with much-ado prevailed upon his army to follow him. The *Germans*, alarmed at the boldness of the young general, sent deputies to sue for peace, and almost at the same time others to threaten him and his army with immediate destruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, despising their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of *Trajan*, which some take to be the castle of *Cromburgh*, about three or four leagues from *Francfort*. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that they sent new deputies to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted them for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them f. After this, he returned to *Gaul* with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that some *Franks*, having ravaged the country about *Rheims* during his absence, had shut themselves up in two castles on the *Meuse*, he marched against them, and obliged them to surrender, after they had defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; that is, the greatest part of *December* and all *February*. The prisoners were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. *Julian*, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*, which we find about this time first menti-

Julian *obliges some Franks to surrender, and sends them to the emperor.*

c Idem, l. xvi p. 86. d Aur. Vict. p. 528. e Themist. orat. p. 57. f Ammian. p. 68. Liban. orat. xii. p. 277.

oned

oned in history. It was then only a caſtle ſituate on the iſland formed by the *Seyne*, which is now but a very ſmall part of that great metropolis [g]. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the third of *July*, commanding the effects of thoſe to be confiſcated, who ſhould renounce the *Chriſtian* to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion; by another he obliges all ſenators to reſide at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and ſettled in *Achaia*, *Macedon*, and the other provinces of *Illyricum*, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at *Rome*. By a third, addreſſed to *Felix* biſhop of *Rome*, he exempts all merchandizing eccleſiaſtics, their wives, children, and domeſtics, from every impoſition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, ſuppoſing the gains they made to be applied by them to the relief of the poor.

Some laws of Conſtantius.

THE next conſuls were *Cerealis*, uncle to *Gallus Cæſar* on the mother's ſide, and *Datianus*, who, though of a mean deſcent, bore the title of *comes* in 349, and was afterwards raiſed to the rank of a patrician [h]. We have obſerved above, that the *Perſian* general *Tamſapor* had been perſuaded by *Muſonianus*, preſect of the eaſt, to write to his maſter about renewing the antient treaties with the *Romans*; but as *Sapor* had not only concluded a peace with the *Chionitæ*, but entered into an alliance with them before *Tamſapor*'s letters came to his hands, in anſwer to the propoſals tranſmitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to *Conſtantius*, which he ſent by one *Narſes*, with preſents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, that he might lawfully inſiſt upon the emperor's yielding to him all the countries beyond the river *Strymon* in *Macedon*; but leſt his demands ſhould ſeem unreaſonable, he would be ſatisfied with *Armenia*, and *Meſopotamia*, which, with the utmoſt injuſtice, had been taken from his grandfather *Narſes*. He added, that, unleſs they were reſtored, he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this letter *Sapor* ſtyled himſelf *king of kings*, *brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. *Narſes*, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at *Antioch* about the end of the preceding year, where *Themiſtius* ſaw him; and, after having reſted ſome time there, purſued his journey to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of *February* of the preſent year 358. From *Conſtantinople* he repaired to *Sirmium*, where the emperor then was, and, in a public au-

Embaſſies from Sapor to Conſtantius, and from Conſtantius to Sapor.

[g] AMMIAN. p. 240. in fol. [h] PHILOSTORG. l. viii. c. 3. p. 113. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 8.

dience,

dience, presented to him *Sapor*'s letter, wrapped up in a piece of white silk. *Constantius*, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to *Sapor*, that as he had maintained the *Roman* dominions in their full extent while he was possessed only of the east, he could not suffer them to be curtailed now that he was master of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and desirous to conclude a peace with the *Persian* monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter he dismissed *Narses*; but a few days after sent a solemn embassy into *Persia*, with letters and presents for the king, being desirous at least to put off the war till he had secured the northern provinces against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire against so powerful and formidable an enemy. The *Roman* embassadors found *Sapor* at *Ctesiphon*; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of *August*. Count *Lucillianus* and *Procopius*, who usurped the sovereignty in the reign of *Valens*, were sent to the *Persian* court soon after, to amuse that warlike prince with new proposals; but he, instead of hearkening to them, kept the embassadors some time under close confinement, threatening to treat them as spies, but in the end dismissed them unhurt [i].

The Quadi *and* Sarmatians *overcome by* Constantius.

While the emperor resided at *Sirmium*, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mœsia*; and the *Juthunges*, a *German* nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter were defeated and driven back by *Barbatio*; but the emperor marched in person against the former soon after the vernal equinox; and having crossed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, laid waste the territories of the *Sarmatians*, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the *Quadi*, pretending to sue for peace; but their true design was to surprise the *Romans*; who, suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the rest to sue for peace in good earnest; which they obtained, upon their setting at liberty the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages [k]. The emperor then marched against the *Limigantes*, that is, those slaves, who in 334 had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we have related elsewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to submit; but prepared to

[i] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. Themist. orat. iv. p. 57. Zonar. p. 17. Petr. legat. p. 28. [k] Ammian l. xvii. p. 103, 104.

fall

fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor, obſerving their ſurly looks, and diſtruſting them, aſcended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleaſure. While he was ſpeaking to them, his troops, purſuant to their private orders, inſenſibly ſurrounded them on all ſides. When the emperor had done, the *Limigantes*, diſſatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on their ſwords; which being obſerved by the *Romans*, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the ſlaughter. The *Limigantes*, finding it impoſſible to make their eſcape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulſed by the guards forming themſelves into the ſhape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to aſk quarter. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one ſide, and the *Sarmatians*, their antient maſters, with the *Taïfales*, on the other, and deſtroying all with fire and ſword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them, which was, to quit their country, and remove to a more diſtant place, that they might not be tempted to inſeſt the empire anew. *Conſtantius* reſtored the country to the *Sarmatians*, its antient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven from it; appointed one of their nation, by name *Zizais*, to rule over them with the title of king, and declared them a free people [l]. For theſe exploits the army ſaluted *Conſtantius* with the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, who ſoon after, that is, about the end of *October*, returned to *Sirmium*, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters [m].

The Limigantes *driven out by him, and the country reſtored to the* Sarmatians.

IN the mean time *Julian*, having ſpent the firſt month of this year at *Paris*, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, ſo as to find the neceſſary ſupplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhauſted, took the field as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, with a deſign to conquer the *Franks*, before the truce which he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired. The *Franks* were at this time divided into ſeveral tribes or clans; but the moſt powerful among them was that of the *Salii*, who, being driven by the *Saxons*, according to *Zoſimus* [n], from the lands they poſſeſſed in *Germany*, had ſettled in *Batavia*; that is, in the iſlands formed by the ſeveral branches of the *Rhine*, and in *Toxandria*, which country began, according to the

[l] Idem, p. 106—112. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Zos. l. iii. p. 707.

beſt modern geographers, about a league from *Maſtricht*, and extended about twenty-five leagues along the *Meuſe*, where ſtand at preſent the cities of *Boiſleduc*, *Breda*, and *Antwerp* [o]. Againſt theſe *Franks* *Julian* marched firſt, and was already arrived at *Tongres*, when he met their deputies on their journey to *Paris*, where they ſuppoſed they ſhould find him. They had been ſent to beg he would ſuffer them to remain as friends in the country which they poſſeſſed. *Julian*, upon ſome difficulties which he ſtarted, ſent them back for more particular inſtructions. They imagined, that he deſigned to wait their return at *Tongres*; but they were no ſooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to ſubmit, he allotted them lands in *Gaul*, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry [p]. He then marched againſt the *Chamavi*, another nation of *Franks*, who had ſettled in *Gaul*; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them priſoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the *Rhine*; whence they ſent deputies to ſue for peace, which he granted them upon ſuch terms as he thought fit to preſcribe. Having thus reduced the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, he rebuilt three forts on the *Meuſe*, which the barbarians had demoliſhed; but wanting proviſions, in a country ſo often ravaged by the enemy, to ſtore them, to ſupply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to ſet at liberty, he ordered ſix or eight hundred veſſels, as we read in *Zoſimus*, to be built in *Britain*, for the conveying of corn from thence into *Gaul*. *Julian* continued in the country of the *Chamavi*, till the truce he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, he entered their country, putting all to fire and ſword. Hereupon two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, came in perſon to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promiſing to ſet at liberty all the captives they had taken, to ſupply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furniſh wood, iron, and carriages for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The priſoners, whom he reſcued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thouſand and upwards [q]. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own.

Julian overcomes the Salii,

And the Chamavi.

He obliges the Alemans *to ſue for peace.*

This year, on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, about ſix in the morning, a moſt dreadful earthquake was felt in *Aſia*, *Pontus*,

[o] Notit. Gall. p. 558. [p] Ammian. p. 99. Julian. ad Athen. p. 514. [q] Jul. ibid. Ammian. p. 102. Liban. orat. xii. p. 280. Zos. p. 70.

and

and *Macedon*, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of *Nicomedia*, where it was ſo ſudden and violent, that all the houſes were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is deſcribed at length by *Ammianus* [r], by *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* [s], *Ephrem* of *Edeſſa*, who wrote an elegy on that ſubject [t], and *Libanius*, who bemoaned, in an oration, the deſtruction of a city, which he ſtyles the fifth of the empire for greatneſs, and inferior to none in beauty [u]. *When Julian* paſſed that way in 362, he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly ſeen it [w]. *Ariſtenetus*, who reſided there in quality of vicar; *Cecrops*, biſhop of the place, and another biſhop, periſhed with the reſt; but not in the church, nor with many biſhops, as the pagans gave out, to inſult the chriſtians [x]. The church, which was a magnificent ſtructure, and had been built by *Conſtantine* about the year 330, underwent the ſame fate with the other edifices [y]. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of *July*, and addreſſed to *Taurus* prefect of *Italy*, declaring all magicians, aſtrologers, augurs, aruſpices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and ſuch of them as ſhall be found in the prince's court, guilty of treaſon, as giving the world occaſion to believe, that he ſuffers or countenances them. By the ſame law he orders the latter, whether diſcovered in his own palace, or in that of *Julian*, to be put to the rack, if they deny the charge, and ſpecifies the various kinds of tortures, which he will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank or quality [z]. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive theſe impoſtors from the court of *Julian*, who was ſuſpected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions [a].

Nicomedia overturned by an earthquake.

A law againſt magicians, augurs, &c.

THE following year, 359, the two brothers, *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, were conſuls, being raiſed to that dignity by the empreſs *Euſebia* their ſiſter [b]. *Ammianus* begins his hiſtory of this year with the exploits of *Julian* in *Gaul*, where he was buſied in erecting magazines, in viſiting the cities which had ſuffered moſt by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving proper orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repair-

[r] AMMIAN. p. 97. [s] GREG. Nyſſ. p. 75. [t] MARC. chron. p. 66. [u] LIBAN. orat. viii. p. 203. [w] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219. [x] Soz. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559. [y] PHILOST. l. iv. c. 10. p. 70. [z] Cod Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. [a] Vide BARON. ad ann. 358. [b] AMMIAN. l. xviii. c. 1.

ing their fortifications. After this he aſſembled all his forces at *Mentz*, and paſſing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered *Germany*, and advanced as far as a place or country called *Pallas*, where the territories of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* ended, pillaging and laying waſte their country far and wide. There he was met by two kings, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, who were brothers, come in perſon to ſubmit to *Julian*, who granted them a peace, as he did ſoon after to three other kings, *Urias*, *Urſicinus*, and *Veſtralpus*, upon their promiſing to deliver up all the priſoners they had taken, and to furniſh a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, *Julian* left *Germany*, and, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and retired himſelf to *Paris* [c]. To return to *Conſtantius*: That prince, having intercepted a letter to *Barbatio* from his wife *Aſſyria*, giving him ſome hopes of being raiſed one day to the ſovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent perſons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their deſigns. A tribune, by name *Valentine*, was ſeveral times racked in a moſt inhuman manner; but, as he conſtantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him ſome amends, gave him the command of the troops in *Illyricum* [d]. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence that the *Limigantes*, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. Hereupon, leaving *Sirmium* early in the ſpring, he haſtened to the banks of the *Danube*, to prevent them from croſſing that river, and invading *Pannonia*. Upon his arrival he ſent deputies to them, deſiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The *Limigantes* anſwered in appearance with the greateſt ſubmiſſion imaginable, that they were willing to live as true ſubjects of the empire, in what part ſoever the emperor ſhould think fit to place them; but that the country, which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonſtrate, if the emperor would give them leave to croſs the river, and lay their complaints before him. *Conſtantius*, pleaſed with their propoſal, granted them their requeſt, and received them in the neighbourhood of *Acumincum*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent town of *Kamanez* on the *Danube*, near *Peterwaradin*, in the territory of *Sirmium*. But while he was aſcending his tribunal, they unex-

Julian obliges ſeveral German *nations to ſue for peace.*

Barbatio and ſeveral others executed.

The treachery of the Limigantes.

[c] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113. & l. xx. p. 154. [d] Idem, l. xviii. p. 115.

peciedly

pectedly fell upon his guards ſword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himſelf, had he not with much-ado ſaved himſelf by flight. Several of his guards were ſlain; but in the mean time the reſt of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, ſurrounded the *Limigantes*, and cut them all to a man in pieces [e]. *Conſtantius* then returned to *Sirmium*, where he was on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, this year the eve of *Penteco ſt*; but ſoon after ſet out from thence for *Conſtantinople*, for he was on the eighteenth of *June* at *Singidunum*, in *Mœſia* [f]. He paſſed the remaining part of this year at *Conſtantinople*, ready to march, upon the firſt advice, againſt the *Perſians*. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he diſtinguiſhed it with a prefect or governor; an honour till this time peculiar to *Rome*. The firſt prefect of *Conſtantinople* was one *Honoratus*, inveſted with that dignity on the eleventh of *December*, according to *Idatius*, or of *September*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He had before been prefect of *Gaul* [g]. This year the emperor diſpatched into the eaſt the ſecretary *Paulus Catena*, famous for his cruelty, to proſecute ſeveral perſons accuſed of having conſulted the oracle of an idol named *Beſa* in the city of *Abydus*, on the moſt diſtant borders of *Egypt*. *Modeſtus*, then count of the eaſt, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, *Hermogenes*, who had ſucceeded *Muſonianus* in the office of prefect, being thought unfit for that commiſſion, on account of his mild and compaſſionate temper. *Modeſtus* eſtabliſhed his tribunal at *Scythopolis* in *Paleſtine*, whither perſons of both ſexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crouds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. *Ammianus* gives us a moſt frightful idea of this, as we may call it, inquiſition; but at the ſame time owns, that ſeveral perſons were cleared, and others puniſhed with far leſs ſeverity than was expected [h]. *Parnaſus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, was condemned to loſe his head, for having conſulted an aſtrologer, by means of one *Ariſtophanes*; but *Modeſtus* ſoftened the rigour of that ſentence, and only ſent him into baniſhment; as he did *Simplicius* the ſon of *Philippus*, who had been prefect, and conſul in 348, though accuſed of aſpiring at the empire. The latter was only baniſhed from his own country; nor would *Modeſtus* ſuffer him to be racked, though he had poſitive orders for it

They are all cut off.

Several perſons condemned for conſulting an oracle.

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 59. [g] Idem ibid. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 37. p. 139. SOZ. l. iv. c. 23. Chron. Alex. p. 682. [h] AMMIAN. l. xix. p. 150, 151.

ficm

from the emperor. As for *Ariſtophanes*, he was, by the order of *Paulus*, whom he had provoked with his freedom of ſpeech, beaten with balls of led faſtened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when *Modeſtus*, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and ſent *Ariſtophanes* into baniſhment. *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Cythras*, a philoſopher, ſtricken in years, being convicted of having ſacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards ſuffered by *Modeſtus* to return to *Alexandria* his native city. *Parnaſus* and the reſt, excepting *Ariſtophanes*, who had been baniſhed on this occaſion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned [i].

The Perſians *begin hoſtilities.*

In the mean while, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, was encouraged and preſſed to begin hoſtilities by an officer of *Conſtantius*, named *Antoninus*, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of *Perſia*, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the ſtate of the empire and all its forces. At the ſame time, *Euſebius* the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of *Urſicinus*, as the only perſon who was independent of him and ſcorned his ſupport, perſuaded the emperor to remove him, as a perſon not to be truſted, from the command of the troops in the eaſt, and to appoint in his room *Sabinianus*, a decrepit old man, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no ſooner known at the *Perſian* court, than *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with the character of *Sabinianus*, preſſed *Sapor* anew to begin the war without delay, adviſing him to march ſtrait to the *Euphrates*, without loſing time in beſieging towns, to croſs that river, and enter *Syria*, which he might eaſily reduce, while defended by ſo unfit a commander. The *Perſian*, approving the ſcheme, began to aſſemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed *Conſtantius*, who immediately ordered *Urſicinus*, to haſten back into *Syria*, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of *Barbatio* lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of *Euſebius* and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty deſigns of the *Perſians* were defeated, *Sabinianus* might have the honour of it; but, if they were attended with ſucceſs, *Urſicinus* might bear the whole blame. That brave commander had no ſooner reached *Syria*, than he was informed, that the enemy's van-guard had already paſſed the *Tigris*. Upon this intelligence he haſtened into *Meſopotamia*, to give the neceſſary

Urſicinus enters Meſopotamia.

[i] Idem, p. 152.

orders

orders there, in caſe the enemy ſhould attack the city of *Niſibis*. From *Niſibis* he flew to *Amida*, another city in the ſame country; and, though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, whoſe parties were ſpread all over the country. From *Amida* he ſent *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the hiſtorian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that to him they ſeemed at leaſt an hundred thouſand ſtrong; that they had already paſſed *Niniveh* in the province of *Adiabene*, and were arrived at the bridge of the *Anzabas*, a river in *Aſſyria*. Hereupon *Urſicinus* diſpatched orders to *Caſſianus*, duke of *Meſopotamia*, and to *Euphronius*, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of ſafety; to abandon *Carrhæ*, which was an open city; and to ſet fire to the forage, and likewiſe to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no ſubſiſtence, either for themſelves or their horſes, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. At the ſame time he took care to fortify the banks of the *Euphrates* with forts and paliſades, ſupplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. Theſe wiſe precautions having obliged *Sapor* to lay aſide his deſign of marching ſtrait to the *Euphrates*, he turned to the left, and took his rout, purſuant to the advice of *Antoninus*, by the foot of the mountains which part *Meſopotamia* from *Armenia*, not doubting but he ſhould find there plenty of forage, and the *Euphrates* fordable nearer its head. *Urſicinus*, appriſed of his deſign, immediately left *Amida*, to give the neceſſary orders on that ſide likewiſe; but being ſurrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the hiſtorian, was purſued as far as *Amida*; which place was inveſted a few days after by *Sapor*'s whole army, in which ſerved ſeveral princes of different nations, and among the reſt the king of *Albania*, and *Grumbates*, king of the *Chionitæ*, a prince renowned for his valour and conqueſts. The *Perſian* took on his march to *Amida* two *Roman* forts, *Reman* and *Buſan*, the ſoldiers, who gariſoned them, opening the gates to him upon the firſt ſummons, though they were both places of great ſtrength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts *Sapor* found ſome virgins, conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, to the worſhip of God, according to the diſcipline of the chriſtians, and was ſo far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he injoined his ſoldiers not to interrupt or diſturb them in their uſual exerciſes of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudices which his former

Wiſe precautions taken by Urſicinus.

Sapor *takes two* Roman *forts.*

cruelties

cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people [k]. He appeared before *Amida*, not with a deſign to beſiege the place, but only to ſound the diſpoſition of the gariſon; and, in caſe they refuſed to ſubmit, to purſue his march into *Syria*, agreeable to the plan ſuggeſted by *Antoninus*. But the *Romans* having diſcharged againſt him, as he approached the walls to ſhew himſelf in all his pomp and majeſty, a ſhower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the ſon of *Grumbates*, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was ſo tranſported with rage, that, laying aſide his former ſcheme, he reſolved at all adventures to revenge the affront offered to himſelf and the death of the young prince, with the utter deſtruction of the city, and a general maſſacre of all its inhabitants. The reader will find a particular and diſtinct account of this memorable ſiege in *Ammianus*, who was ſhut up in the town, and an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed both within and without the walls. Never was place aſſaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigour, reſolution, and intrepidity; but in the end moſt of the gariſon being killed, and thoſe who ſurvived quite ſpent with labour and watching, the walls being in ſeveral places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the *Perſians* made a laſt effort, and entered the town ſword in hand, after having lain ſeventy-five days before it, and loſt, during that time, thirty thouſand men and upwards. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and the reſt, with the ſoldiers and inhabitants, either put to the ſword, or carried into captivity, except our hiſtorian and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, eſcaped through a poſtern not obſerved by the enemy. As for *Sapor*, the ſummer being already far ſpent, and his army greatly fatigued, he thought it adviſeable to return to his dominions, having but little to brag of this expedition, which coſt him the lives of ſo many men, and prevented him from purſuing the advantageous deſigns ſuggeſted to him by *Antoninus* [l]. *Sabinianus* was buſied, during the whole time of the ſiege, in exerciſing his men near *Edeſſa* [m]. *Urſicinus* was continually preſſing him to take the field, and haraſs, at leaſt, the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have eaſily done, and by that means diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with ſo much vigour, and perhaps obliged them to raiſe it. But *Sabinianus* returned no other anſwer,

He lays ſiege to Amida.

Which, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, is taken and razed.

[k] Idem, l. xviii. p. 124—132. [l] Idem, p. 144—146.
[m] Idem, p. 127.

than

than that his inſtructions were not to expoſe the army to any danger. He is ſuppoſed to have had likewiſe private inſtructions from *Euſebius*, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give *Urſicinus* no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour [n]. Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and ſee, with the utmoſt regret, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the eaſt reduced, and ſo many brave men fall unrevenged. *Ammianus*, after his eſcape from *Amida*, found him at *Miletene* in the *Leſſer Armenia*, on his way to *Antioch*, whither he followed him ſoon after. From *Antioch Urſicinus* repaired to court, where he was, to his great ſurprize, charged with the loſs of *Amida*, and all the wrong ſteps taken during that unhappy campaign. *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, two of *Euſebius*'s creatures, were appointed by the emperor to inquire into his conduct, and examine by whoſe fault *Amida* was loſt. Theſe two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on *Urſicinus*; but on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending *Euſebius*, to expoſe *Sabinianus*, ended their enquiries, without clearing, as they were in juſtice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. *Urſicinus*, highly provoked at ſuch proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he ſaid, would not fail to puniſh with due ſeverity the authors, whoever they were, of the late miſcarriages. In the tranſport of his paſſion, he let drop the following unguarded expreſſion, *viz. That the emperor himſelf, though he marched into* Meſopotamia *next ſpring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country, ſo long as he was thus governed by eunuchs.* This being carried immediately to the emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, *Conſtantius*, without any further inquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having diveſted him of his employment, and given it to one *Agilo*, a *German*, who, in 354, had been *tribunus ſtabuli*, which anſwers our maſter of the horſe [o]. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himſelf, and the empire, which lay at ſtake, at ſo critical a conjuncture, of the ſkill, counſels, and experience of the beſt officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, ſacrificing to his private ends the public intereſt, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

Urſicinus accuſed at court, but found innocent.

He is diſgraced.

[n] Idem ibid. & l. xix. p. 136.

[o] Idem, p. 144, 145, & l. xiv. p. 24.

The Perſians *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in* Meſopotamia.

THE following year, *Conſtantius* being conſul the tenth time, and *Julian* the third, *Sapor*, entering *Meſopotamia* early in the ſpring, took by aſſault *Singara*, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, and carried both the gariſon and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving *Niſibis*, where great part of the *Roman* army lay encamped, on the left, he took his rout towards *Bezabde*, called alſo *Phænicia*, a ſtrong town on the *Tigris*. After ſeveral attacks, in which great numbers fell on both ſides, the biſhop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to ſo deſtructive a war; but *Sapor*, without returning him any anſwer, purſued the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of the place, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and reduced the reſt, with the biſhop and all his clergy, to ſlavery. Some ſuſpected the biſhop, named, as we are told [p], *Heliodorus*, of ſecretly favouring the *Perſians*; but *Ammianus* clears him of this charge [q]. *Sapor* did not demoliſh *Bezabde*, as he had done *Singara*; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a gariſon in it, led his army againſt *Virta*, or *Birtha*, on the moſt diſtant borders of *Meſopotamia*; but not being able to reduce it, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While *Sapor* was thus, by degrees, reducing *Meſopotamia*, *Conſtantius* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, raiſing new troops, and ſoliciting the *Goths* and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the ſpring was already far advanced, and ſet out for *Syria*. Upon his arrival at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, he was met by deputies ſent to him by *Julian*, who had been declared emperor at *Paris*, as we ſhall relate anon. He was thunder-ſtruck with this news, and long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould march againſt *Julian* or *Sapor*; but was in the end perſuaded to purſue his march into the eaſt. Leaving therefore *Cappadocia*, he advanced to *Miletene* in the *Leſſer Armenia*, paſſed the *Euphrates* at *Samoſata* in *Syria*, and arrived at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he purſued his march to *Amida*, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without ſhedding many tears. From *Amida* he continued his rout to *Bezabde*, with a deſign to retake that place; but being in ſeveral aſſaults repulſed by the *Perſian* gariſon, he reſolved to reduce it by famine, which he might have done, the *Perſian* army being long before diſperſed, and, according to cuſtom, returned to their reſpec-

Conſtantius *marches into* Meſopotamia.

[p] Menæa 9. Apr. p. 76. [q] Ammian. l. xx. p. 165.

tive

tive homes, had not the heavy rains and ſevere weather obliged him to drop the enterprize and retire to *Antioch*, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the ſeventeenth of *December*, he was at *Hierapolis* in *Euphrateſiana* [r].

The Scots *and* Picts *break into the* Roman *territories.*

WE ſhall now return to *Julian*, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at *Paris*, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the *Picts* and *Caledonians*, about this time firſt diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*, had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he ſent his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who had ſucceeded *Severus* in that poſt, with ſome troops into *Britain*. *Lupicinus* ſet ſail from *Boulogne* in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached *London*, where he landed his forces [s]. But of this expedition we find no farther account in hiſtory: and indeed *Lupicinus*, though he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean while, *Conſtantius*, wholly intent upon aſſembling a mighty army for his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*, ſent *Decentius*, one of his ſecretaries, into *Gaul*, to bring from thence all the *Batavians*, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men choſen out of each corps ſerving under *Julian*, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addreſſed to *Julian*, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppoſe them; but to his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, and to *Gentinus*, or, as others call him, *Sintula*, his *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe. Moſt writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this reſolution, rather with a deſign to weaken *Julian*, than to ſtrengthen himſelf; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehenſive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this ſtep by private letters from *Florentius*, at that time prefect of *Gaul*, and in his heart a great enemy to *Julian* [*]. Be that as it will, *Julian* found himſelf reduced, by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the emperor, if he refuſed to comply with it; or periſhing by the arms of barbarians, if he obeyed it, being well appriſed that they, unmindful of their promiſes and treaties, would be tempted to break into *Gaul*, as ſoon as they ſaw that province deſtitute of troops to defend

The emperor ſends for part of Julian's *army.*

[r] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 60. AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170—177. [s] Idem. l. xx. p. 154. [*] Idem, p. 157, 158.

it. In this dangerous ſituation, he reſolved without heſitating a ſingle moment, to obey, but at the ſame time to abdicate the dignity of *Cæſar*, that he might not be charged with the loſs of *Gaul*. He thought himſelf, however, bound to acquaint *Decentius*, that the auxiliaries raiſed in *Gaul* and *Germany* had entered into the ſervice, upon condition of their not being obliged to paſs the *Alps*; and that the violation of this article, always inſiſted upon by the people beyond the *Rhine*, might prevent their liſting themſelves for the future. But *Decentius* giving no ear to his juſt remonſtrances, he ſubmitted to the emperor's will without reply. As *Lupicinus*, to whom the emperor's orders were addreſſed, was abſent in *Britain*, *Decentius* himſelf choſe all the beſt men out of each corps, not excepting *Julian*'s own guards; which was no ſooner done, than *Julian* wrote to their reſpective commanders, injoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all *Gaul* into the utmoſt confuſion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: ſeveral libels againſt *Conſtantius*, and in commendation of *Julian*, were privately handed about, and diſperſed among the ſoldiery. *Ammianus* mentions one, in which the ſoldiers complained of their being baniſhed to the moſt remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children, and relations were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, *Julian* ordered them to carry their families with them, ſupplying them with public carriages for that purpoſe. When the troops were ready to depart, *Julian* adviſed *Decentius* not to ſuffer them to approach *Paris*, where he ſtill was in winter-quarters; but *Decentius*, fearing they might mutiny, if they left *Gaul* without ſeeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious ſtep. *Julian* received them in a moſt obliging manner, and encouraged them chearfully to ſubmit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured them not to abandon a country which they had defended with ſo much glory; and the ſoldiers ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to comply with their requeſt. Hereupon *Julian*, aſcending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that ſubject made a long diſcourſe, which the ſoldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in ſilence. After this, *Julian* invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no leſs tenderneſs than magnificence,

Julian *complies with the emperor's orders.*

The ſoldiers unwilling to leave him.

nificence, and desiring them, when they took leave of him, to let him know in what he could be serviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with so obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmost affliction to their quarters[t]. However, they continued all quiet till about sun-set, when the soldiers, stirred up, according to *Zosimus*[u], by libels dispersed under-hand among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, and hastening to the palace, surrounded it, and with a tumultuous noise proclaimed *Julian* emperor[w]. *Julian* calls all the gods to witness, that he had not the least knowledge of this design, nor the least suspicion of its being on foot, but was withdrawn with his wife when he first heard himself saluted with the title of *Augustus*[x]. *Libanius* too assures us, that the design was not premeditated, but sudden[y]. *Julian*, shewing himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiery, ordered all the gates of the palace to be kept shut; insomuch, that the soldiers, eager to see him, were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal to him their will by some prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the desires of the soldiery. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian* told his friends in confidence, that a spectre appeared to him that very night, representing the genius of the empire, as it was painted in those days, and disappeared, after having uttered these words, *I am come to stay with you, but only for a short time*[z]. *Eunapius* assures us, that before he accepted the sovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontiff, whom he had some time before secretly sent for out of *Greece*[a]; which, in the language of that writer, imports that he had recourse to magic. As soon as day appeared, the soldiery, breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged *Julian* to shew himself, and saluted him anew with the title of *Augustus*, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promising to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occasion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpose; nay, the soldiers, well apprised that *Constantius*, notwithstanding all his promises, would in the end treat them as rebels, threatened *Julian* with immediate death, if he per-

They proclaim him emperor.

Julian *rejects the title.*

[t] Idem p. 169. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 283. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. [u] Zos. l. iii. p. 710. [w] AMMIAN. l. xi. p. 159. LIB. or. xii. p 284. [x] JULIAN. or. xii. p. 284. [y] LIBAN. or. x. p. 241. [z] AMMIAN. p. 162. [a] EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76.

sisted

But is forced to accept of it.

sisted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To these menaces he yielded, and was thereupon lifted up by the soldiers on shields, and shewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name *Maurus*, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious stones, instead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, *Julian*, to animate his soldiers, promised them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of silver a man [b]. After this, he shut himself up in the palace, displeased and uneasy at what had happened; which gave occasion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the soldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great satisfaction, they found him, not only safe, but clad in the imperial robes [c]. *Libanius* writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had in reality been bribed to murder him [d]; and *Julian* himself, that money had been distributed among the soldiery to debauch them [e]. However that be, the soldiers, imagining he had been in danger, pressed him to put all the friends of *Constantius* to death, who had opposed his promotion; but he resolutely declared, that he would

His generosity.

not by any means suffer the least injury to be offered to them; nay, he generously forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life [f]. Some troops had already begun their march towards the east, but they were no sooner informed of what had passed at *Paris*, than they returned with their leader *Sintula*, and joined the rest. *Julian*, having assembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the badges of majesty; and ascending the tribu-

His speech to the soldiery.

nal, in a very elegant and lively speech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he was determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of merit, without suffering himself to be biassed by the recommendation of any person whatsoever. Such is the account

Disagreement among authors about the manner of his promotion.

which *Julian* himself, and after him *Libanius*, *Ammianus*, and *Zosimus*, his admirers, or rather adorers, give us of his promotion to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the christian writers, namely *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* [h], *Philostor-*

[b] Ammian. p. 160. Lib. or. v. p. 179. Zos. p. 711. Zonar. p. 18. [c] Julian. ibid. p. 522. Ammian p. 160. [d] Liban. or. xii. p 285. [e] Julian ibid. [f] Idem p. 522. & Lib. p. 285. [g] Ammian. l. xx. p. 161, 162. Julian. Liban. Zos. ibid. [h] Greg. Naz. p. 58, 67.

gius

gius [i], *Theodoret* [k], and *Sozomen* [l], seem to have thought him privy to the design of the soldiery; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in plain terms, that, either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother *Gallus*, he gained under-hand the officers, who by his private directions stirred up the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might seem to have accepted the sovereignty to save his life [m]. The former writers betray, no doubt, a great partiality for *Julian*, and the latter an equal prejudice against him. We shall therefore, in describing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiassed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge which of them deserves most credit. All authors agree, that *Julian* was raised to the imperial dignity in the year 360, but as to the day, we are quite at a loss: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, still in their winter-quarters, it must have happened in the month of *May* or *April*. He had no sooner accepted the imperial title, than *Decentius* hastened back into the east, whither he was soon followed by the prefect *Florentius*, who, conscious to himself of his conduct towards *Julian*, and dreading his resentment, was in such haste to get out of *Gaul*, that he left his whole family behind him; but *Julian* not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with public carriages. *Lupicinus*, *Julian's* lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage, and address, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was still in *Britain*, *Julian*, by ordering all the vessels on the coast to be stopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had passed; so that upon his landing at *Boulogne* to execute the emperor's orders, addressed to him, as we have related above, he was arrested by an officer sent thither for that purpose, but treated by *Julian* with the utmost humanity and good-nature [n]. And now *Julian* well apprised that the emperor would be alarmed and highly provoked at what had happened, in order to appease his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he sent by two of his chief officers, *Pentadius* and *Eutherius*. In the letter he acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would suffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promised to obey him, even in that station, with the same readiness

Decentius and Florentius retire from Gaul.

Lupicinus arrested, but treated with humanity.

Julian sends deputies, and writes to the emperor.

[i] PHILOSTORG. l. vi. c. 5. p. 84. [k] THEODOR. l. ii. c. 28. p. 636. [l] SOZOMEN. p. 18. [m] ZONAR. p. 18. [n] AMMIAN. p. 171. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 515.

readineſs and alacrity as if he were a private perſon, offered to ſend him ſome troops, and even to leave him the nomination of the prefect; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the creating of other officers; and remonſtrated with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, that *Gaul* was ſo far from being able to ſpare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it ſtood in need of aſſiſtance from other provinces. *Julian* not only wrote himſelf, but perſuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earneſtly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with *Julian*, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raiſe any diſturbances, if *Conſtantius* ſuffered him to continue in *Gaul* with the title of *Auguſtus* [o]. *Julian*, in his letter, contented himſelf with the title of *Cæſar* [p]; and he himſelf aſſures us, that, in writing to the emperor, he never aſſumed any other [q]. But to this public letter, as we may ſtyle it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abuſive, as we read in *Ammianus*, who tells us, that though it had been communicated to him, yet he ſhould have thought it indecent and unbecoming to inſert it in his hiſtory [r]. The deputies from *Julian* met the emperor at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who, upon his firſt reading the letter, was ſo tranſported with rage, that he drove them from his preſence, and was ſome time in ſuſpence, as we have ſaid, whether he ſhould proceed in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, or turn his arms againſt his new rival; but upon mature deliberation, cooler counſels prevailed, and *Conſtantius*, diſmiſſing the deputies without any anſwer, diſpatched *Leonas*, his queſtor, into *Gaul*, with a letter to *Julian*, acquainting him, that he could not by any means approve of his uſurpation, and exhorting him as he tendered his own ſafety, and that of his friends, to be ſatisfied with the title of *Cæſar*, which he ſtill allowed him to enjoy; but diſapproved and annulled whatever elſe had been done. *Leonas* ſoon reached *Paris*, where he was kindly received by *Julian*, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. *Julian* received it ſitting on his tribunal, in the preſence of the ſoldiery and people, whom he had aſſembled for that purpoſe, and cauſed it to be read aloud. When he underſtood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of *Auguſtus*, addreſſing himſelf to *Leonas*, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the ſoldiery conſented to it; but otherwiſe could not, without betraying

Conſtantius refuſes to acknowledge him emperor.

Julian's conduct on this occaſion.

[o] Ammian. l. xx. p. 167. Julian. p. 518. Zonar. p. 18.
[p] Zonar. ibid. [q] Julian. ibid. p. 523. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 169.

them

them, and expoſing them to the reſentment of *Conſtantius*. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the whole aſſembly confirmed to him with repeated acclamations the title they had given him, declaring that they were determined to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood. *Julian* wrote to the emperor by *Leonas*, acquainting him with the diſpoſition of the people and ſoldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon them to his reſentment. Several meſſages and embaſſies paſſed between *Conſtantius* and *Julian*; the former inſiſting upon his abdicating the ſovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquiſh the authority with which he had been inveſted by the ſoldiery and people, but at the ſame time aſſuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his ſervice [r].

IN the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the *Perſian* war in the eaſt, *Julian*, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, paſſed the *Rhine* at *Triceſima*, which ſome take to be *Cleves*, others *Kellen*, in that neighbourhood; and falling ſuddenly upon the *Athuarii*, the inhabitants of the preſent countries of *Cleves* and *Munſter*, who had made frequent inroads into *Gaul*, laid waſte their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſubmit to ſuch laws as he thought fit to impoſe upon them. In this expedition he ſpent three months, and then repaſſing the *Rhine*, he viſited all the forts on that river as far as *Baſle*, recovered ſome places that were ſtill held by the enemy, fortified them, and, as the year was already far ſpent, retired by the way of *Beſancon*, which he deſcribes in a letter [s], to *Vienne*, where he took up his winter-quarters. About this time died his wife *Helena*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and her body was ſent to *Rome*, to be there interred near that of her ſiſter *Conſtantina* [u]. She is ſtyled on moſt of her medals *Flavia Julia Helena*, and on ſome bears the title of *Auguſta* [w], which we ſuppoſe her to have taken after the promotion of her huſband. This year, on *Monday* the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, happened a great eclipſe of the ſun, which began at half an hour paſt four in the morning, and laſted above two hours [x]. *Ammianus* takes notice of it in his hiſtory [y].

Julian overcomes the Athuarii.

His wife Helena *dies.*

[r] Idem, p. 170. LIB. or. xii. p. 286. ZON. p. 19. [s] JULIAN. epiſt. xxxviii. p. 180. [u] AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 172, & l. xxi. p. 178. [w] Byzan. famil. p. 41. [x] PETAV. doctr. temp. l. xi. c. 45. p. 373. [y] AMMIAN. l. 20. p. 155.

The next conſuls were *Flavius Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, who had preſided the year before at the famous council of *Rimini*, and *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of *Julian*. This year *Julian*, finding *Conſtantius* would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being incited to it alſo by his magicians, who aſſured him of ſucceſs, and encouraged by ſeveral dreams, in one of which he is ſaid to have known, that *Conſtantius* was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of *November* [z]. He ſtill made an outward profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, ſays *Ammianus* [a], to gain the chriſtians to his party, though he had long ſince renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the antient *Romans*; nay, the better to impoſe on them, on the feaſt of the *Epiphany*, which was celebrated with extraordinary ſolemnity in the church, he publicly aſſiſted at divine ſervice, and offered up with the reſt his ſolemn prayers [b]; which expreſſion of *Ammianus* ſome underſtand of his receiving the euchariſt. *Zonaras* writes, that this happened on the feaſt of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the *Greeks* on the ſixth of *January*; and adds, that *Julian* by this hypocriſy hoped to ſecure the ſoldiers to his party, who were for the moſt part chriſtians [c]. When he had made the neceſſary preparations for war, and was ready to march into *Italy*, and thence into the eaſt, againſt *Conſtantius*, if he perſiſted in refuſing him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the *Alemans*, and among the reſt the ſubjects of *Vadomarius*, whoſe country lay near *Baſle*, had broken into *Gaul*, on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to have the greateſt reſpect imaginable for *Julian*, and to be much concerned for the hoſtilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, *Julian*, having intercepted a letter from him to *Conſtantius*, filled with bitter invectives againſt himſelf, found means to have him arreſted at a banquet, and baniſhed him into *Spain* [d]. He had already ſent *Libano*, one of his commanders, with a ſtrong detachment againſt the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, now *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Baſle*, *Julian* advanced in perſon againſt them, paſſed the *Rhine*, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to

Julian's hypocriſy.

He reduces the Alemans.

[z] Liban. or. xii. p. 286. Ammian. ibid. p. 179. [a] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180. [b] Idem, p. 181. [c] Zonar. p. 19. [d] Ammian. ibid.

reſtore

reſtore the booty they had taken, and ſue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms [e]. *Libanius* aſſures us, that *Conſtantius* had, by letters and large ſums, tranſmitted to the heads of the *German* nations, ſtirred them up, and encouraged them to invade *Gaul*, in order to divert *Julian* from forming other ſchemes [f]. This, ſays *Ammian*, was the common report [g], and *Julian* pretended to have in his cuſtody the very letters, and to ſhew both them and others, which the emperor was ſuppoſed to have written to the barbarians in the time of *Magnentius*, animating them to invade *Gaul* [h]; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of the people. However, *Ammianus* does not take upon him to affirm it, but only ſays, that it was a flying report [i]. In the mean time, *Conſtantius*, having ordered magazines to be formed at *Briançon* in *Dauphiny*, at *Bregentz* on the lake of *Conſtance*, and at ſeveral other places on the *Alps*, *Julian* concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and reſolving to be before-hand with him, he threw off the maſk, and obliged his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him, which they all did very readily, except *Nebridius*, who had ſucceeded *Florentius* in the prefecture of *Gaul*. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, upon any conſideration whatſoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his ſword againſt his lawful ſovereign. Upon this, *Julian* ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted into *Hetruria* [u]. The loyal, generous, and diſintereſted conduct of this officer deſerved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which *Libanius* has been pleaſed to ſtigmatize it [w]. In his room, *Julian* appointed one *Germanicus* to diſcharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf was openly revolting from *Conſtantius*, he wrote to ſeveral cities, and amongſt the reſt to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, being well appriſed, ſays *Libanius*, that good princes are willing to ſubmit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the leaſt ſcrutiny [x]. Of all theſe letters, or rather apologies, only that has reached our times which he wrote to the *Athenians*, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of *Corinth*, when he was already maſter of great part of the empire. In theſe he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war

And grants them a peace.

He obliges his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf.

He writes to ſeveral cities.

[e] Idem ibid. [f] LIBAN. or. v. p. 180. [g] AMMIAN. ibid. [h] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 524. [i] AMMIAN. ibid. [u] Idem p. 183. [w] LIBAN. p. 287. [x] LIBAN. or. xii p 288.

upon *Constantius*, and by them assured of success [y]. And now *Julian*, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and resolved to pursue his designs with vigour, sent part of his forces into *Pannonia* under the conduct of *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, ordering them to take different routs, that they might seem the more numerous, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving *Basle*, marched through woods and by-ways into *Illyricum*. *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, had with them about twenty-thousand men, but *Julian* himself only three thousand. They were all to meet at *Sirmium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the first news of *Julian*'s march, *Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, and *Florentius*, whom *Constantius* had lately appointed prefect of *Illyricum*, abandoning their provinces betook themselves to flight, and hastened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of *Julian*. As they were both consuls this year, *Julian* ordered them, if *Zosimus* is to be credited [z], to be stigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the *run-away consuls*. By their flight, *Julian* became master of *Italy* without striking a blow, and likewise of *Sicily*, whither he sent some troops, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to pass over into *Africa*. The different parties, led by *Julian* and the three above-mentioned commanders, pursued their march with such expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, which *Julian* entered in triumph; *Lucilianus*, who commanded there for *Constantius*, having been surprised the night before, and taken prisoner by one of *Julian*'s parties. He staid but two days at *Sirmium*, being eager to make himself master of the important pass of *Sucidava*, dividing *Illyricum* from *Thrace*, which he did without meeting with the least opposition; and having left a strong garison there under the command of *Nevita*, he turned back to *Naissus*, where he seems to have continued, till news was brought him of the death of *Constantius*, assembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered *Thrace*. During his stay there, he raised *Aurelius Victor*, the historian, to the government of *Pannonia Secunda*, and wrote to the *Roman* senate a letter filled with bitter invectives against *Constantius*, which was ill received by the people, and is highly disapproved of by *Ammianus* himself [a]. While *Julian* lay at *Naissus*, without the least apprehension of an enemy at his back, two of

He sets out on his march.

Makes himself master of Illyricum;

[y] Julian ep xiii. p 129. Naz. or. ix. p 68. [z] Zos p. 712. [a] Ammian. p. 190. Lib. or. xi. p. 254. Zos. p. 712.

Constantius's

Conſtantins's legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into *Gaul*, ſurpriſed on their march the city of *Aquileia*, and defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that *Julian* could not by any means reduce it: they were commanded by one *Nigrinus*, who held out till two months after the emperor's death, and was even then with much-ado prevailed upon to ſubmit to *Julian* [b].

But cannot reduce Aquileia.

IN the mean time, *Conſtantius*, being returned from *Meſopotamia* to *Antioch* in the latter end of the preceding year, as we have related above, married in that city, with great ſolemnity, *Maxima Fauſtina*, *Euſebia* being dead ſome time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empreſs, no mention is made by the antients. All we know of her is, that ſome time after the death of *Conſtantius* ſhe was delivered of a daughter, named *Flavia Maxima Conſtantia*, who was afterwards married to the emperor *Gratian* [c]. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor ſpent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*, being reſolved to end that war, or at leaſt to ſecure the empire on that ſide, before he marched into the weſt againſt *Julian*. In the mean time, *Sapor*, having aſſembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the *Tigris*, with a deſign to croſs that river, and purſue his march ſtrait to the *Euphrates*. This *Conſtantius* no ſooner unde ſtood, than he left *Antioch*; and, croſſing the *Euphrates*, advanced as far as *Edeſſa*, whence he ſent part of his army under the command of *Arbetio* and *Agilo*, to the banks of the *Tigris*, with expreſs orders to ſpare the troops, and not expoſe them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that *Julian* had already made himſelf maſter of *Illyricum*, and the important paſs ſeparating that country from *Thrace*. He was thunderſtruck with this news; but the very next day, an expreſs arrived from his generals on the banks of the *Tigris*, aſſuring him, that *Sapor*, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. *Conſtantius*, overjoyed at theſe tidings, immediately left *Meſopotamia*, and returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to march without delay againſt *Julian*, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſo good and honourable a cauſe. In the mean time, he diſpatched *Arbetio* with a ſtrong detachment to the ſtreights of *Sucidava*, where *Julian* was aſſembling his forces in or-

The emperor marries Fauſtina.

The Perſians *retire*

[b] AMMIAN. p. 191—195. [c] Idem l. xxi. p. 185. CANGE Biz. fam. p. 48.

der

The emperor marches against Julian, *but dies at* Mopſucrene.

der to invade *Thrace*, and followed him in perſon with the reſt of his army about the latter end of the autumn. Upon his arrival at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he was ſeized with a feveriſh diſtemper, occaſioned chiefly by the uneaſineſs and perplexity of his mind; but believing he might get the better of it by motion and exerciſe, he purſued his march to *Mopſucrene*, on the borders of *Cilicia* at the foot of mount *Taurus*, where, by the violence of his diſtemper, which increaſed daily, he was obliged to ſtop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of *November*, being then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, but only the twenty-fifth ſince the death of his father [d]. It was commonly ſaid, and believed at leaſt by the chriſtians, that *Julian* had, with the promiſe of a great reward, ſeduced one of his courtiers, whom they do not name, to adminiſter him poiſon, of which he died [e]. Be that as it will, *Julian* no ſooner received the news of his death, than he left *Illyricum*, and on the eleventh of *December* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, whither he cauſed the corpſe of the deceaſed prince to be brought by *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the apoſtles [f]. *Julian* himſelf aſſiſted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other badges of his dignity [g]. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that at the point of death *Conſtantius* betrayed great concern, chiefly for three things; which were, his having murdered his neareſt relations, his having raiſed *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and his having perſecuted, at the inſtigation of the *Arians*, the orthodox chriſtians [h]. On the other hand, *Ammianus* tells us, that he was ſaid to have named *Julian* for his ſucceſſor. We can ſcarce believe, that he repented his having perſecuted the church, though *Gregory Nazianzen*, and, after him, *Theodoret* [i] affirm it, ſince *Athanaſius* aſ-

Is baptized at the point of death by an Arian *biſhop.*

ſures us, that he held the impious tenets of the *Arians* to his laſt breath, and received baptiſm a little before he expired at the hands of the biſhop *Euzoius*, a moſt obſtinate *Arian* [k]. *Socrates* writes, that he was baptized by *Euzoius* at *Antioch* before he ſet out for *Cilicia*; and truly *Euzoius* was the *Arian* biſhop of that metropolis [l]. But *Philoſtorgius* tells us,

[d] Ammian. p. 196. Zon. p. 19. Socr. l. ii. c. 47. [e] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68. [f] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. Socr. l. iii. c. i. p. 168. Panegyr. xi. p. 213. [g] Liban. or. xii. p. 289. [h] Greg. Naz. or. xxi. p. 389. [i] Theodor. l. iii. p. 637. [k] Ath. de syn. p. 907. [l] Socrat. l. ii. c. 47. p. 161.

that

that he received baptiſm at *Mopſucrene*, when he was already at the point of death * ; wherein he is followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria* [m], which adds, that he ſent for *Euzoius* from *Antioch*. As for his character, all the ancients, whether chriſtians, or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince : he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, eſpecially by his chamberlain *Euſebius*, over whom, however, he had, ſays *Ammianus* pleaſantly, ſome ſmall authority [n]. He admitted none to his confidence, but ſuch as were ſkilled in the art of flattery ; whence he had no true friends about him, but ſuch only as, by approving and commending all his meaſures, ſtudied to gain his favour and raiſe themſelves. He uſed to aſcribe to himſelf the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and ſpeak of them as if he had fought in perſon at the head of the victorious army. The chriſtian writers, both *Arian* and orthodox, complain of his aſſuming to himſelf, too much in eccleſiaſtic matters. Under him employments were not given to the moſt deſerving men, but to ſuch only as were beſt able to purchaſe them of the eunuchs, and other favourites ; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miſerably oppreſſed by their governors, who made it their chief buſineſs to repay themſelves, at their expence, the ſums which they had diſburſed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchaſe other more profitable employments. He was ſo jealous of his authority, and of ſuch a timorous and ſuſpicious temper, that, upon the leaſt appearance of a plot, he put numbers of perſons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, though accuſed by perſons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers increaſed under him to ſuch a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was ſafe [o]. As he had no great genius or capacity himſelf, he hated all men of letters, and diſcountenanced every liberal art and ſcience ; whence only freed-men applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the law, and that of eloquence was intirely neglected : to be a great philoſopher was reckoned a crime, *Conſtantius* looking upon the philoſophers as magicians, againſt whom he enacted, as we have obſerved, moſt rigorous laws [p]. However, he founded and endowed a library at *Conſtantinople*, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a perſon with a handſome ſalary to take care of it [q]. But among ſo many bad qualities, he had

His character.

* PHILOST. l. vi. c. 6. p. 85. [m] Chron. Alex. p. 684. [n] AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 119. [o] AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 203. LIBAN. or. xxviii. p. 591. [p] LIBAN. ibid. EUTROP. l. xv. p. 44. [q] THEMIST. or. iii. p. 45.

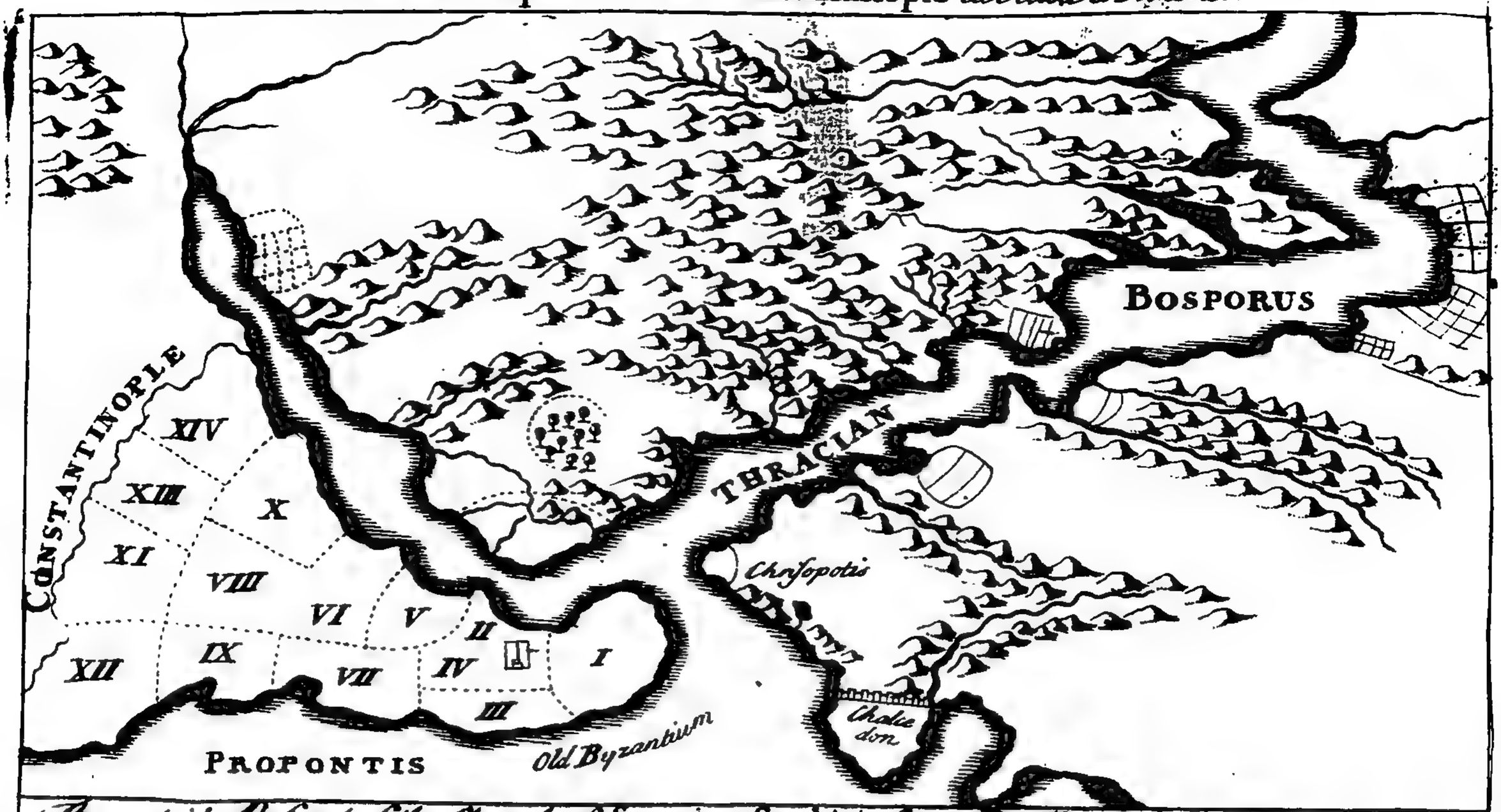
ſome

ſome good ones. In crimes of treaſon, real or only ſuſpected, he behaved like a tyrant, ſays *Ammianus*; but in other reſpects was not a bad prince [r]. He was of very low ſtature, ſays the ſame writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues, and performed the military exerciſes, eſpecially thoſe of the infantry, with wonderful addreſs [s]. He was ſatisfied with a frugal diet, ſlept little, was an utter ſtranger to luxury, and of ſuch chaſtity and temperance, as not to be even ſuſpected of thoſe vices which uſually reign in courts [t]. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning thoſe to death who were found guilty of crimes againſt nature [u]. He ſometimes performed the meaneſt duties of a ſoldier, but at the ſame time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majeſty of his ſtation [w]. He deſpiſed all manner of popularity, which *Ammianus* aſcribes to a greatneſs of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironically; for elſewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a ſtatue, without moving his head or hands, without ſpitting or blowing his noſe (to theſe particulars that writer deſcends), leſt he ſhould by ſuch vulgar actions degrade the majeſty and grandeur of an emperor [x]. Though he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literature [y]; but of this his ſpeeches, which we read in *Ammianus*, are no proof, ſince they, as we may well imagine, were compoſed by that hiſtorian. *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* commend him for the great reſpect he always ſhewed to his father, for his extraordinary modeſty, and for rewarding, with uncommon generoſity, every ſervice done him [z]. *Themiſtius* extols his magnificence, and obſerves, that he enriched all his friends [a]. He finiſhed the walls of *Conſtantinople*, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embelliſhed the city with fountains, baths, and other ſtately edifices [b]. His panegyriſts ſpeak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined to mercy; but *Julian* tells us, that he was an utter ſtranger to all mercy and compaſſion, though he was commonly thought to be poſſeſſed of both theſe virtues [c]. Crimes of treaſon he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſays *Libanius* [d];

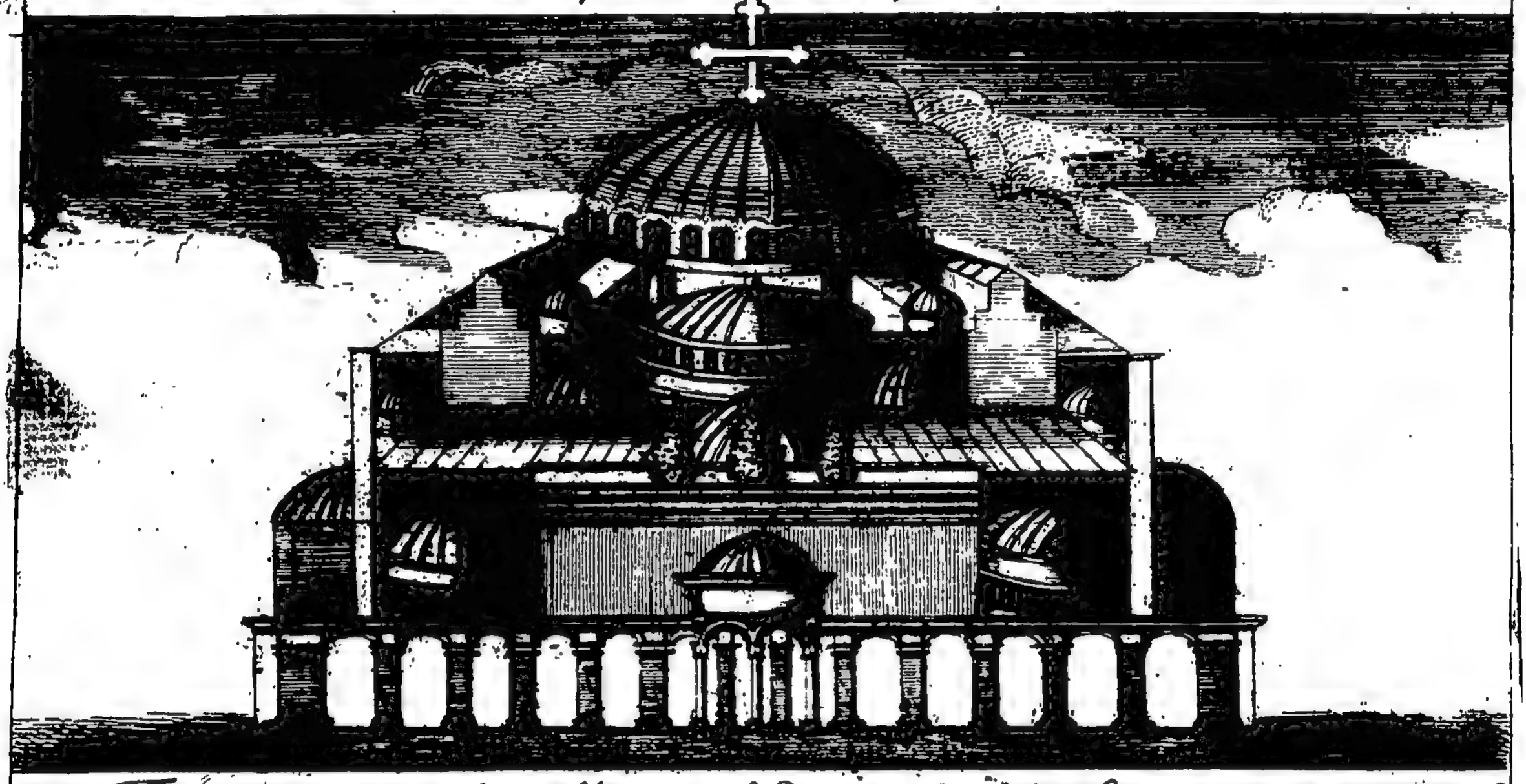
[r] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 21,22. [s] Idem ibid p. 203. [t] Idem ibid. p 203. & l. xvi. p. 70. Themist. or i p. 39. Vict epit. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p 59. [w] Ammian. l. xxi p. 200. [x] Idem. l. xvi p. 70. [y] Aur. Vict. p. 87. [z] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. p. 183. [a] Themist. or. iv. p. 62. [b] Idem ibid. p. 58. [c] Julian. epiſt. 23 p. 141. [d] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399.

but

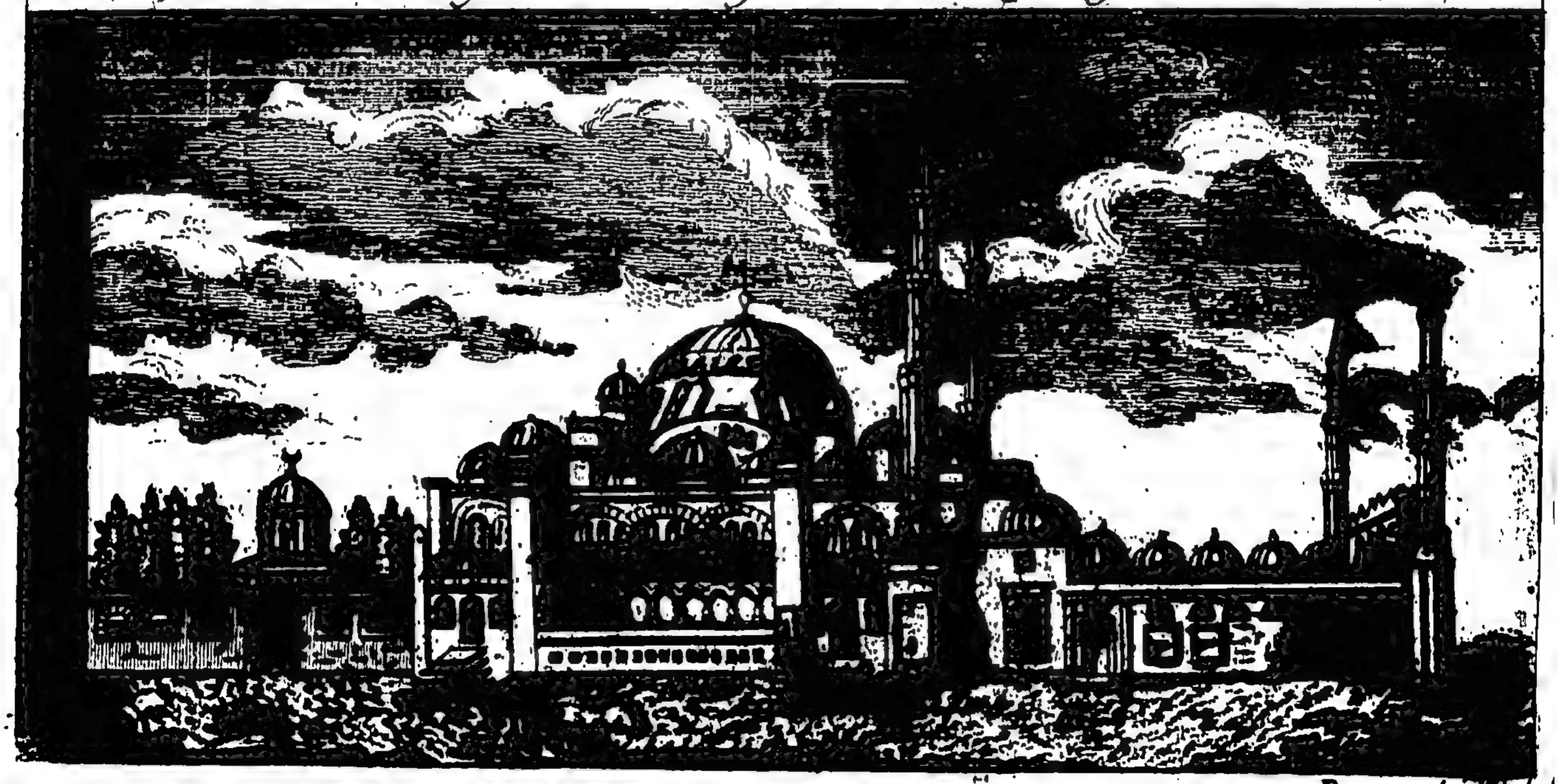
The Thracian Bosporus *with* Constantinople *divided in Wards.*



The outside Prospect of the Church of Sancta Sophia *from Du Fresne Lib. 3. P. 1.*



The whole view of the Church of Sancta Sophia *from Du Fresne Lib. 3. P. 6.*



Pomarede Sculp!

but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive, upon the leaſt ſubmiſſion, all other affronts and injuries offered him. To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of *Edeſſa* having pulled down one of his ſtatues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deſerved to be thus treated was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the inſult, did not betray the leaſt reſentment, nor ever ſhewed the leaſt ill-will to that city, or the authors of ſuch an outrage, which few princes would have ſuffered to go unpuniſhed [e]. He was a moſt zealous promoter of the chriſtian religion, and enacted ſeveral laws, of which we have taken notice in the hiſtory of his reign, for the utter ſuppreſſion of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the reſt the famous cathedral of *Emeſa* in *Syria*, and the great church of *Alexandria*, called *Cæſarea*. As for that of St. *Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*, it was the work of *Conſtantine*, though commonly aſcribed to his ſon *Conſtantius* [f]. He not only built, but endowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues, and ſhewed, on all occaſions, an extraordinary reſpect and eſteem for the clergy, eſpecially the biſhops, receiving their bleſſing in an humble poſture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all manner of impoſts and taxes, *&c* [g]. But theſe favours he beſtowed on thoſe alone who profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*. As for the orthodox biſhops, they were driven from their ſees, and either baniſhed, or impriſoned; nay, ſome of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this perſecution is not our province, but that of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Of the authors who flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (G).

BEFORE

[e] Idem ibid. p. 400. [f] SOCRAT. p. 94. CANGE urb. Conſtantinop. deſcrip. p. 144, 145. [g] HILAR. contra Conſtant. or. p. 113, 114.

(G) Among the men of learning who flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*, *St. Jerom* mentions *Gennadius*, *Petrus*, *Victorinus*, *Minervius*, *Alcimus*, *Delphidius*, and *Donatus* (1). All we know of the two firſt, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at *Rome*, and the latter at *Saragoſſa* in *Spain* (2). Of *Victorinus* we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Tiberius Victor Minervius* taught eloquence at *Conſtantinople*, at *Rome* about the year 353, and at *Bourdeaux*, the place of his nativity (3). He is highly commended

(1) *Hier. chron.* (2) *Idem ibid.* (3) *Idem ibid. & Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdigal. carm.* 1. *p.* 137.

Before we proceed to the history of *Julian's* reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose to give the reader a succinct

by *Ausonius*, who is proud of having studied under him (4). *Alethius Minervius*, his son, was likewise professor of eloquence in the same city; but died when he was yet very young (5). *Latinus Alethius Alcimus* was a native of the *Agenois*, or territory of *Agen*, and is by *Ausonius* counted among the professors of *Bourdeaux* (6); but he was likewise a pleader, and is commended by *Apollinaris Sidonius* for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (7). He published some works, in which he commended the emperor *Julian*, and *Salust*, who was prefect of *Gaul* under that prince (8); but none of them have reached our times. *Ausonius*, who had a great value for him, commends his modesty, the mildness of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (9). *Atticus Tyro Delphidius*, the son of the orator *Patera*, or *Paterius*, of whom we have spoken in our last note, acquired great reputation by his poems (10). As he was by profession a pleader, he accused of extortion before *Julian* in 358 *Numerius*. governor of *Narbonne Gaul*; but could not make good the charge (11). He embraced the party of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had been utterly undone (12). This tyrant can be no other than *Procopius*, who revolted from the emperor *Valens* in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at *Bourdeaux* with great reputation (13), but in the reign of *Valentinian*, and not of *Constantius*, if what *Sulpicius Severus* writes be true, *viz.* that dying about the age of forty, he had not the displeasure of seeing his daughter *Procula* seduced by the *Priscillianists* in 380 and his wife *Eucrocia*, who had embraced the same heresy, beheaded about 384. (14). St. *Jerom* writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over *Gaul* for his compositions both in verse and prose (15). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (16) and *Apollinaris Sidonius* (17) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Though we might infer from what we have quoted above out of *Sulpicius Severus*, that he was a christian, yet St. *Jerom*, in writing to *Hedibia* descended from him, speaks of him as a pagan (18). *Donatus*, under whom St *Jerom* studied, taught grammar at *Rome* with great reputation in 354, wrote comments on *Terence* and *Virgil*, and published several

(4) *Auson. ibid. carm.* 6. *p.* 150. (5) *Hier. chron. p.* 254. (6) *Auson. ibid. carm.* 2. *p.* 141. (7) *Sidon. l.* viii. *epist.* 11. *p.* 232. (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Auson. ibid.* (10) *Idem ibid. carm.* 5. *p.* 147. (11) *Ammian l.* xviii. *p.* 114. (12) *Auson. car.* 5. *p.* 148. (13) *Idem ibid. p.* 149. (14) *Sulp. Sever. l.* ii. *p.* 173, 177. & *Prosp. chron.* (15) *Hier. epist.* 150. *p.* 140. (16) *Ammian. ibid.* (17) *Apoll. Sid. l.* v. *ep.* 10. *p.* 140. (18) *Hier. epist.* 150: *p.* 140.

grammatical

cinct account of the birth, parentage, education, and ſtudies of a prince ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers. *Birth, education and parentage of* Julian.

grammatical pieces, often quoted by *Caſſiodorus*, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (19). *Gregory* the great ſpeaks of the rules of *Donatus*, as generally taught at the end of the ſixth century (20). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearneſs the firſt principles, have reached us, under the name of *Ælius Donatus* (21). There are ſtill extant comments on *Virgil* and *Terence*, which ſome pretend to be thoſe that St. *Jerom* aſcribes to his maſter *Donatus*; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that tho' ſome obſervations in the comments on *Virgil* ſeem worthy of *Donatus*, yet the whole is altogether unworthy a man of his parts (22). As for the comments on *Terence*, they are thought to have been written by one *Evanthius*, called by ſome *Eugraphus*, who died in the firſt year of *Gratian*'s reign, or in 359, under *Conſtantius*, as we read in the chronicle of St. *Jerom*, who calls him the moſt learned among the grammarians (23). He taught the *Latin* tongue at *Conſtantinople*, and, upon his death, *Chreſtus* was ſent for out of *Africa* to ſucceed him (24). The life of *Virgil*, aſcribed by ſome to *Donatus*, is, in the opinion of *Voſſius*, a very mean performance, done not by *Ælius Donatus*, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom St. *Jerom* ſtudied, but by one *Tiberius Claudius Donatus* (25). As for the life of *Terentius*, he takes it to have been written by *Suetonius* and not *Donatus* (26). *Nonius Marcellus* another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is ſuppoſed, about the time of *Conſtantius*, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the *propriety of* Latin *words*, a native of *Tivoli*, and a *Peripatetic* philoſopher (27). He is quoted and commended by *Priſcian*; which ſeems very ſtrange to *Voſſius*, who ſpeaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reaſon, but becauſe he has conveyed to us ſeveral paſſages out of the antients, which are to be found no-where elſe (28). The works of *Sex. Pompeius Feſtus* bear a much better character than thoſe of *Marcellus*. He wrote on the *ſignification of words*; but his work, which was only an abridgment of what *Verrius Flaccus* had written on that ſubject in the time of *Auguſtus*, was abridged in the time of *Charlemagne* by *Paulus Diaconus*; and to this abridgment is owing the loſs of the far greater part of that which was done by *Feſtus* (29).

(19) *Hier. in Ruf. l. i. c. 4. p. 202. Caſſiod. de orthogr. p. 255, 256.* (20) *Greg. moral. p. 62.* (21) *Vide Baillet. gram. c. 622. p. 37, 38.* (22) *Idem, p. 29, 30.* (23) *Hier. chron.* (24) *Idem ibid. & Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 743.* (25) *Id. ibid. p. 743. & orat. l. vi. c. 2. p. 432.* (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Vide Baillet. c. 620. p. 34. & Salmaſ. in not. in Spart. p. 241.* (28) *Voſſ. ibid.* (29) *Vide Baillet p. 30, 35.*

Julius Conſtantius, the brother of *Conſtantine the Great*, had two wives, *viz. Galla*, by whom he had *Gallus Cæſar*, and other

At what time *Feſtus* lived, we are no-where told. Some manuſcripts have reached our time on *the art of ſurveying or meaſuring land*, done by one *Innocentius*, probably the ſurveyor of that name, who. according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was at the court of *Conſtantius* in 359 (30). To him are likewiſe aſcribed ſome *remarks on the* Roman *laws*, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of *Innocentius* the queſtor, who drew up moſt of the laws of *Conſtantius*, as *Eunapius* informs us. 31), and publiſhed ſeveral works both in *Greek* and *Latin*. The latter was grandfather to *Chryſanthus*, under whom *Eunapius* ſtudied, and conſequently was more antient than the ſurveyor, and ſuperior to him in rank (32). One of *Conſtantius*'s officers, by name *Innocentius*, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a ſolitary life on the *Mount of olives* (33). *Vindanius Anatolius*, a native of *Berytus*, wrote ten books on *agriculture*, containing many uſeful rules, blended with ſome ſuperſtitious and heatheniſh obſervations (34). Part of that work has reached our time; but the author is there ſtyled *Vindamonius*, and not *Vindanius*. One *Anatolius*, a pagan, and a native of *Berytus*, was prefect of *Illyricum* in 349, and 359 (35), and died in 360 (36). He was perhaps the author of the above mentioned work. One *Andronicus* was concerned in the affair of *Parnaſus*, governor of *Egypt*, accuſed in 359, of having conſulted the aſtrologers, as we related among the other tranſactions of that year; but *Andronicus* was abſolved, and afterwards became famous, eſpecially on account of his poetical compoſitions (37). *Libanius* ſpeaks of a poet, by name *Andronicus*, who, he ſays, charmed all *Egypt*, and was ſtill alive in 378 (38). *Themiſtius*, who was contemporary with *Libanius*, mentions a young *Egyptian*, who had a particular talent for writting tragedies (39); and *Photius* takes notice of ſeveral theatrical pieces written by one *Andronicus*, ſenator of the city of *Hermopolis* in *Egypt*, ſome of which were inſcribed to count *Phœbammon* of *Cynopolis* in the ſame country (40). Whether all theſe writers ſpeak of one and the ſame perſon, we will not take upon us to determine. *Sextus Aurelius Victor* may be ranked among the writers who flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*, tho' he died long after him, ſince, in his reign, he wrote his hiſtory of the *Roman* emperors. He is commonly thought to have been a native of *Africa*, and to have been born of poor parents, in ſome

(30) *Ammian l.* xix. *p.* 119. (31) *Eunap. c.* 21. *p.* 144, 145. (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Pallad. Liſt. Lauſiac. c.* 103. *p.* 1022. (34) *Phot. c.* 163. *p.* 349. (35) *Eunap. c.* 1. *p.* 117. (36) *Ammian l* xxv. *p.* 106, & *l.* xxi. *p.* 185. (37) *Idem, l.* xix. *p* 152. (38) *Liban. vit. p.* 158. (39) *Vide Ammian. ibid p.* 230. (40) *Phot. c.* 279. *p.* 1536.

village

other children, whoſe names are not known, and *Baſilina* deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Julian*,

village of that country (41). He was, at leaſt when he wrote his hiſtory, a pagan, as muſt evidently appear to all who peruſe it. It begins with *Auguſtus*, and extends to the twenty-third year of *Conſtantius*; that is, to the end of the year 359, or the beginning of 360 (42); for he ſpeaks of the victories gained by *Julian* in *Gaul*; but takes no notice of his aſſuming the title of *Auguſtus*, which he would not have omitted, had his hiſtory reached ſo far. He aſcribes all the conqueſts of that prince to *Conſtantius*, at that time the object of his flattery (43). In the title, the work is ſaid to extend to the tenth conſulſhip of *Conſtantius*, and the third of *Julian*, which happened in the year 360. This hiſtory is but a very conciſe abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the ſame writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illuſtrious men, moſtly *Romans*, from *Procas* to *Julius Cæſar*. This work is, by different writers, aſcribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, to *Pliny* the younger, to *Æmilius Probus*, to *Tacitus*, and to *Suetonius*; but *Voſſius*, and other able critics, adjudge it to *Aurelius Victor* (44). To theſe two hiſtories is prefixed a third, on the *origin of the* Romans, which likewiſe paſſes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, and is thought by *Andreas Scotus* to have really been done by him; but *Voſſius* takes it to be the work of ſome writer, who flouriſhed after his time (45). Another hiſtory of the emperors, extending to the reign of *Theodoſius*, goes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from the author we are now ſpeaking of. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian*, while he was at *Sirmium* in 361, ſaw there *Victor* the hiſtoriographer, and ſoon after created him governor of the *Second Pannonia*, and honoured him with a ſtatue of braſs (46). The ſame writer adds, that he was generally eſteemed on account of his wiſdom, and was afterwards raiſed to the government of *Rome*. *Voſſius* and others take this to be the hiſtorian of whom we are now ſpeaking; for he had ended his hiſtory the year before, as we have obſerved above (47). One *Victor* was conſul in 369, whom *Onuphrius* ſuppoſes to have been the hiſtorian mentioned by *Ammianus* (48); but, had it been the ſame perſon, *Ammianus* would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his conſulſhip, as well as his government. In an inſcription of the time of *Theodoſius*, that is, long after the year 369, he is ſtyled governor of *Rome*, but not conſul; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever

(41) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat* p. 196. (42) *Aur. Vict.* p. 528. & 529. *Caſaubon. not. in Spart.* p. 119. *Voſſ ibid.* (43) *Aur Vict.* p 486. (44) *Voſſ. ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid* p. 196. (46) *Amm. lian. l.* xxi p. 190. (47) *Voſſ. ibid* p. 196. (48) *Onuph.* p. 298.

diſcharged

Julian, who was prefect, and the ſiſter of another, who was count of the eaſt. The ſurname of *Anicius* was common to both,

diſcharged that office. Beſides, it appears from *Themiſtius* (49), that *Victor*, who was conſul in 369, was a commander of great proweſs and renown. *Gothofredus* publiſhed, in 1628, *an antient deſcription of the world*, as he ſtyles it, done in the time of *Conſtantius*, and not of *Conſtantine*, as we read in the text, after that prince had finiſhed the port of *Seleucia*, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of *Duras* (50). The port of *Seleucia* was perfected, according to *St. Jerom*, in 346, and the earthquake happened in 345 The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined *Nicomedia* in 358, nor of that which overturned *Berytus* in 348, or rather 349; whence *Gothofredus* conclude, that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author inſinuates, that there were then two emperors; and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young *Conſtantine* in 340, and before that of *Conſtans* in 350 51). *Gothofredus*, in publiſhing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the *Latin* text, and corrected the many faults he found in it, but added to it a *Greek* tranſlation, ſuppoſing it to have been written originally in that language (52); which ſuppoſition is rejected by *Petavius*, as falſe and groundleſs. However that be, the author ſeems to have been better acquainted with the eaſtern than the weſtern provinces. He was greatly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Rome* and *Hetruria* to have been compriſed in what was at that time called *Italy* (53). *Gothofredus* is inclined to believe one *Alypius* of *Antioch*, famous in *Julian*'s time, to have been the true author of this work; becauſe that prince commends the geography, which had been ſent to him by *Alypius*, the brother of *Cæſarius* (54). But this geography ſeems only to have been a map, accompanied with ſome verſes. The author gives us a tolerable account of ſeveral cities, though, for the moſt part, blended with many fables; which evidently ſhew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God, the author of mankind (55). The beginning of the work beſpeaks it imperfect (56); and beſides, it is plain, that he had written ſeveral things relating to the *Perſians*, which have not reached us (57); whence *Gothofredus* concludes this to be only a ſmall part of a much larger work (58). *Voſſius* was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were chriſtians; but *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who flouriſhed at the

(49) *Themiſt. orat. ix. p.* 121. (50) *Gothofred vetus orb. deſcrip. p.* 13, & 33. (51) *Idem, p* 13, 14. (52) *Idem, p.* 7. (53) *Idem, p.* 33. (54) *Julian. epiſt.* 30 *p* 163. *Gothofred. p.* 10, 11. (55) *Idem, p.* 9. (56) *Idem, p* 3. (57) *Idem, p.* 9. (58) *Idem, p* 3, & 8.

fame

both, and the *Anician* family was one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome* [h]. Perhaps *Baſilina* was the daughter of *Anicius Julianus*,

[h] AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv. p. 291. LIB. orat. xii. p. 262.

ſame time, was not only a chriſtian, but a zealous defender of the religion he profeſſed; for he addreſſed a work to the two emperors, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, animating them to complete the deſtruction of idolatry. This work is intitled, *the errors and falſhood of profane religions* (59). The author not only expoſes the abſurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, ſeveral articles of the chriſtian faith. He wrote before the year 350, in which *Conſtans* died, and in or after the year 343, for he ſpeaks of his journey to *Britain*, which happened that year (60). Though the antients ſeem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever queſtioned its being genuine. The author is diſtinguiſhed, in the title of the work, with the epithet of *clariſſimus*, which was peculiar to the ſenators of *Rome*, and ſufficiently confutes the opinion of *Baronius*, who will have him to have been biſhop of *Milan* (61). Eight books on judicial aſtrology were publiſhed about the ſame time by one *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who was likewiſe a *Roman* ſenator, and is therefore by ſome writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (62); but *Poſſevinus* maintains them to be two different writers (63): and truly the aſtrologer is ſtyled, in the title of his work, *Julius Firmicus Maternus junior*; and the work itſelf is altogether unworthy of a chriſtian. It is addreſſed to *Mavortius Lollianus*, and was begun in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, but finiſhed in that of his ſon *Conſtantius*, about the year 355 (64). With the year 354, the ſeventeenth of *Conſtantius*'s reign, end two ſmall works, publiſhed by *Bucherius* in 1633, with the *paſchal cycle* of *Victorius*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that they were compoſed that very year, and by the ſame author, to whom he aſcribes three others contained in the ſame manuſcript (65). The firſt of theſe works is a liſt of the conſuls from 205, to 354. with the epacts, biſſextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are ſome miſtakes in the epacts; but the reſt is done with great exactneſs (66). The manuſcript, which *Bucherius* made uſe of, was imperfect; but cardinal *Noris* having diſcovered an intire copy in the emperor's library, containing a liſt of the conſuls, from the two firſt, *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, to thoſe of the year 354, he pub-

(59) *Firm. Matern.* c. 21. *Bibl. patr. tom.* 4. p. 99. (60) *Du Pin. tom.* 1. p. 578, 579. *Poſſevin apar tom.* 1. p. 98; *Mat.* c. 29. p. 107. (61) *Baron ad ann* 357. (62) *Vide Du Pin.* p. 577. (63) *Poſſevin* p. 988 (64) *Du Pin ibid.* (65) *Buch. cycl* p. 245, 247. (66) *Idem*, p. 247—251.

liſhed

lianus, who was conſul in 322, and afterwards governor of *Rome*. She profeſſed the chriſtian religion[1]; but ſeems to have

[1] PALLAD. hiſt. lauſ. & vit. Chryſ. p. 126.

liſhed it in 1689, with a learned diſſertation on that work, by him greatly eſteemed (67). He is of opinion, that it was compoſed in 354, the year with which it ends (68). The ſecond work publiſhed by *Bucherius*, is another liſt of the conſuls and governors of *Rome*, from 254, to 354. From the year 288, to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (69). The third begins with a ſhort necrology of the biſhops of *Rome*, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with *Lucius*, and ends with *Julius*. In this liſt *Sixtus* II. and *Marcellus* are omitted; the latter probably by a miſtake of the tranſcriber, confounding him with his predeceſſor *Marcellinus*; and the former, perhaps, becauſe he is ſet down in the calendar of martyrs annexed to the necrology, and containing the names of ſeveral martyrs, according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of *Rome*, except St *Cyprian*, and the famous martyrs of *Africa*, *Perpetua* and *Felicitas* (70). The fourth work for which we are indebted to *Bucherius*, is another catalogue of the biſhops of *Rome*, which ends with *Liberius*, who ſucceeded *Julius*, the laſt in the former liſt. As the election of *Liberius* is marked, and not his death, we may ſuppoſe this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from *Pontianus* to the end; but full of miſtakes to his time. *Anicetus*, *Eleutherius*, and *Zephyrinus*, are omitted (71). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their acceſſion to the empire, according to the order of the months. The laſt emperor mentioned there is *Conſtantius*, who is not ſtyled, as the others, *divus*, but *dominus*; a convincing proof, that he was ſtill living (72). This work contains likewiſe ſome verſes, and a calendar of the ſports, and other profane, and even idolatrous, ſolemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a chriſtian. The work is inſcribed to one *Valentine*, and is ſaid in the title to have been done by *Furius Dionyſius Filoccalus* (73). The months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, are wanting in the edition of *Bucherius*; but are to be found in *Petavius*'s *uranology*, copied by him from *Herwart* (74). *Du Cange* will have the firſt author of the *paſchal chronicle*, or the *chronicle of* Alexandria, to have ended his work in the year 354, for it is manifeſt, that this work

(67) *Noris faſt. conſular.* (68) *Idem*, p. 23. (69) *Buch.* p. 235, 241, 244. (70) *Idem*, p. 258, 269. (71) *Idem*, p. 269—273 (72) *Idem*, p. 276, &c. (73) *Idem*, p. 275. (74) *Petav. uranol.* p. 114.

was

have been tainted with the doctrine of *Arius*; for ſhe bore great hatred to *Eutropius*, the famous orthodox biſhop of *Adrianople* [k]. She was married at *Conſtantinople*, and died a few months after ſhe was delivered there of *Julian*, her only child [l]. He was born in 331, after the month of *June*; for writing againſt *Athanaſius* at the end of 362, he ſays, that he was then in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-ſixth of *June* 363, when he died [m]. He was named *Julian* from his grand-father on the mother's ſide, and is ſtyled in all antient inſcriptions *Julianus Flavius Claudius*. He was of low ſtature, and a diſagreeable aſpect, which was beſides diſfigured with a long beard, as he is repreſented in moſt of his medals; but at the ſame time well-ſhaped, very nimble, active, and of great addreſs at all ſorts of exerciſes [n]. As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with ſurpriſing quickneſs, and never forgot what he had once known [o]; inſomuch that thoſe, whoſe province it was to inſtruct him, though perſons eminent in every branch of learning, uſed to complain, that he too ſoon exhauſted their ſtock of knowledge [p]: hence he is by ſome writers equalled, and by others preferred, to the greateſt men *Greece* ever produced [q]. However, he was far better acquainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue: in the former he came not ſhort of the beſt writers; but did not excel, according to *Eunapius* [r], in the latter. His eloquence was eaſy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery [s]. In his anſwers off-hand he diſplayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and preſence of mind, and,

[k] ATHEN. ſolit. p. 812. [l] JUL. ad Athen. p. 502. AMMIA. l. xxii. p. 219. [m] LIB. orat. xii. p. 262. JULIAN. miſop. p. 80, 81. & epiſt. 58. p. 214. [n] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 226. [o] Idem ibid. [p] EUNAP. c. 5. p. 68. [q] Idem, p. 589. & VICT. epit. p. 545. [r] EUNAP. ibid. [s] Idem, ibid.

was done by different writers, the ſame thing being often repeated, and ſometimes related in a quite different manner. In ſome places the tenets of *Arius* are preached up, and in others condemned (75). As therefore *Holſtenius* found a manuſcript of this chronicle ending in the year 354, *Du Cange* aſcribes it to the firſt author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of *Heraclius*, but inſerted ſeveral things into the part which had been done by the other (76). But the taſk of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

(75) *Chron. paſc. prim. p.* 289—291. (76) *Idem. ibid.*

in the greateſt dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity [t]. But whether the ſolidity of his judgment was equal to the brightneſs of his genius, we ſhall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and ſweet temper, had a violent thirſt after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he frequently preferred to the advice of his ableſt counſellors, and ſtrangely addicted to ſatire and raillery [u]. He was brought up at *Conſtantinople* till the death of his uncle *Conſtantine*, which was followed by the maſſacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the reſt the father and elder brother of *Julian*; but *Julian* himſelf was ſpared on account of his infancy, being then but ſix or ſeven years old, as was his brother *Gallus*, becauſe he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought paſt recovery [w]. Some authors write, that *Julian* was conveyed away privately by *Marcus* biſhop of *Arethuſa* in *Syria*, and concealed in a church [x]; others, that *Conſtantius* ordered both him and his brother to be ſpared [y]. *Julian* himſelf tells us, that the emperor at firſt ordered him to be murdered with the reſt of his relations; but afterwards contented himſelf with ſending him into baniſhment [z]. *Conſtantius* ſuffered *Gallus* to enjoy part of his father's eſtate, and reſtored to *Julian* the eſtates both of his mother and grand-mother, which had been confiſcated [a]. *Julian*, at ſeven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named *Mardonius*, who diſcharged his truſt with great care, inſpiring him with an utter averſion to all manner of ſports and diverſions, and teaching him how to conquer his paſſions, and get the better of his evil inclinations [b]. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*, a leading man among the *Arians* [c], by whom he was brought up, partly at *Nicomedia*, and partly at an eſtate in *Bithynia*, left him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheleſs gave it afterwards to one of his friends [d]. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he was, by the emperor's orders, ſent with his brother *Gallus*, who had been all this time confined to his eſtate in *Ionia*, to a caſtle called *Macella*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea* in *Cappado-*

[t] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114. [u] Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. Eunap c. 5. p. 68. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 169. [w] Julian. ad Athen. p 497. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. orat. xii. p. 262. [x] Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 9. [y] Idem, ibid. p. 58. [z] Jul. ad Athen. p 498. [a] Idem ibid. p. 502, 532. [b] Jul. miſapog. p. 80, 81. [c] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. [d] Julian. epiſt. 49. p. 199, 200.

cia

cia. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, a handſome allowance, a noble court, and the beſt maſters to inſtruct them in all the ſciences; but at the ſame time were ſurrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner priſoners, no one being allowed, as *Julian* complains [e], to viſit them. In this exile or retreat they continued ſix years; that is, till the fifteenth of *March* 351, when *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them ſuch maſters as were capable of inſpiring them with ſentiments of piety, and inſtructing them in the duties of the chriſtian religion, which they were taught to practiſe, by converſing only with perſons of religious and exemplary lives. They ſpent their time, ſays *Sozomen*, not in profane diverſions, but in reading, meditating, viſiting the churches and the tombs of the holy martyrs [f]. They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy ſcriptures in public, appearing no leſs ſatisfied with that function, than if they had been diſcharging the higheſt office in the ſtate [g]: and truly *Gallus* acted therein with ſincerity, he being not only a true, but a moſt pious, chriſtian; but *Julian* only ſtudied, if *Gregory Nazianzen* is to be credited, to deceive the world with the maſk of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations [h]. Both that writer and *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the antient *Romans*, that is, to idolatry [i]; but he himſelf tells us, that he was a chriſtian till he was twenty [k]; and *Libanius*, that when he came firſt to *Nicomedia*, which was in 351, or 352, he had an extreme averſion to the *Roman* gods [l]. Be that as it will, the different diſpoſition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the ſame actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miracle, which we cannot omit, but intirely ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of St. *Mamas*, a celebrated martyr of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; but the ſide that was to be erected by *Julian*, could never be finiſhed; whereas that which *Gallus* had undertaken, was ſpeedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by *Theodoret* [m], but by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who aſſures us, that he learnt it of thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of it [n]; and *Sozomen*, who, in relating it, ſays the

[e] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 499. SOZOM. l. v. c 2 p. 593.
[f] THEODORET. l. iii. c. 1. p. 637. [g] GREG. NAZ. p. 58.
[i] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 208. [k] JULIAN. epiſt. 51. p. 210.
[l] LIBAN. orat. v. p. 173. [m] THEODOR. p. 637. [n] GREG. NAZ. p. 59 & 61.

ſame thing, and adds, that many perſons were ſtill living, ready to confirm, as eye-witneſſes, the truth of what he relates [o]. From this retreat *Gallus* was called to court, and created *Cæſar*, in the beginning of the year 351, and ſoon after the emperor was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to give *Julian* leave to quit *Macella*, and purſue his ſtudies at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſaw his brother as he paſſed through that city on his journey into the eaſt, with the title of *Cæſar* [p]. *Libanius* writes, that he met *Gallus* at *Nicomedia*, and obtained leave of the emperor to ſpeak with him [q]. At *Conſtantinople Julian* ſtudied oratory, under a ſophiſt of no great eloquence, but choſen by *Conſtantius* for his preceptor, becauſe he uſed, in all his declamations, to inveigh againſt the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods [r]. *Socrates* aſſures us, that this ſophiſt was *Ecebolus* [s], of whom hereafter. *Julian*'s conduct at *Conſtantinople*, his application, and obliging behaviour, ſoon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the ſchools like a private perſon, and, following the directions of the eunuch *Mardonius*, carefully avoided the leaſt mark of diſtinction. This no ſooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit *Conſtantinople*, and retire to *Nicomedia*, or what other place in *Aſia* he pleaſed; but ſtrictly injoining him not to frequent the ſchool of *Libanius*, a pagan ſophiſt of great reputation, who, being driven out of *Conſtantinople*, had opened a ſchool at *Nicomedia*; which city he was likewiſe obliged to quit ſoon after, and retire to *Antioch*, the place of his nativity [t]. The ſophiſt too, under whom *Julian* ſtudied at *Conſtantinople*, prevailed upon him to promiſe and ſolemnly ſwear, that he would never hear the lectures of *Libanius*. *Julian* obſerved his oath; but, as he had a great eſteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his ſtyle with better ſucceſs than thoſe who had ſtudied under him [u]. During his ſtay at *Nicomedia*, he became acquainted with one *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, a pagan philoſopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the ſtudy of magic, who, flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inſpired him with an averſion to the chriſtian religion, which condemns all magical practices [w]. *Libanius*

[o] Sozom. p. 594. [p] Ammian. l. 15. p. 34. [q] Liban. orat. xii. p. 263. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Socrat. l. iii. p. 197. [t] Eunap. c. 14. p. 132. Liban. vit. p. 18. Socrat. p. 165. [u] Liban. orat. xii. p 263. Socrat. p. 165. Eunap. c. 14. p. 134. [w] Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165. Soz. l. v. c. 2. p. 594. Liban. orat. v. p. 175.

writes

writes, that the precepts and inſtructions of a philoſopher in *Ionia*, meaning no doubt *Maximus*, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Julian*, that he immediately renounced the chriſtian religion, and embraced that of the *Romans* [x]. However he was ſo far from owning his real ſentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a ſincere and zealous chriſtian, cauſing his head to be ſhaved, ſays *Sozomen*, affecting the dreſs and manner of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of *Nicomedia*, while he at the ſame time privately adored the heathen deities, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed in the abominable myſteries of magic [y]. *Gallus*, who reſided at *Antioch*, hearing ſomewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by ſeveral warm and pious epiſtles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods [z]. But the ſacrilegious curioſity of knowing future events, ſays *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the deſire of reigning, prevailed over all other conſiderations [a]. Upon the ruin of his brother *Gallus*, he was very near undergoing the ſame fate, being unjuſtly charged with ſeveral crimes, and ſuſpected by the emperor of aſpiring at the ſovereignty, who thereupon ordered him to be arreſted, and kept him for ſeven months ſurrounded by guards, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another [b], but moſtly at *Milan*, where the emperor himſelf reſided; for he tells us, that he was kept ſix months in the great city which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to ſee the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empreſs *Euſebia*, who prevailed upon her huſband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himſelf with liberty and freedom; which he did, without either juſtifying, through fear or complaiſance, the emperor's proceedings againſt his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard uſage he himſelf had met with. *Conſtantius* promiſed him a ſecond audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch *Euſebius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that *Julian* might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence [c]. However, *Conſtantius* being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empreſs, he was allowed to return to his own country; that

[x] LIB ibid. l. iii. c. 27. p. 59. orat. iii. p. 86. Athen. p. 501.

[y] SOCRAT. ibid. p. 166. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 234.

[z] PHILOST. GREG NAZ. orat. xii. p. 267. JULIAN. ad

[a] LIBAN. ibid.

[b] LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 267.

[c] Idem ibid. p. 503, 504. LIBAN. ibid.

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is, to his mother's eſtate in *Ionia* or *Bithynia* [d]. But a report being ſpread, before he ſet out, that *Africanus* had revolted in *Illyricum*, *Conſtantius* would not ſuffer him to return to *Aſia*; but, at the requeſt of *Euſebia*, gave him leave to go into *Greece*, which he preferred to all other places, being deſirous, as he pretended, to perfect himſelf in the ſciences; but his true deſign was to confer with the magicians at *Athens*, whom he believed more ſkilled in that art than thoſe in *Aſia* [e]. He arrived at *Athens* about the middle of the year 355, and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, St *Gregory Nazianzen* and St. *Baſil*, who were at that time both improving themſelves at *Athens* in the ſtudy of eloquence, of which they made afterwards ſo good an uſe. With the latter *Julian* read and ſtudied, not only the profane authors, but the books of the holy ſcripture, carefully concealing, through fear of *Conſtantius*, his real ſentiments [f]; but he could not, with all his diſguiſes, deceive the former, who, from his wild motions and geſtures, which he minutely deſcribes, foreſaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened [g]. During his ſtay at *Athens*, he became familiar with the moſt zealous advocates for paganiſm, and the perſons beſt verſed in magic, expreſſing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfal of paganiſm, and his deſire and intention of reſtoring it to its former luſtre, as ſoon as it was in his power ſo to do [h]. He had been but a very ſhort time at *Athens*, when he was recalled, to attend the emperor at *Milan*, who, it ſeems, had already determined with himſelf to raiſe him to the dignity of *Cæſar* [i]. *Julian* left *Greece* with great regret, reſolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor deſigned to inveſt him, either becauſe he loved a retired life, as *Libanius* would make us believe [k], or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himſelf informs us [l]. On his arrival at *Milan*, he lodged in a houſe without the city, where he was ſplendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empreſs [m]. *Conſtantius* was not then at *Milan*; but he returned ſoon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his deſign of raiſing

[d] Julian. ibid. p. 501. Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. [e] Julian. ibid. Eunap. c. 5. p. 74. Themist. p. 479. [f] Basil. ep. 207. p. 122. [g] Greg. Naz. p. 121, 122. [h] Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. [i] Jul. ad Athen. p. 503. Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. Liban. orat. x. p. 235. [k] Liban. ibid. [l] Julian. ad Athen. p. 505. [m] Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. & Julian. ibid.

Julian

Julian, who did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but *Euſebia*, who favoured *Julian*, prevailed; and the emperor ordered *Julian* to ſhave his long beard, to quit his philoſophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man, and the garb of a courtier [n]. As he had hitherto led the life of a philoſopher, or rather of a monk, his aukwardneſs in acting a part he had never been accuſtomed to, afforded for ſome time no ſmall diverſion to the other courtiers [o]. The emperor aſſigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among thoſe who had ſhed the blood of his father and brothers, and maſſacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in ſpite of his warm remonſtrances, reſolved upon his promotion, he earneſtly intreated him to appoint ſuch miniſters and officers to ſerve under him, as might ſupply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only buſineſs might be to obey [p]. *Conſtantius* encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empreſs, who removed all his apprehenſions [q]. At length, on the ſixth of *November* 355, he was declared *Cæſar* with the uſual ſolemnity, appointed governor of *Gaul*, and a few days after, by the intereſt of *Euſebia*, married to *Helena*, the empreſs's ſiſter [r]. We have related above [s] in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched after his promotion. His houſhold was changed, and of his former domeſtics only four were left with him, *viz.* two youths, his phyſician, and his librarian [t]. The latter alone was privy to his ſentiments touching religion, as he himſelf informs us [u]. He left *Milan* on the firſt of *December*, as we have obſerved above [w], and arrived at *Vienne* in *Gaul* about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already deſcribed by us in the reign of *Conſtantius*, ſeem to us altogether ſurpriſing, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country and among books, and conſequently was obliged to learn the firſt rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle [x]. During his ſtay in *Gaul*, as ſoon as he had quitted the field, he betook himſelf to his ſtudies, eſpecially to that of philoſophy, but without neg-

Julian *is declared* Cæſar.

His conduct in Gaul.

[n] Idem ibid. p. 505, 506. [o] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 47. [p] JULIAN. ibid p. 516. [q] Idem ibid. p. 517. & orat. iii p. 228 [r] AMMIAN l. xv. p. 49. Chron. Alex p. 680 SOCR l. ii. c 34 JULIAN. orat. iii. p 230 [s] See before p. 412, & ſeq. [t] JULIAN. ibid. p. 526. LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 236. [u] JULIAN. ibid. p. 509. [w] P. 413. [x] JULIAN. ib. p. 180

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lecting the other ſciences, in which he made a wonderful progreſs, being, according to *Ammianus*, not only an excellent philoſopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well verſed in the *Roman* and other hiſtorie, thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and pretty well with the *Latin*, in which he expreſſed himſelf with great eaſe [y]. His two elogies on *Conſtantius*, his panegyric on the empreſs *Euſebia*, and his diſcourſe in commendation of *Salluſt*, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his ſtudies in *Gaul*; for in the firſt of theſe compoſitions he ſpeaks of his promotion to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and tells us in the ſecond, that he had ſeen the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine*, and the coaſts of the ocean, which muſt have happened in the campaign of the year 358 [z]. The panegyric on *Euſebia* was written after that princeſs had been at *Rome*, in the latter end of the year 356 [a]. As *Julian* took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him while he was in *Gaul* from all parts, eſpecially from *Greece*, and among the reſt the pontiff of *Eleuſina*, with whom he practiſed in private the abominable myſteries of magic, and conſulted the auſpices and augurs; for though he outwardly profeſſed the chriſtian religion he was a heathen in his heart, and ſacrificed every morning to *Minerva* in his cloſet [b]. He obſerved great temperance and ſobriety in his diet, remembering, ſays *Ammianus* [c], the ſaying of *Cato* the elder, *viz. That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue.* Having this maxim conſtantly before his eyes, he would not even ſuffer his table to be ſerved after the manner preſcribed by *Conſtantius*, who had given him inſtructions under his own hand, as we have obſerved above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and deſcended even to his diet, but contented himſelf with the food of the common ſoldiers [d]. As he fed ſparingly he was ſatisfied with little ſleep, repoſing on a ſkin ſpread on the ground, and awaking when he pleaſed, which was conſtantly about midnight: the reſt of the night he ſpent in writing, reading, and viſiting before break-of-day the ſentries and guards in their different ſtations; from this no inclemency of weather ever diverted him [e]. He never ſuffered plays to be exhibited but on the firſt day of the year,

His frugality.

He hates all ſports.

[y] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 62. [z] Julian. or. i. p. 82. & or. ii. p. 103. [a] Idem, or. iii. p. 241. [b] Julian. ep. xxxviii. p. 180. Liban. or. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180, 181. [c] Ammian. l. xvi. & xxv. p. 61. & 292. [d] Idem, ibid. p. 62. Julian. p. 60. Liban. or. xii. p. 304. [e] Ammian. Julian. Lib. ibid.

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and then not for his own diverſion (for he hated all ſorts of ſports, even thoſe of the circus), but to comply with an antient cuſtom, and to humour the populace [f]. No dancers, comedians, players upon inſtruments, buffoons, &c. were ſuffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not ſuffer the pagan pontiffs to aſſiſt at the infamous ſports, as he ſtyles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendſhip with ſtage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, &c. or even enter their houſes: however, he allowed them to be preſent at certain combats, which he names ſacred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the liſts with wild beaſts, he excluded from them both the prieſts and their children [g]. The grave and ſevere life he led in *Gaul* gained him the eſteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince ſent down to them by heaven, the more becauſe he made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe them of the heavy and inſupportable burdens with which they were loaded by the emperor's officers, eſpecially by *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who, on that account conceived an implacable hatred againſt him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But *Julian*, preferring the welfare of the people to his own ſafety, in ſpite of *Florentius*, leſſened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold a head to ſeven, which he found ſufficient to defray all the expences of the war [h]; whence he was by all the people in *Gaul* looked upon as the reſtorer of their country, and their common father [i]. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly aſſiſted by one *Saluſt*, a native of *Gaul*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence; which raiſed ſuch jealouſy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to diſcredit him with the emperor, who was in the end perſuaded to remove him, and appoint one *Lucinianus* in his room [k]. *Julian*, ſenſibly affected in ſeeing himſelf deprived of the counſels of ſo truſty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the diſcourſe which he wrote to bid him farewel [l]. From that diſcourſe, which is a kind of panegyric on *Saluſt*, it appears, that *Julian* had communicated to him his moſt ſecret thoughts; whence ſome conclude him to have been a pagan, though a man of great in-

Studies to eaſe the people.

[f] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 292. JULIAN. miſopog. p. 59, 60. [g] LIB. or. x. p. 240. JULIAN. or. fragment. p 555. [h] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 58. JULIAN. ep. xvii. p. 133. [i] LIB. or. xii. p. 281. JULIAN. ep. ad Athen. p. 518. [k] LIBAN. ibid. JULIAN. ep. xvii. p. 135. [l] Jul. LIBAN. or. viii. p. 444.

tegrity and an unblemiſhed character [m]. The emperor, who was then in *Illyricum*, ſent him into *Thrace*; whence he was ſoon after remanded into *Gaul*, where *Julian* left him in 361, with the character of prefect [n]. As *Julian* was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people in *Gaul*, no wonder that they readily concurred with the ſoldiery in beſtowing upon him the title of emperor in 360, as we have related above. After his promotion, he continued for ſome time to profeſs outwardly the chriſtian religion, and publicly aſſiſted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feaſt of the *Epiphany* in 361 [o], but threw off the maſk ſoon after; for we are told by *Libanius*, that he no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Illyricum*, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered ſacrifices according to the antient rites, and exhorted all perſons to follow his example, and reſtore to its former luſtre the religion of their anceſtors [p]. This happened before the death of *Conſtantius*, who died on the third of *November* 361, ſince *Gregory Nazianzen* ſuppoſes him to have known, that *Julian* had renounced the true religion [q]; and *Libanius* aſſures us, that before the emperor's death, the *Greeks*, eſpecially the *Athenians*, declaring for *Julian*, had begun to offer ſacrifices as formerly, and practiſe the ceremonies that had been long neglected, which gave occaſion to a ſedition raiſed at *Athens* among the ſacred families, as *Libanius* ſtyles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiffs. The ſame writer adds, that *Julian* wrote ſeveral letters, exhorting them to peace and concord [r]. We have mentioned above, what paſſed in *Gaul* and *Illyricum*, from the time *Julian* was declared emperor to the death of *Conſtantius*; and ſhall therefore, without repeating the ſame events, reſume the thread of our hiſtory from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of *Julian*'s reign. *Conſtantius* being dead, the eunuch *Euſebius*, and ſome others, who dreaded the reſentment of *Julian*, and the puniſhment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, *Theolaiphus* and *Aiiguldus*, both ſtyled counts, were diſpatched to *Julian* with the news of the emperor's death, and to aſſure him, that all the eaſtern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two meſſengers found him at *Naiſſus* in *Illyricum*, employed chiefly in ſuperſtitious inquiries into the entrails of victims, and ſometimes promiſing himſelf the beſt,

He cauſes the temples of the gods to be opened.

Julian *acknowleged emperor upon the death of* Conſtantius.

[m] Idem ibid. p. 449. [n] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 187. [o] Zos. l. iii. p. 711. Soz. l. v. c. i. p. 590. Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. [p] Liv. or. xii. p. 288. [q] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68, 69. [r] Liv. or. xii. p. 288.

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at other times apprehending the worſt events. But the death of *Conſtantius* delivered him from all his doubts and apprehenſions, and put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, without ſtriking a blow [r]. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burſt into tears, appeared the ſame day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and concern amidſt the repeated acclamations of the ſoldiery, ſaluting him with the title of *Auguſtus* [s]. He immediately iſſued orders for a general mourning, and commanded all poſſible honours to be paid to the body of the deceaſed emperor [u]. Soon after the meſſengers, ſeveral horſemen arrived from *Conſtantinople*, aſſuring him, that the troops in thoſe parts had unanimouſly acknowledged him emperor [w]. He therefore ſet out without delay for *Conſtantinople*; and being met by almoſt all the inhabitants of that metropolis at *Heraclea*, he made his public entry on the eleventh of *December* of this year 361, being attended by the ſenate in a body, by all the magiſtrates, and by the nobility in their beſt apparel, every one teſtifying with loud ſhouts of joy the ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing ſuch a promiſing prince; a prince, who had been born, and ſome time educated, in their city, who had already performed ſuch wonderful exploits, raiſed to the empire without the leaſt expence of blood or treaſure to the republic [x]. He was anew declared emperor by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*; and as ſoon as that ceremony was over, he cauſed the obſequies of *Conſtantius* to be performed with the greateſt pomp and ſolemnity imaginable [y]. His next care was to form at *Chalcedon* a court of juſtice, to inquire into the conduct of the miniſters of the deceaſed emperor, and to hear the complaints of ſuch as had been injured by them. In this court preſided *Saluſtius Secundus*, whom *Julian* had created prefect of the eaſt, in the room of *Elpidius*, and we muſt take care not to confound with *Saluſt*, prefect of *Gaul*, of whom we have ſpoken above: to diſtinguiſh them, we ſhall call the former *Secundus*, following therein *Ammianus* and other writers. *Julian* repoſed in both an intire confidence; and the prefect of the eaſt, though a pagan, is highly commended, even by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for his prudence, diſcretion, and compaſſion towards the chriſtians perſecuted by *Julian*, whoſe conduct towards them he loudly condemned.

He is received with great joy at Conſtantinople.

He erects a court of juſtice to inquire into the conduct of the miniſters of Conſtantius.

[r] AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 200, & l. xxii. p. 204. Zos. l. iii. p. 713. LIB. or. xii. p. 289. [t] ZONAR. p 21. [u] Zos. l. iii. p. 713. [w] Idem ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 205. [y] SOCR. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. LIB. or. xii. p. 289. Zos. p. 713.

With him were joined in commiſſion the two conſuls elect, *Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, the former prefect of *Illyricum* and the latter an officer in the army, with *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, and *Jovinus*, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horſe in *Illyricum*, and the two others had ſerved under *Conſtantius*, in quality of generals. *Arbetio* was univerſally abhorred on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was ſaid to have occaſioned the ruin of ſeveral innocent perſons under the late reign: whence the conduct of *Julian* ſeemed to all very ſtrange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himſelf to have been arraigned as a criminal; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for form-ſake [y]; which betrayed in *Julian*, ſays *Ammianus*, no ſmall want either of judgment or vigour [z]. Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous *Paulus Catena* and the noted informer *Apedemus*, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch *Euſebius* was likewiſe condemned and executed. Theſe executions were by all the world applauded as juſt and equitable; but the death of *Urſula*, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a ſtain upon the reputation of *Julian*, whom he had ſupplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was ſent into *Gaul* with the title of *Cæſar*, but without the neceſſary appointments to ſupport that dignity. What prompted *Julian* to put him to death, we are no-where told; but all authors agree, that he deſerved no ſuch treatment, eſpecially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackeſt ingratitude in procuring the death of a perſon to whom he owed the greateſt obligations [a]. *Julian*, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injuſtice, pretended, that *Urſula* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but *Ammianus* himſelf owns this to be but a lame excuſe [b]. To atone in ſome degree for this crying injuſtice, he ordered great part of the eſtate of *Urſula*, which had been confiſcated, to be reſtored to his daughter, his only child [c]. *Florentius*, who was this year conſul, and had, while prefect of *Gaul*, highly diſobliged *Julian*, as we related above, was likewiſe ſentenced to death; but he found means to make his eſcape, and appeared no more [d]: whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another of the ſame name, who was taken

Several of them condemned and executed.

Urſula, *and others, condemned unjuſtly.*

[y] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Lib. or. xii. p. 298. Ammian. ibid. p. 206, 207. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Lib. or. xii. p. 298. [d] Ammian. ibid. p. 206. and

and beheaded with *Procopius* in 369. Two officers, whom *Julian* had diſcharged, offered to diſcover *Florentius*, provided they were reſtored to their rank; but *Julian* diſmiſſed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to perſecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himſelf, was an action unworthy of a prince [e]. *Taurus*, *Florentius*'s colleague in the conſulſhip, and prefect of *Italy*, was baniſhed to *Vercellæ*, now *Vercelli*, in *Piedmont*, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had fled when *Julian* entered *Illyricum* [f]. With the ſame injuſtice were baniſhed another *Florentius*, who had been *magiſter officiorum*, under *Conſtantius*, *Palladius*, who had diſcharged the ſame office in the court of *Gallus*, and many others [g]. *Julian*, not ſatisfied with having puniſhed ſome of *Conſtantius*'s miniſters, deprived the reſt of their employments, without diſtinction, though there were among them ſeveral perſons of unblemiſhed characters, who had diſapproved, and even oppoſed, moſt of the late meaſures. As the vaſt number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought himſelf bound to leſſen it; and accordingly diſcharged all uſeleſs perſons about court, preferring the frugality and modeſty of a philoſopher, ſays *Ammianus*, to the vain magnificence of a prince [h]. He reduced among the reſt the officers called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thouſand to ſeventeen [i], and diſcharged thouſands of cooks, barbers, and ſuch-like vermin, who devoured the ſubſtance of the people, and with their large ſalaries drained the exchequer [k]. Hiſtorians relate of him, that having called for a barber, and one appearing in a dreſs far above his condition, *Julian* looking upon him, and betraying great ſurpriſe, *I called for a barber*, ſaid he, *and not for a governor or a ſenator* [l]. The *curioſi*, whoſe office it was to inform the emperor of what paſſed in the different provinces, were all diſcharged, and that employment intirely ſuppreſſed [m]. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to eaſe the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; which he did, abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and impoſts [n]. He recalled from baniſhment all the orthodox biſhops, but with a deſign, as is obſerved both by the pagan and chriſtian writers, to raiſe diſturbances, and ſow diſſentions in the church.

He reforms the court.

He eaſes the people by leſſening the taxes.

[e] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 328. & l. xxii. p. 210. [f] Idem, p. 206.
[g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem, p. 213. [i] LIB. or. xii. p. 279.
[k] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [l] Idem, l. xxii. p. 213. ZON. p. 21. [m] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 207, 208. LIB. or. xii. p. 293. [n] JULIAN. miſop. p. 102.

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Deputies ſent from ſeveral cities and nations to congratulate Julian.

THE death of *Conſtantius* was no ſooner known, than deputies were ſent from the chief cities of the empire, to preſent the new prince with crowns of gold, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the empire. Their example was followed by ſeveral foreign nations, among which, however, we find no mention made of the *Perſians*. The deputies of the *Goths* cavalling about the oaths they were to take, *Julian* ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himſelf with placing ſtrong gariſons in the cities of *Thrace*, and on the banks of the *Danube* [o]. Before he left *Conſtantinople*, he wrote to the philoſopher *Maximus*, who had firſt inſpired him, as we have obſerved above, with an averſion to the chriſtian religion, inviting to court both him and another pagan philoſopher and magician, named *Chryſanthus*. The latter, deterred by ſome bad omens, could not prevail upon himſelf to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at *Conſtantinople* with ſuch tokens of friendſhip and eſteem, as to *Ammianus* ſeemed below the dignity of a prince [p], though highly commended by *Libanius* [q]. The philoſopher, puffed up with the reception he met with from *Julian*, and the reſpect paid him by others out of complaiſance to the prince, grew ſo proud and haughty, that it was leſs difficult to have acceſs to the emperor than to him [r]. By him *Julian* was perſuaded to write a ſecond letter to *Chryſanthus*; nay, he condeſcended to write privately with his own hand to the philoſopher's wife, hoping by her means to draw him to court. But finding him unalterably fixed in his former reſolution, he created him high pontiff of *Lydia* [s]; which office he diſcharged with great moderation. Foreſeeing, without the aſſiſtance of magic, what might happen, he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but carefully avoided diſobliging the chriſtians, or doing them the leaſt injury: hence the re-eſtabliſhment of idolatry in that province was ſcarce perceptible [t]. The encouragement *Maximus* met with from *Julian*, drew to court from all parts ſwarms of philoſophers, magicians, aruſpices, and diviners of all denominations, who were kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raiſed to honourable employments, though many of them had in the late reign been branded with infamy for their notorious impoſtures, and condemned either

He invites to court philoſophers, magicians, &c. from all parts.

[o] Ammian. ibid. p. 210. Lib. or. 10. p. 245. [p] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 210. [q] Lib. or. xii. p. 299. [r] Eunap. c. 5. p. 79. [s] Idem ibid. p. 80, 81. [t] Idem, c. 21. p. 148, 149.

ther to languiſh in priſon, or to work in the mines. Theſe were *Julian*'s chief favourites; theſe the perſons in whom he moſt confided [u]. But among them *Maximus* and *Priſcus* bore the chief ſway, aſſuming a port and authority ill ſuiting their profeſſion [w]. *Iamblichus* of *Apamea* was likewiſe importuned by *Julian* to come to court; but he choſe rather to lead a retired life, as did the great *Baſil*, rejecting with contempt the tender which *Julian*, who had known him at *Athens*, made him of his friendſhip [x]. The chriſtian writers add, that *Julian*'s court was not only crouded with philoſophers and magicians, but with infamous women [y]; a charge not denied by *Ammianus* himſelf, who owns, that he was not undeſervedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying about with him troops of women [z].

THE next conſuls were *Claudius Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, or *Nevitta*, who, on the firſt day of *January*, when they entered according to cuſtom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, fearing, ſays *Mamertinus* in the panegyric he pronounced on this occaſion, he ſhould be beforehand with them [a]. *Julian* no ſooner heard they were coming, than he haſtened to meet them in the utmoſt confuſion, as if he had been wanting in reſpect to them; kiſſed them, received them with the greateſt regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the ſenate mixed with the croud [b]. His conduct on this occaſion is greatly commended by ſome, and no leſs blamed by others, among the reſt by *Ammianus*, who looked upon it as too mean, and below the majeſty of a prince [c]. It was a uſual thing for emperors to accompany the new conſuls on that day, but not on foot, it ſeems, nor blended with the croud. On the third of *January*, *Mamertinus* exhibited the circenſian ſports, when a troop of ſlaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the conſul, according to cuſtom, *Julian*, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the ſeveral magiſtrates, declared them free himſelf; but being told, that he entrenched upon the juriſdiction of the conſuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himſelf to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold [d]. *Ammianus* obſerves, that *Julian* went frequently to

Julian pays great reſpect to the conſuls.

[u] Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 225. [w] EUNAP. ibid. [x] BASIL. ep. 206, 207. p. 225, 226. [y] CHRYS. in Gent. p. 676. GREG. NAZ. or. iv. p. 221. [z] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227. [a] Panegyr. xi. p. 222. [b] Idem. p 224. [c] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 209. [d] Idem ibid.

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the ſenate, and ſpoke in all debates; whereas *Conſtantius* uſed to command the ſenators to attend him in the palace, and to ſignify to them his will and pleaſure, without allowing them to ſit down in his preſence [e]. This year, *Julian* appointed one *Prætextatus* governor of *Achaia*, who is mightily commended both by *Ammianus* [f] and *Zoſimus* [g]; and *Photius* quotes a diſcourſe of the ſophiſt *Himera* on his proconſulſhip, which office he ſtill held in 364, and 365, under the emperor *Valentinian* [h]. Before he left *Conſtantinople*, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to ſhelter the ſhips from the ſouth wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a ſtately library, in which he lodged all his books [i]. At length he left *Conſtantinople* in the month of *May*, and ſet out for *Antioch*: he paſſed through *Chalcedon*, and from thence went to *Nicomedia*, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without ſhedding many tears; he ordered conſiderable ſums for the rebuilding of it, and then purſuing his journey by *Nice*, he turned out of his way on the borders of *Galatia*, to viſit the famous temple of *Cybele* at *Peſſinus*, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a diſcourſe on that pretended deity, which he compoſed in one night, appointed *Calixenes* prieſteſs of the temple, and then continued his rout to *Ancyra*, where he was met by the pagan prieſts carrying with them their idols. As ſoon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among them, and the next day exhibited public ſports [k]. As he purſued his march, he was met in moſt places by crouds of people come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not ſuffering himſelf to be prejudiced in favour of thoſe who complained, or againſt ſuch as had given them occaſion to complain [l]. As he entered *Cilicia*, he was met by the inhabitants of a ſmall village, one of whom accuſed another of aſpiring at the empire, alledging, that he had ordered himſelf a purple habit, which was actually making. *Julian* heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might ſupply, if he pleaſed, the new prince with purple ſhoes [m]. The emperor, paſſing through *Cilicia*, arrived at length at *Antioch*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy

He enriches the city of Conſtantinople *with many privileges.*

He ſets out for Antioch.

[e] Idem. p. 210. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Zos. l. iv. p. 735.
[h] Phot. c. 165. p. 353. [i] Ammian p. 224. Zos. p. 713.
Themist or. iv. p. 60. [k] Lib. or. x. p. 258. Ammian.
l. xxii. p. 220. [l] Ammian. ibid. [m] Idem ibid.

imaginable.

imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount *Caſius* in the neighbourhood of that city, and there offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Jupiter*. On his return, *Theodotus*, one of the chief citizens of *Hierapolis*, who, it ſeems, had formerly done ſomething to diſoblige him, threw himſelf at his feet, intreating him to forgive him. *Julian* did not know him; but without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderneſs, ſaying, *In what you have diſobliged me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be it what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whoſe greateſt ambition is to leſſen the number of his enemies, and increaſe that of his friends* [n]. During his ſtay at *Antioch*, he employed himſelf chiefly in hearing and deciding cauſes; in protecting the innocent, without diſtinction of chriſtian or pagan, ſays *Ammianus* [o]; and puniſhing the guilty, without forgetting his uſual lenity and moderation. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, he readily hearkened to thoſe who ſeemed better acquainted with the laws than himſelf, adviſing conſtantly with them before he gave ſentence [p]. But notwithſtanding his ſo much boaſted equity and moderation, he ſentenced to death *Gaudentius*, one of the late emperors's ſecretaries, and *Julian* formerly vicar, for no other reaſon but becauſe they had adhered to *Conſtantius* with great ſteadineſs and zeal [q]; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than puniſhment. He treated in the ſame manner the ſon of *Marcellus*, accuſed of aſpiring at the empire; but contented himſelf with only baniſhing *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, two officers of diſtinction, tho' convicted of the ſame crime [r]. *Marcellus* had highly diſobliged *Julian*, while he commanded under him in *Gaul*, as we have obſerved elſewhere. The eccleſiaſtic writers make long deſcants on the unheard-of cruelties and innumerable murders committed by *Julian*, during his ſtay at *Antioch* [s]. *Gregory Nazianzen* repreſents the *Orontes*, on which ſtood *Antioch*, choaked up with the dead bodies of ſuch as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the nighttime; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, &c. in the neighbourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children whom he had inhumanly ſacrificed, hoping to diſcover future events in their entrails [t]. Theſe abominable practices and barbarous murders

He adminiſters juſtice with impartiality.

[n] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 227. [o] Idem ibid. p. 222. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem ibid. p. 222, 223. [s] GREG. NAZ. or. iii. p. 91. CHRYS. in gent. p. 677. [t] GREG. NAZ. ibid.

were kept ſecret, and carefully concealed, during his life-time, ſays *Theodoret* [u]; but after his death many cheſts were found in the palace, filled with the bones of thoſe he had thus inhumanly ſacrificed. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch cruelties ſhould have been known only to the chriſtian writers. Both pagan and chriſtian authors obſerve, that during the ſhort time *Julian* reigned, the empire was conſtantly afflicted by ſome grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; moſt of the cities of *Paleſtine*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*, were overturned [w]. *Libanius* writes, that not one city was left ſtanding in all *Libya*, and but one in *Greece*; that *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Conſtantinople* greatly damaged [x]. The temples of *Apollo* at *Rome* and *Daphne* were about the ſame time conſumed by fire. The ſea in ſeveral places broke in upon the land, and deſtroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At *Alexandria*, the ſea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with ſuch violence, that it laid under water ſeveral towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people [y]. To theſe calamities was added a general drought, which laſted till the winter was far ſpent, and produced an univerſal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of *Julian*, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle [z]. The eccleſiaſtic writers obſerve, that the famine followed *Julian* from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at *Antioch*, than in any other city, it raged there with moſt violence. *Julian*, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other proviſions, which increaſed it beyond meaſure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to ſuch miſeries as can hardly be expreſſed [a].

The empire afflicted with many calamities.

The following year, 363, *Julian* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Saluſt*, the prefect of *Gaul*, for his colleague; and on that occaſion *Libanius* pronounced the panegyric, which is ſtill extant [b]. *Julian*, on the firſt of *January*, viſited the temple of *Jupiter*, and there performed the heatheniſh ſacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the ſafety of the empire. As the inhabitants of *Antioch* were moſtly chriſtians, and beſides highly provoked againſt *Julian*,

[u] Theodor. l. iii. c. 22. p 659. [w] Ammian. l. xxii. p 226 Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. Chrys. & Greg. Naz. ibid. [x] Lib. or. xii p. 314. [y] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Greg. Naz. p. 112. Soz. p. 639. [z] Ammian. ibid. [a] Lib. or. iv. p. 152. Ammian. p. 233. [b] Lib. vit. p. 43, 44. & or. x. p. 227.

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to whoſe impiety in worſhipping the idols they aſcribed the famine and the other calamities, with which the whole empire was afflicted, they publiſhed ſeveral lampoons, reflecting on the defects of his perſon, and expoſing him to ridicule on account of his ſmall ſtature, his forbidding aſpect, his long and rough beard, his port and geſtures, which were, it ſeems, ſomewhat odd and ridiculous. They ſtyled him butcher, by reaſon of the many victims he was daily immolating; and raillied him, not without reaſon, ſays *Ammianus* [c], for taking pride in carrying himſelf the utenſils for the ſacrifices, and acting rather the part of a prieſt than an emperor. The ſtrange and fantaſtical figures, which he cauſed to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeſervedly, one of the topics of ridicule [d]. *Julian*, highly provoked with the railleries of the people of *Antioch*, and ſeveral ſatires that were daily publiſhed againſt him, and ſung publicly in the ſtreets, wrote an ironical invective againſt the *Antiochians*, ſtyled *The Antiochian* or *Miſopogon*, that is, the *beard-hater*; in which he repreſents them intirely addicted to their intereſt, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdneſs, great admirers of plays, farces, and all ſorts of diverſions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundleſs, is manifeſt from the homilies which the famous *Chryſoſtom* preached a few years after in that city. However, *Ammianus* aſſures us, that, blinded with paſſion, he mixed with the truth many things that were quite foreign to it [e]. *Elias* of *Crete*, as quoted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, tells us, that, in compoſing this piece, *Julian* was aſſiſted by *Libanius* [f]. *Maximus* too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; for to his cenſure *Julian* uſed to ſubmit all his compoſitions [g]. The *Miſopogon* was received by ſome better, by others, eſpecially the chriſtians, worſe, than it deſerved: it is a continued ſatire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and inſipid. He wrote it ſeven months after his arrival at *Antioch*, that is, about the latter end of *January* of the preſent year 363 [h]. Though he had been highly provoked by the ſevere reflections, and biting railleries, of the *Antiochians*, yet in his *Miſopogon* he ſolemnly declares, that none of them ſhall on that ſcore loſe their lives, be beaten with rods, arreſted, or impriſoned; but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with the utmoſt ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving

Julian *raillied by the* Antiochians.

His Antiochian *or* Miſopogon.

[c] AMMIAN. p. 227. [d] GREG. NAZ. or. iii. p. 82. JULIAN. p. 87. SOCR. p. 390. CANGH. Byz. Fam. p. 39. [e] AMMIAN. p. 226. [f] GREG. NAZ. p. 133. [g] JULIAN. ep. xvi. p. 131. [h] JULIAN. miſop. p. 66.

He designs to leave Antioch *and reside at* Tarsus.

the citizens, when in the utmost distress [i]. His design was to reside at *Tarsus*, and with this view he wrote to *Memor*, governor of *Cilicia*, one of his intimate friends, injoining him to get every thing ready for his reception against his return from the *Persian* war, which he was then bent upon [k]. *Libanius* tells us, that about the time *Julian* wrote his *Misopogon*, ten soldiers, incensed against him on account of his attempting to re-establish the worship of the gods, conspired to murder him while he was exercising his troops. But the plot being discovered by the conspirators themselves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arrested, and brought before *Julian*, who generously forgave them, though convicted of the crime laid to their charge [l].

He prepares for the Persian *war.*

Julian had, ever since his accession to the empire, shewed a strong inclination to make war upon the *Persians*, and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years harrassed the eastern provinces in a most miserable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predecessor. Being advised, soon after his arrival at *Constantinople*, to fall upon the *Goths*, he answered, that he designed to enter the lists with a more formidable enemy [m]. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and soldiers who were to serve under them. *Victor* was created general of the foot, and *Hormisda* of the horse. The latter was the elder brother of *Sapor*, king of *Persia*; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept some time under confinement, he found means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in the court of *Constantine* in 323 [n]. *Julian*, during his stay at *Antioch*, pursued his preparations for the *Persian* war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, consulting the oracles, the aruspices, magicians, *&c.* The oracles of *Delphos*, *Delos*, and *Dodona*, assured him of victory [o]. But the aruspices, and most of his courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition [p]. But the deceitful answers of the oracles, the confidence he reposed in the magicians, and the desire of adding the *Persian* monarch to the

[i] Idem, p. 101. [k] Idem, p. 102.—106. Soz. l. v. c. 19. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239. [l] Liban or. xii. p. 307. & or. iv. p. 161. [m] Ammian. l. xxii p 224. [n] Zos. l. iii. p. 713 Abulf rag p 90. [o] Theodor. l. iii. c. 16. Greg. Naz. or. p. 114 Philostorg. l. vii. c. 15. Liban. p. 252. [p] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245.

many

many kings he had already ſeen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other conſiderations [q]. The *Perſians*, according to *Theodoret*, began hoſtilities [r], by making inroads into *Meſopotamia*. But *Libanius* tells us, that the king of *Perſia* wrote to *Julian*, offering to conclude a peace with him upon ſuch terms as he ſhould think juſt and reaſonable; but that *Julian*, deſirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the *Romans* by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms [s]. *Socrates* ſpeaks of embaſſadors ſent by *Saper* with advantageous propoſals, but diſmiſſed by *Julian* with this anſwer; that ere it was long he hoped to treat with their maſter in perſon [t]. Several nations ſent deputies to *Julian*, offering him their aſſiſtance, which he refuſed, ſaying, *The* Romans *are to aſſiſt their allies, but ſtand in no need of their aſſiſtance* [u]. He likewiſe rejected, and in a very diſobliging manner, the offers of the *Saracens*, anſwering them, when they complained of his ſtopping the penſion, which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that *a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold*; which they reſenting, joined the *Perſians*, and continued faithful to them to the laſt [w]. However, he wrote to *Arſaces*, king of *Armenia*, injoining him to keep his troops in readineſs to execute the orders he ſhould ſoon tranſmit to him. Having made the neceſſary preparations for ſo important a war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he diſpatched orders to his troops to paſs the *Euphrates*, with a deſign to enter the enemy's country before they had the leaſt notion of his march, placing guards for that purpoſe on all the roads [x]. Before he left *Antioch*, he appointed one *Alexander*, a cruel and paſſionate man, governor of that city, ſaying *the citizens deſerve no better* [y]. He ſet out from *Antioch* on the fifth of *March*, and reached the ſame day *Litarba*, a village in the territory of *Chalcis*, and about fifteen leagues from *Antioch*. The magiſtrates of that great city, who had attended him thither, wiſhing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them in a great paſſion, that he would never viſit them again, being reſolved to winter at *Tarſus* [z]. He had told them before the ſame thing in the preſence of *Libanius*, who threupon wrote two ſpeeches, the one, addreſſed to *Julian*,

Will hearken to no terms.

He diſoblige the Saracens.

He ſets out from Antioch.

[q] Idem, l. xxii. p. 224. [r] THEOD. l. iii c. 16. p. 654. [s] LIB. or x. p. 243—245. [t] SOZ. l. iii. p 192. [u] AMMIAN. l. xxiii p. 238. [w] Idem, l xxix. p. 248. & l xxv p. 298. [x] JULIAN ep. xxvii. p. 160 [y] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 156. [z] EVAGR. l. vi. 11. p 452. JULIAN. p. 156. AMMIAN. p. 239.

in

in favour of the inhabitants of *Antioch*, and the other to the inhabitants themſelves [a]. Of theſe, the firſt only has reached our times. From *Litarba*, *Julian*, proceeded to *Berea*, where he halted a day, and pronounced a ſpeech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their anceſtors. He writes himſelf that they all heard him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice [b]. At the head of the council was a zealous chriſtian, who had not only diſinherited, but turned out of doors, his ſon, for renouncing the chriſtian religion. As *Julian* drew near *Berea*, the ſon accoſting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from his father, and the motives of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: *For I will take upon me*, added he, *to appeaſe your father, and reinſtate you in his favour.* Mindful of his promiſe, the ſame day, he invited the chief citizens of *Berea*, and, among the reſt, both the father and the ſon, to ſup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midſt of the banquet, turning to the father, *I do not think it reaſonable*, ſaid he, *to uſe any violence in point of religion. Allow your ſon to profeſs a religion different from yours, as I allow you to profeſs one different from mine, tho' I might eaſily oblige you to renounce it. What!* replied the father, *are you ſpeaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred by heaven, who has preferred falſhood to truth, and renounced the worſhip of the true God, to fall down before idols? Injuries and invectives*, replied *Julian*, interrupting him, *are foreign to our purpoſe, and therefore I beg you would forbear them:* then turning to the ſon, *It is incumbent upon me*, ſaid he, *to take care of you, ſince your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf* [c]. He was better pleaſed with the inhabitants of *Batne*, the next city he came to; for they had, before his arrival, reſtored the public worſhip of the gods. There he offered ſacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, he purſued the next day his journey to *Hierapolis*, the capital city of the province *Euphrateſiana*, which he reached on the ninth of *March*. He was met at a great diſtance by crouds of people; but as he entered the city, fifty ſoldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall of a porch [d]. At *Hierapolis* he lodged in the houſe of one for whom he had

The conduct of a chriſtian at Berea.

The route of Julian's *army.*

[a] Lib. vit. p. 44. Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 156. Socrat. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190. [b] Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 157. [c] Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656. [d] Julian. ibid. p. 159. Liban. or. xii. p. 311.

a particular

a particular eſteem and veneration, becauſe he was the ſon-in-law of *Sopater*, the diſciple of *Iamblichus*, and becauſe neither *Conſtantius* nor *Gallus*, who had both lodged in his houſe, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worſhip of his idols [c]. From *Hierapolis*, *Julian* wrote to *Libanius*, giving him an account of his journey, and of ſeveral things he had done at *Hierapolis* [a]; but takes no notice of the death of the fifty ſoldiers. He left *Hierapolis* on the thirteenth of *March*; and having paſſed the *Euphrates*, on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to *Batnæ*, a ſmall city of *Oſrhoene*, about ten leagues from *Hierapolis*, and different from the city of the ſame name in *Syria*. There fifty ſoldiers more were killed by the fall of a ſtack of ſtraw [b]. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Carrhæ*, where, in the famous temple of the moon, he performed ſome ceremonies with his magicians, ſays *Theodoret*, which were not known then, but were diſcovered after his death,; for that writer tells us, that he ordered the gates of the temple to be ſhut, ſealed them with his own ſignet, and placed guards round the temple with orders to let no one enter it till his return. But when the news of his death was brought to *Carrhæ*, the gates were opened, continues the ſame writer, when, to the great ſurpriſe of the whole city, a woman was ſeen hanging by her hair, with her arms ſtretched out, and her belly open [c]. What *Theodoret* writes is not vouched by any other author; but they all agree, that *Julian* privately ſacrificed in the temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*, which ceremony being over, he delivered, as we read in *Ammianus*, a purple robe, to his kinſman *Procopius*, the only perſon whom he had admitted to the ſacrifice, injoining him to ſeize on the empire, if news ſhould be brought him of his death [d]. This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But on the other hand *Libanius* writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die till he had humbled the *Perſians*; and beſtows great encomiums upon him for having choſen to haſten his death, rather than to deprive himſelf of the glory he was to acquire in this war [e]. While he was at *Carrhæ*, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horſe had broke into the *Roman* territories, he reſolved to leave an army in *Meſopotamia* to guard the frontiers of the empire on that ſide, while he ad-

He ſacrifices to the moon at Carrhæ.

[c] JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 159. [a] Idem ibid. p. 160. [b] LIB. or. 12. p. 111. AMMIAN. l. xxiii p 239. 240. [c] THEODOR. l. iii. c. 21. p. 658, 659. [d] AMMIAN. p. 240. [e] LIB. pro. templ. p. 24.

vanced

vanced on the other into the heart of the *Perſian* dominions [f]. This army conſiſted, according to ſome [g], of twenty thouſand; according to others, of thirty thouſand, choſen troops [h]; and was commanded by *Procopius*, and *Sebaſtian* a famous *Manichean* who had been governor of *Egypt*, and had perſecuted there, with the utmoſt cruelty, the orthodox chriſtians. Theſe two were to join, if poſſible, *Arſaces* king of *Armenia*, to lay waſte the fruitful plains of *Media*, and meet the emperor in *Aſſyria*. *Julian* wrote to *Arſaces*, acquainting him with his deſign, but in the moſt diſobliging terms imaginable, treating him as if he had been the meaneſt of his ſlaves, reviling the memory of *Conſtantius*, to whom that prince had been ever greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and ſkill in war. As *Arſaces* profeſſed the chriſtian religion, *Julian*, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmoſt punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, *And the God you adore will not be able to ſcreen you from my indignation.* Thus *Sozomen* [i]. There were two roads leading from *Carrhæ* to *Perſia*, the one to the left by *Niſibis*, and through the province of *Adiabene*; the other to the right, through *Aſſyria*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. On both theſe roads *Julian* had cauſed magazines to be erected, but choſe the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, conſiſting of ſixty-three thouſand men, he ſet out on the twenty-fifth of *March* for *Davana* or *Dabana* in *Meſopotamia*, and arrived the next day at *Calliniſus* or *Callinicum*, where he ſtopt the twenty-ſeventh to celebrate the feaſt of the mother of the gods. The day following, he proceeded on his march, and encamped that night in the fields near the *Euphrates*; where he was met by his fleet, conſiſting of ſeven hundred galleys and four hundred ſhips of burden, commanded by count *Lucillianus* and the tribune *Conſtantianus* [k]. From *Callinicum* he proceeded to *Cercuſium*, called alſo *Circeſium*, ſituated at the conflux of the *Abora* and the *Euphrates*, and reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Meſopotamia*, having been fortified by *Dioclefian*, to prevent the ſudden irruptions of the *Perſians*, who, in his reign, had even ſurpriſed *Antioch*. At this place *Julian* paſſed the *Abora* with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his ſoldiers might not be tempted to deſert, ſeeing they could not return

His cond. t towards the king of Armenia.

The order of his march.

[f] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. [g] Zos. l. iii. p. 714. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634.. [h] Ammian p. 240. [i] Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [k] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Zos. l. iii. p. 314.

home.

home. From *Cercuſium* he advanced to *Zaitha*, where the tomb of the emperor *Gordian* was ſtill to be ſeen. On the ſeventh of *April*, a ſoldier and two horſes were ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary ſize, preſenting himſelf to the army, was diſpatched in a moment by the ſoldiers with a ſhower of darts. Theſe omens occaſioned great diſputes between the philoſophers and the aruſpices, the latter looking upon them as inauſpicious, and adviſing the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to *Julian*'s temper [l]. The emperor, after having paſſed the *Abora*, which parted the *Roman* and *Perſian* dominions, encouraged his men with a proper ſpeech to revenge the many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the *Roman* emperors. When he had ended his ſpeech, he ordered large ſums to be diſtributed among them, a hundred and thirty pieces of ſilver a man, ſays *Ammianus*. He then proceeded on his march with the greateſt order and precaution imaginable. *Nevitta* led the right wing along the *Euphrates*; *Arintheus* and *Hormiſda* were in the left, with ſome troops of horſe; *Julian* himſelf commanded in the centre, and the rear was brought up by *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus*: a body of fifteen hundred horſe was appointed to ſcour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any ſurpriſe. To ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a diſtance far more numerous than it really was [m]. Having paſſed the *Abora*, he entered *Aſſyria*, ſays *Ammianus*; but, according to *Libanius*, he croſſed vaſt deſerts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all neceſſaries of life; but he laid it waſte far and near, ſetting fire to the magazines, and deſtroying the proviſions, which he could not carry with him [n]. By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very impolitic, to take the ſame route on his return. Six or ſeven days after he had paſſed the *Abora*, he came to a fort called *Anathan*, which capitulated upon the firſt ſummons; whereupon *Julian* preferred the officer who commanded there, by name *Puſcus*, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity, and was in the end created duke of *Egypt* [o]. Here was found a *Roman* ſoldier, who falling ſick

He enters the Perſian *dominions.*

He lays waſte Aſſyria.

[l] AMMIAN. p. 244—246. [m] Idem ibid Zos p 715. LIB. or. xii. p. 312. [n] LIBAN. ibid. p. 313 Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [o] AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 263. LIBAN. orat xii. p. 312.

when *Galerius* invaded *Perſia* ſixty-ſix years before, had been left in the enemy's country. Upon his recovery, he liſted himſelf among the *Perſian* troops, being then in the flower of his age, and had ſerved with great reputation. When he was brought to *Julian*, he aſſured him, that he had been often foretold, he ſhould live till he was near an hundred years old, and be buried at laſt in the *Roman* territories. *Ammianus* ſuppoſes the place to have been by him betrayed to the *Romans* [p]. *Julian* burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left ſeveral ſtrong-holds behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promiſing to ſubmit, when he had made himſelf maſter of the reſt of the country [q]. After the army had repaſſed the *Euphrates*, at a place called *Baraxmalcha*, *Hormiſda* would have fallen into an ambuſcade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, which he could not paſs, from advancing to the place, where a body of *Perſians* lay in wait for him, under the conduct of *Surena* [r]. After this, *Julian* paſſed with great difficulty an arm of the *Euphrates*, which was ſwelled to an unuſual height by the melting of the ſnow, and laid ſiege to *Berſabora* or *Pyriſabora*, next to *Cteſiphon* the ſtrongeſt place in *Aſſyria*, being fortified with a double wall and a citadel, and defended by a numerous gariſon. But *Julian* ſurmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days time, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous reſiſtance he met with, both from the gariſon and the inhabitants, who fought to the laſt like men in deſpair. He found in the place great ſtore of proviſions, and diſtributed among his ſoldiers, who began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of ſilver a head, having with much-ado prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with that ſum [s]. Having thus pacified the army, and ſet fire to the town, he purſued his march, and entered a country, which the enemy, foreſeeing he would paſs that way, had laid under water; but the ſoldiers animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great reſolution, and arriving at *Maiozamalcha*, a place of great ſtrength, which refuſed to ſubmit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day without intermiſſion; but the beſieged obſtinately held out, till the *Romans*, by the means of a mine, got into the city, while the *Perſians* were buſied in defending the walls. *Ammianus*, who was at this ſiege, calls *Maiozamalcha* a great and populous city; and his authority is of more weight with us than that of *Libanius* or *Zoſimus*, who

He reduces ſeveral towns and ſtrong-holds.

[p] Ammian. p. 264. [q] Idem p. 265. [r] Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. [s] Ammian. ibid p. 269,270.

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe it to have been only a caſtle near a large and populous city named *Beſuchis* [t]. *Julian*, incenſed againſt the governor for not ſurrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling *Hormiſda* a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers. As the army was now within ſeven miles of *Cteſiphon*, and *Victor*, who had viſited all the roads, aſſured them they had nothing to apprehend, they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, ſays *Ammianus*, by a *Roman* emperor, meaning, according to ſome, *Seleucia*, ruined by *Lucius Verus*, and, according to others, *Sabata*, about three miles from *Cteſiphon* the great metropolis of the *Perſian* empire [u]. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by aſſault, after a ſhort, but vigorous, reſiſtance, *Julian* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſhower of arrows diſcharged againſt him, as he was viewing the walls too near [w]. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army ſome time to refreſh themſelves; and then, cauſing the canal to be cleanſed, which had been formerly dug by *Trajan* between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, he conveyed by that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army to *Coche*, a place of great ſtrength, ſtanding on the *Tigris* over-againſt *Cteſiphon*; but we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he paſſed the river with no leſs raſhneſs than courage, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Perſians enemy, encamped on the oppoſite bank, whom he obliged to retire, and ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Cteſiphon*. Some of the *Romans* purſued them to the very gates of the city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not *Victor* prudently reſtrained them. The *Perſians* loſt on this occaſion, according to ſome, two thouſand five hundred, according to others, ſix thouſand, men, and the *Romans* only ſeventy or ſeventy-five. Only part of the *Roman* army paſſed the *Tigris* that day, and made themſelves maſters of the *Perſian* camp. The reſt followed the next day, and *Julian* himſelf, with his guards, three days after [x]. *Julian* continued ſome days encamped before *Cteſiphon*; but not daring to attack it through fear of being repulſed with ſhame, as it was very ſtrong, well ſtored with proviſions, and defended by a very numerous gariſon, he contented himſelf with ſending *Arintheus* to lay waſte the neighbouring country [y]. In the mean time, the king of *Perſia* was aſſembling, on the

He advances to Cteſiphon.

Puts the Perſians to flight, and paſſes the Tigris.

[t] Idem. p. 271. LIBAN. p. 316. ZOS. p. 721. [u] AMMIAN. Zos ibid. [w] AMMIAN. p. 275. [x] AMMIAN. p. 278. LIBAN. p. 319. ZOS. p. 726. [y] AMMIAN. p. 281.

moſt diſtant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a deſign to fall upon *Julian* in his retreat. However, he ſent deputies to propoſe terms for an accommodation, being deſirous to put an end to ſo deſtructive a war. Theſe applied to *Hormiſda*, as their countryman and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but *Julian*, inſtead of hearkening to the propoſals, ordered *Hormiſda* privately to diſmiſs the embaſſadors, and give out, that they were only ſome of his old friends come to ſee him; for he apprehended, that both the ſoldiers and officers would have diſapproved of his purſuing ſo dangerous and troubleſome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed, *Julian*, contrary to the advice of his officers, reſolved to advance farther into *Perſia*; but the army had no ſooner ſet out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more adviſeable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country on that ſide being laid waſte, but to take his route along the banks of the *Tigris*; which he did accordingly, without ſo much as attempting to reduce *Cteſiphon*, though he had lain ſeveral days before it. He marched ſome time along the *Tigris*, which he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of *Perſia*, they perſuaded him to quit the river, and take a quite different route, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Hormiſda*, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides as perſons ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them into ſome ſnare, did all that lay in their power to divert *Julian* from following their advice; but he, repoſing in them an intire confidence, reſolved not only to leave the *Tigris*, but to burn his fleet, leſt the enemy ſhould become maſters of it. This reſolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheleſs put immediately in execution, only twelve ſmall veſſels being ſpared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there ſhould be occaſion. When the fleet was firſt ſet on fire, the army began to mutiny, and cry out with one voice, *That the emperor was betrayed; that the pretended guides were real traitors, ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them to deſtruction.* *Julian*, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themſelves to be what they really were, confeſſing, that, in adviſing him to burn the fleet, they had no other deſign but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguiſh the fire, and ſave the ſhips; but the flames could

He rejects propoſals of peace.

He turns back with out making any attempt upon Cteſiphon

Deceived by treacherous guides, he burns his fleet.

could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve veſſels, was reduced to aſhes [z]. After this, *Julian* purſued his march through a country, ſays *Ammianus*, very fruitful in itſelf, but ravaged and laid waſte by the enemy; inſomuch, that the *Romans* were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, and at the ſame time harraſſed without intermiſſion by ſtrong parties, who, in a manner ſurrounding them, attacked them ſometimes in the front, and ſometimes in the rear. *Julian*, not knowing what route to take in a ſtrange country, and finding his army quite diſpirited, ſummoned a council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many conſultations, they reſolved to march towards *Corduene*, which lay ſouth of *Armenia*, and belonged to the *Romans*. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſet forward on the ſixteenth of *June*; but had not marched far, when they diſcovered at ſome diſtance a very numerous army advancing in full march againſt them. This was the *Perſian* army, commanded by the king in perſon, attended by two of his ſons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The *Romans* thought it adviſeable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, beſieged the next day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several ſkirmiſhes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the *Perſians* were conſtantly put to flight. In a ſharp encounter on the twenty-ſecond of *June*, almoſt the whole *Perſian* army engaged; but were, after a very vigorous reſiſtance, put to the rout with great ſlaughter. The *Romans* remained maſters of the field; but found little ſatisfaction in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a ſtrange country, where no proviſions were to be had, the corn, graſs, and every thing elſe, being burnt up by the enemy, *Julian* himſelf laboured under the greateſt perplexity and uneaſineſs imaginable, finding the *Perſians* were reſolved to oppoſe his march, and attempt all means to diſtreſs him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-ſixth of *June*, as he roſe, according to his cuſtom, about midnight, and was buſied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a ſudden before him, with a countenance full of ſorrow, the ſpectre repreſenting the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elſewhere, upon his being declared emperor. He was ſomewhat terrified at this unexpected ſight, and at other omens which happened at the ſame time, and were looked upon by the aruſpices as portending ſome

Is reduced to great ſtraigots.

Puts the Perſians *to flight.*

But diſtreſſed for want of proviſions.

[z] AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 281. LIBAN. p. 301. ZON. p. 23.

great

great misfortune, if he ſhould undertake any thing that day. But *Julian* deſpiſing, contrary to his cuſtom, the predictions of his ſoothſayers, as ſoon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer able to ſubſiſt in the ſame place. On his march he was attacked on all ſides by the enemy, who, after they had diſcharged their arrows, which never failed doing great execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of thoſe who fell. In one of theſe ſudden onſets, the emperor haſtening, without his armour, to repulſe the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm and ſide, pierced his very liver. Thoſe who were about him concluding, from his ſinking down upon the neck of his horſe, that he was wounded, conveyed him with all ſpeed upon a large ſhield to his tent, where *Oribaſus*, a celebrated phyſician, and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to ſave him, applying the beſt remedies his art and ſkill could ſuggeſt. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horſe, being deſirous to animate his men with his preſence; but his ſtrength not anſwering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loſs of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage, and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the ſlaughter. Fifty *Perſian* lords of great diſtinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common ſoldiers. The *Romans* loſt *Anatolius*, who was *magiſter officiorum*, and generally eſteemed an officer of great ſkill and experience. The prefect *Saluſt* was with much-ado ſaved by his apparitors; but *Phoſphorius*, his vicar, was ſlain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded. While the fight continued, *Julian* lay languiſhing in his tent; and being appriſed that his end approached, he addreſſed thoſe about him, who ſeemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms:

And harraſſed on his march by the Perſian *army, and mortally wounded.*

His ſpeech before his death.

" I am now, my fellow ſoldiers, called upon to pay the laſt " debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful " mind, being taught by philoſophy, that the ſtate of the " ſoul is infinitely more happy than that of the body. Upon " this conſideration, I embrace death as the greateſt bleſſing: " it exempts me from the many dangers to which my virtue " and reputation were daily expoſed. I have lived, firſt in " a private, and afterwards in an exalted, ſtate, and have " ſo behaved in both, as not to be conſcious to myſelf of " any action, that gives me at preſent the leaſt remorſe. I " have ſtudied to govern with moderation, and being well ap- " priſed, that the end of all government is the happineſs of

" the

" the people, I have, both in peace and war, endeavoured,
" as far as in me lay, to render them happy. I have great
" reaſon to thank Divine Providence, for not having ſuffered
" me to fall by the hand of conſpirators; to languiſh under
" a long and troubleſome diſeaſe; or to die like a criminal,
" as many innocent and deſerving perſons have done. I
" ſubmit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of
" the gods, though in the bloom of my age, being ſenſible,
" that he who is fond of life, when he ought to die, is as
" great a coward, as he who deſires to die when he ought to
" live. As for my ſucceſſor, I decline naming any, leſt,
" through ignorance, I ſhould paſs by a worthy perſon,
" or, by naming one equal to ſo great a truſt, expoſe him to
" thoſe dangers, which would inevitably attend his promo-
" tion, if it were not univerſally approved of. I therefore
" leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, like a duti-
" ful ſon, wiſh her a worthy governor to ſucceed me."
Having thus ſpoken, he diſpoſed of his private eſtate, dividing it amongſt his relations and friends; and not ſeeing *Anatolius*, inquired after him. *Saluſt* the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expreſſion then in uſe; which ſeemed greatly to affect him; but turning immediately to the philoſophers *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, he began to diſcourſe with them concerning the nature of the ſoul: then, calling for a glaſs of cold water, he drank it, and having expreſſed his deſire of being interred at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he expired on the twenty-ſixth of *June*, a little before midnight. He died in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years and ſix months, from the time he had been created *Cæſar*; about three years ſince he had taken the title of *Auguſtus*, and only twenty months, not quite complete, ſince by the death of *Conſtantius*, he became peaceable poſſeſſor of the whole empire. Thus is his death related by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ſerved under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote [a]. *Theodoret* tells us, that *Julian*, when he was firſt wounded, filled his hand with blood iſſuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, *Thou haſt conquered, O* Galilean [b]. The ſame thing is related by *Sozomen*, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to inſult and blaſpheme with the name of *Galilean*, appeared to him when he received his wound [c]. But theſe as well as other chriſtian wri- Julian *dies*.

[a] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 287—295. [b] THEODORET. l. iii. c. 2. 20. p. 658. [c] Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 638.

ters,

ters, have been led, by their averſion to an apoſtate from the faith, and a perſecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. *Libanius* writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in *Paleſtine*, which intirely ruined ſeveral cities [d]. His body was conveyed by *Procopius* from *Meſopotamia* to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where it was interred with the uſual ſolemnity [e]; but afterwards transferred from thence, according to *Zonaras* [f] and *Cedrenus* [g], to *Conſtantinople*, and depoſited with that of *Jovian* his ſucceſſor, in the porch of the church of the *Apoſtles*. This tranſlation muſt have happened after the fifth century, ſince *Zoſimus* has not mentioned it. As for the character of *Julian*, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himſelf well verſed in moſt branches of literature [h]. *Ammianus* greatly extols his moderation and the mildneſs of his temper, no leſs oppoſite to that of his brother *Gallus*, than the temper of *Titus* was to that of *Domitian* [i]. He could never endure the title of *dominus* or *lord*, though common to all princes ever ſince the time of *Dioclefian*, and had even ſome thoughts of quitting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the badges of the ſovereign power [k]. He made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe the people, leſſening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the ſtate [l]. All the cities uſed, purſuant to an antient cuſtom, to preſent the new prince with crowns of gold, ſome of which weighed a thouſand, and ſome two thouſand, ounces, and upwards; but *Julian* enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above ſeventy ounces. He would not ſuffer his officers or miniſters to receive preſents from the people, upon any conſideration whatſoever; nor the ſoldiers to injure in the leaſt the ſubjects or allies of the empire, through whoſe countries they marched [m]. *Libanius* ſpeaks much at length of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chuſing worthy magiſtrates, in clearing the high-ways of robbers, and in relieving ſeveral cities, reduced by heavy

His character.

[d] Liban. vit. p 45. & orat. xi. p. 258. [e] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 307. [f] Zonar. p. 24. [g] Cedren. p. 78. Vide Cange urb. Conſtantinop deſcrip l. iv. p. 110. [h] Vict. epit. p. 545. [i] Ammian. l. xvi. p 63 & l xxij p. 221. [k] Liban. orat. xii. p. 305. [l] Ammian. l. xvi. xvii. xviii, p. 63. 90. 114. [m] Liban. p. 305.

taxes

taxes to a moſt miſerable condition [n]. His bed, ſays *Mamertinus*, was as pure and chaſte as that of a veſtal virgin [o]; and *Ammianus*, that he was an utter ſtranger to all unlawful pleaſures, and a declared enemy to lewdneſs and debauchery [p]. He was generous, adds the ſame author, valiant, ſincere in his friendſhip, and kind to all, eſpecially to ſuch as were in diſtreſs, and moſt wanted his aſſiſtance [q]. *Prudentius* ſpeaks of him as a prince who deſerved well of the empire, both as a general and a law-giver [r]. He was not, however, even in the opinion of his admirers, without ſome faults. *Ammianus* owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond meaſure of popular applauſe, elated with the late ſucceſs, and talkative to ſuch a degree, that his tongue never lay ſtill [s]. The ſame writer accuſes him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning *Urſula*, to whom he owed the greateſt obligations; and *Libanius*, though highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been ſuperſtitious to exceſs, inconſiderate on many occaſions, and too much addicted to his own ſentiments [t]. *Ammianus* blames the cenſorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philoſopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his *miſopogon*, and his *Cæſars*, not ſparing even the excellent emperor *M. Aurelius*. The pagan writers themſelves, namely *Eutropius* [u], *Themiſtius* [w], and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [x], own, that his conduct towards the chriſtians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deſerved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a chriſtian writer of our days ſeems willing to allow. As for the chriſtian writers of antient times, they repreſent *Julian* as one inclined to, and guilty of, the moſt enormous crimes; but craftily diſguiſing them with a falſe ſhow of the oppoſite virtues. In theſe colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by *Socrates* in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [y], and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the oration he wrote a few days after *Julian*'s death [z]. But whether the pagans were quite unbiaſſed by favour, and the chriſtians by prejudice, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to queſtion the truth of what the panegyriſts and admirers of *Julian* have written concerning

[n] Idem, p. 296——298. [o] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [p] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 292. [q] Idem ibid. [r] PRUD. apol. c. 4. p. 163. [s] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 206. [t] LIBAN. or. xii. p. 304. [u] EUTROP. p. 589. [w] THEMIST. orat. v. p 69. [x] AMMIAN. l xvii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294. [y] SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193. [z] GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 138.

his other virtues; but, as to his chaſtity, we are not fully convinced, that it deſerved thoſe mighty encomiums, which *Mamertinus* [a], *Libanius* [b], and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [c], have been pleaſed to beſtow upon it; for on one ſide it is certain, that by *Helena*, his only wife, he had but one ſon, whom the midwife, bribed by the empreſs *Euſebia*, deſtroyed as ſoon as born [d]. On the other ſide, *Julian* himſelf, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that is, three years after the death of *Helena*, mentions his children, and the perſon who was charged with the care of their education [e]. *Codin* likewiſe, in his *antiquities of* Conſtantinople, takes notice of ſeveral ſtatues erected to *Julian*, and his children [f]. His bed therefore, to uſe the expreſſion of *Mamertinus* [g], was not perhaps quite ſo pure and undefiled as that of a veſtal virgin. The great *Chryſoſtom* deſcribes the court of *Julian*, while he reſided at *Conſtantinople*, crouded with aruſpices, aſtrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public proſtitutes. The latter, at leaſt, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the veſtals. But we will not lay any ſtreſs on the teſtimony of a chriſtian, and conſequently, as may be objected, a prejudiced writer, though he ſolemnly declares, that he himſelf, and all the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, to whom he appeals, were eye-witneſſes of what he advances [h]. As for *Julian*'s ſo much boaſted moderation, *Ammianus* himſelf acknowledges, that it was ſometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildneſs of his temper [i]. *Libanius* charges him with want of judgment in the choice of miniſters, and of due care in watching their conduct; whence ſome of them, concludes that writer, brought no ſmall diſgrace upon his government [k]. *Libanius* writes, that *Julian* was appriſed of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not ſeem inconſtant in his friendſhip [l]. *Ammianus* owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption [m]. In what related to the Divinity, ſays the ſame writer, he was rather ſuperſtitious than religious, ſacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vaſt expence; which proved very burdenſome to the ſtate, and at the ſame time highly prejudicial to the military diſcipline, the ſoldiers, with whom he feaſted on the victims, returning almoſt every day drunk to

[a] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [b] Liban. orat. xii. p. 292. [c] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292. [d] Idem. l. xvi. p. 72. [e] Julian. ep. 40. p. 184. [f] Codin antiq. Conſt. p. 19. [g] Panegyr. xi. p. 231. [h] Chrys. in gent. p. 676. [i] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226, 227. [k] Eutrop. p. 589. [l] Liban. p. 307. [m] Idem, p. 220.

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their quarters [n]. Had he returned victorious from his *Perſian* expedition, continues the ſame writer, he would ſcarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire [o]. We need not therefore recur to the teſtimony of the chriſtian writers, to ſhew, that the many virtues aſcribed to him by the pagans, were not without the allay of ſeveral vices and imperfections. In ſhort, he did not perhaps deſerve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced as the worſt of princes by the chriſtians, nor the mighty encomiums beſtowed upon him as the beſt of princes by the pagans.

THE news of his death was received with inexpreſſible joy by the chriſtians, and with the deepeſt concern by the pagans. The meſſenger who brought it to *Carrhæ*, was either ſtoned to death by the populace [w], or with much-ado eſcaped the fury of the enraged multitude [x]. • Several cities placed the image of the deceaſed prince amongſt thoſe of their gods, and paid it the ſame honours. *Libanius*, tranſported with grief when he firſt heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himſelf, not caring to outlive him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he changed his mind, and choſe to live, that he might have the ſatisfaction, as he himſelf tells us, of compiling his funeral oration. He wrote two diſcourſes on this occaſion, the one to expreſs his own grief [y], the other to ſet forth the praiſes of *Julian* [z]. From the latter, which contains the whole hiſtory of *Julian*'s life, and from the two orations written much about the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject, by *Gregory Nazianzen*, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers were ſtrangely biaſſed and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other againſt him. *Julian* not only renounced the chriſtian religion, whence he was ſurnamed the *Apoſtate*, but betrayed a mortal hatred to thoſe who profeſſed it, traducing them with the name of *Galileans*, as he impiouſly ſtyled our Saviour the *Galilean*, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach or learn the ſciences, which to *Ammianus* himſelf ſeemed inconſiſtent with the laws of humanity [a]. But we refer our readers to the eccleſiaſtic writers for a more particular account of the perſecution he raiſed againſt the church, and of his wild attempt to reſtore *Judaiſm*, and rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which is ſaid, by *Ammianus* and others, to have been miraculouſly defeated by balls

[n] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 294. [o] Idem, l. xxii. p. 225. [w] Zos. l. iii. p. 733. [x] LIB. or. xii. p. 330. [y] LIB. or. xi. [z] Idem, or. xii. [a] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 291.

of fire iſſuing out of the earth, and deſtroying both the work and the workmen. Of the ſeveral writers who flouriſhed under *Julian* the reader will find a ſuccinct account in note (I).

(I) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his hiſtory of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of *Julian*'s reign, than any other writer As he was a pagan, he beſtows great encomiums upon a prince, who did all that lay in his power to reſtore paganiſm. However, he was not ſo prejudiced in his favour, as not to blame in him what he thought blame-worthy. *Eunapius*, a moſt zealous ſtickler for the antient religion of the *Romans*, that is, for idolatry, often mentions, and highly commends, *Julian* in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts. He had written the hiſtory of his reign in ſeveral books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general hiſtory of the emperors, is what we are no where told But of *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Eunapius* we ſhall ſpeak at the end of the reign of *Valens*. *Calliſtus*, one of *Julian*'s officers, wrote in verſe, according to *Socrates* (2), the hiſtory of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. *Voſſius* tells us, that *Calliſtus* attended *Julian* in his *Perſian* expedition (3), which muſt be a conjecture of his own; for we find no ſuch thing in *Socrates*, the only writer who mentions him. *Julian* himſelf deſerves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the hiſtory of his wars in *Gaul* (4), which has been long ſince loſt; and gives us an account of the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life in his *Miſopogon*, in his letter to the *Athenians* (of which two pieces we have ſpoken above), and in the writings which he publiſhed in the year 362, the one upon *Cybele*, the other againſt a *Cynic* philoſopher, (5). He wrote another diſcourſe againſt the *Cynics*, particularly againſt one *Heraclius* or *Heraclitus* (6). From that piece it appears, that he was ſtrangely importuned by thoſe philoſophers, and that he entertained no better opinion of them, than of the chriſtian monks, to whom he compares them. His diſcourſe to *Themiſtius* is, properly ſpeaking, a letter, in which he anſwers that philoſopher, who had written to him from *Conſtantinople*, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in ſeeing one raiſed to the empire, who profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy. *Julian* tells him in his anſwer, that when he reflects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty of diſcharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, ſerved rather to diſhearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole ſubject of the letter, which ſeems to have been written ſoon after *Julian* was raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*. In the manuſcript copy of this letter are ſe-

(1) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 76, 77. (2) *Socr. l. iii c.* 21 *p.* 195. (3) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c.* 18. *p.* 486. (4) *Lib. or. v. p.* 178. (5) *Julian. or. vii. p.* 382. *Suid. p.* 1248. (6) *Julian. ibid. p.* 716—718. (7) *Julian. ad Themiſt. p.* 490, *&c.*

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veral paſſages, which ſeem quite foreign to the purpoſe, and are thought by ſome to be fragments of a treatiſe, containing ſeveral inſtructions, addreſſed to a pagan pontiff, concerning the duties of his office (8). *Petavius* is of opinion, that they were addreſſed to *Arſaces*, pontiff of *Galatia*, to whom *Julian* wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the moſt famous of all *Julian*'s works is that intitled *The Cæſars*, which in reality is a ſatire on all the emperors from *Julius Cæſar* to *Conſtantine*, and his children. It begins with a kind of Dialogue (10). From the injurious and abuſive manner he ſpeaks of *Conſtantine*, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of *Conſtantius*, or at leaſt after he had openly declared againſt him. *Socrates* aſcribes to a vanity, unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predeceſſors, without ſparing even *M Aurelius* (11), whom he had propoſed to himſelf for his pattern (12). *Voſſius* aſſures us (13), that, in the antient copies, this work is ſtyled *Saturnalia*, and *the banquet*, a title which well ſuits it; for it was written during the *Saturnalia*, or the feaſts of *Saturn*, that is, about the end of *December*, in 361, or 362; and *Julian*, in the work, introduces *Romulus* entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the *Saturnalia* (14). But *Suidas* ſuppoſes the *Cæſars* and the *Saturnalia* to be two different works, and quotes ſome things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (15). *Julian* himſelf ſpeaks of his *Saturnalia* as addreſſed to *Saluſt* (16), which cannot be ſaid of his *Cæſars*. He quotes the former work in a diſcourſe, which he wrote on the ſun, and likewiſe inſcribed to *Saluſt*. This piece he compoſed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of *December*, when the pagans celebrated the feaſt of the ſun; for *Julian* honoured that luminary as his chief deity (17). *Suidas* aſcribes two other works to him, the one on *the three figures*, which he does not explain, and the other on *the origin of evils*; but both theſe works, as well as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, have been long ſince loſt. He wrote ſeveral letters, of which ſixty-four have reached our times, not counting thoſe which, by reaſon of their length, have been ranked among his diſcourſes. *Libanius*, who pretends to have brought the epiſtolary ſtyle to its greateſt perfection, ſhares that glory with *Julian*, the elegance of whoſe letters he greatly commends and admires (18). Under *Julian* flouriſhed *Proæreſius*, a chriſtian ſophiſt, highly eſteemed for his learning and eloquence. *Eunapius*, who was his diſciple, gives us the following account of him: He was a native of *Armenia*, deſcended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding well-ſhaped, though of a gigantic ſtature, and reſembling a coloſſus (19). He left his native country when very young,

(8) *Idem, frag.* p. 528. (9) *Julian. ep. alix.* p. 202. (10) *Idem, Cæſ.* p. 3—5. (11) *Socr. l. iii. c.* 1 & 23. p. 169, 195. (12) *Julian. ad Themiſt.* p. 257. (13) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c.* 18. p. 250. (14) *Julian. Cæſ.* p. 3—5. (15) *Suid.* p. [illegible]. (16) *Julian. ibid.* p. 303. & *or. in Sol.* p. 291. (17) *Idem, or. in Sol.* p. 291, 292. (18) *Lib. or.* 7. p. 134. (19) *Euſ. vit. c.* 1. p. 1[illegible].

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and ſtudied firſt at *Antioch* under one *Ulpianus*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he was diſciple to one *Julian*, who, in dying, bequeathed him his houſe. He likewiſe ſucceeded *Julian* in his employment, and taught eloquence with ſuch reputation and applauſe, that the other profeſſors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconſul to baniſh him from *Athens* (20); but he was ſoon recalled by the emperor's order, and reſtored to his former employment. All thoſe who came from *Pontus*, and the other parts of *Aſia Minor*, or from *Egypt* and *Libya*, ſtudied under him (21). Among theſe we may reckon the great *Baſil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*; for they came from *Cappadocia* to ſtudy eloquence at *Athens* while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into *Gaul* by *Conſtans*, who received him with extraordinary marks of eſteem, perhaps becauſe he paſſed for a chriſtian, ſays *Eunapius* (22); but *St. Jerom* aſſures us, that he was truly a chriſtian (23). *Suidas* confounded *Conſtantine* with *Conſtans*, when he wrote, that *Conſtantine* paid him great honours (24). The *Gauls*, ſays *Eunapius*, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of reliſhing his eloquent ſpeeches, admired his ſtature and mien, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, though he uſed no ſhoes, and was only defended againſt the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (25). He was afterwards ſent by *Conſtans* to *Rome*, where the ſenate cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him, with this inſcription, Rome, *the queen of cities, to the king of eloquence*. When he left *Rome*, about the year 349, to return to *Athens*, *Conſtans* beſtowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the *Roman* armies. The *Romans*, upon his departure, begged him to ſend one of his diſciples to teach eloquence at *Rome*. He complied with their requeſt, and ſent them one *Euſebius*, a native of *Alexandria*; a perſon fit to live at *Rome*, ſays *Eunapius*, becauſe well verſed in the art of flattery (26). *Julian*, who had no doubt, been acquainted with *Proereſes* at *Athens*, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is ſtill extant (27). When that prince publiſhed the famous edict, forbidding all chriſtians to learn or teach the ſciences, he excepted *Proereſes*; but he, ſcorning to accept the favour, reſigned of his own accord his profeſſorſhip; which greatly provoked *Julian*, who, out of pique to *Proereſes*, heaped great honours upon *Libanius* (28). The generous conduct of *Proereſes*, on this occaſion, makes us queſtion the truth of what we read of him in *Eunapius*, *viz.* that he had recourſe to the pontiff of *Eleuſine*, to know whether *Julian* was to reign long; and that, being aſſured his reign would prove ſhort, he took courage, and reſolved not to renounce the chriſtian religion (29). *Eunapius* betrays, on all occaſions, ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the chriſtian religion, that we cannot give credit to any

(20) *Idem*, *c.* 7. *p.* 96 — 101. (21) *Idem*, *p.* 110, 111. (22) *Idem*, *p.* 121, 122. (23) *Hier. ad ann.* 363. (24) *Suid. p.* 596. (25) *Idem*, *p.* 222, 223. (26) *Idem*, *p.* 25. (27) *Julian. ep.* 2. *p.* 116. (28) *Suid. p.* 596. (29) *Eunap. c.* 8. *p.* 126.

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thing he writes on that head. After the death of *Julian*, *Proereſes* was, it ſeems, re-inſtated in his profeſſorſhip, when *Eunapius* ſtudied under him for the ſpace of five years, and then returned to *Lydia*, his native country. He owns, that *Proereſes* inſtructed him with no leſs care than if he had been his own ſon. *Proereſes* died ſoon after, perhaps in 368, being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-ſeven when *Eunapius* began to ſtudy under him, in the end of 363, which was the firſt of *Jovian*'s reign (30). He left no works behind him beſides his declamations (31). *Oribaſus*, a famous phyſician, was a native of *Pergamus* in *Aſia*, according to *Eunapius* (32): of *Sardis*, according to *Philoſtorgius* (33) and *Suidas* (34). He ſtudied phyſic under *Zeno* of *Cyprus*, to whom *Julian* wrote a letter, inviting him back to *Alexandria*, whence *George*, the famous *Arian* biſhop, had cauſed him to be baniſhed (35). When *Julian* was created *Cæſar*, he took *Oribaſus* with him into *Gaul*, and repoſed ſuch confidence in him, ſays *Eunapius* (36), as to make him privy to his greateſt ſecrets, that is, to his idolatry; for *Oribaſus* was himſelf a pagan. The ſame author writes, that *Oribaſus* was famous, not only for his ſkill in phyſic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to *Julian* (37); but explains himſelf no farther *Oribaſus*, at the requeſt of *Julian*, abridged firſt the works of *Galen*, and afterwards thoſe of all the moſt able phyſicians. Both theſe works were inſcribed to *Julian*, as appears from the prefaces, which have been tranſmitted to us by *Photius* (38.). *Photius* prefers the ſecond work to the firſt; nay, and to all the books of phyſic which had been publiſhed till his time. It conſiſted of ſeventy books; but only the firſt fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at *Paris* in 1555, have reached our times. *Oribaſus* himſelf, by a ſecond abridgment, reduced his ſeventy books to nine, which he addreſſed to his ſon *Euſtathius* (39). The reader will find an abſtract of this work in *Photius* (40), who obſerves, that they may prove very uſeful to thoſe who are already acquainted with phyſic, by refreſhing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great miſtakes (41). *Oribaſus* wrote another abridgment of the ſame nature in four books, which he inſcribed to *Eunapius*, probably the author of the lives of the ſophiſts, at whoſe requeſt he had undertaken it (42). This work is ſtill extant. To theſe *Photius* adds four other books of phyſic inſcribed to one *Eugenius*; but ſo like thoſe addreſſed to *Eunapius*, that he ſuſpects them to be a ſuppoſititious work (43). Beſides the works we have already mentioned, *Photius* ſuppoſes *Oribaſus* to

(30) *Idem, ibid.* (31) *Suid. p.* 596. (32) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 76, & *c.* 19. *p.* 139. (33) *Philoſ. l. vii c.* 15. *p.* 205. (34) *Suid. p.* 329. (35) *Julian. ep. xlv. p.* 198. (36) *Eunap. c.* 29. *p* 140. (37) *Idem, ibid.* (38) *Phot. c.* 216, 217. *p.* 556, 557. (39) *Idem, c.* 218. *p.* 557. (40) *Idem, p.* 560. (41) *Oribaſ. p.* 2. (42) *Phot. c.* 219. *p* 561. (43) *Idem, p.* 564 & *c.* 216. *p.* 564.

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have publiſhed ſeven more on the ſame ſubject (44). He would not have us to mind the ſtyle of that writer, becauſe his works, ſays he, are abſtracts of different authors; and beſides, elegancy of ſtyle is what we muſt not expect from a phyſician (45). *Suidas* ſuppoſes *Oribaſius* to have inſcribed to *Julian* ſeventy-two books, and to have publiſhed, beſides four books on *the doubts and difficulties of phyſicians*, a work on *royalty*, and another on *maladies* (46). He adds, that *Oribaſius* was created by *Julian* quæſtor of the city of *Conſtantinople*; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended *Julian* into *Perſia*, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without ſucceſs. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to the countries of the barbarians (47), or abandoned, to uſe the expreſſion of *Eunapius*, to the barbarians, who were moſt noted for their cruelty (48). However, he was greatly reſpected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he profeſſed. At length the *Roman* emperors recalled him, and reſtored to him his eſtate and all his effects (49). He gave ſome eaſe to *Chryſanthus* in his laſt malady at *Sardis*; but could not cure him (50). He was ſtill living when *Eunapius* wrote the lives of the ſophiſts, that is, about the year 400. Among *Julian*'s letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (51). *Himerus*, a celebrated ſophiſt in *Julian*'s time, was a native of *Bithynia*, and the ſon of *Aminius*, who taught rhetoric at *Pruſa* in the ſame province (52). *Himerus* and *Procreſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, were at the ſame time profeſſors of eloquence at *Athens* and rivals (53). *Photius* ſuppoſes him to have likewiſe taught at *Corinth* (54). *Julian* invited him afterwards to *Conſtantinople*, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He continued in court till the death of that prince, and then returned to *Athens* (55). He lived to a great age, in which he loſt his ſight, and was beſides afflicted with a leproſy. He left behind him ſeveral declamations, and other pieces of that nature (56). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a pagan. *Eunapius* commends his ſtyle (57), as does likewiſe *Photius*, who has tranſmitted to us abſtracts of ſome of his works (58). In the hiſtory of *Julian*'s reign, we have mentioned the philoſopher *Maximus*, who firſt inclined that prince to idolatry and the ſtudy of magic. He was a native, either of *Smyrna*, as we read in *Eunapius* (59); or of *Epheſus*, as *Ammianus* will have it (60); and bro-

(44) *Idem, ibid.* (45) *Idem, ibid.* (46) *Suid. p.* 329. (47) *Philoſtorg. l. vii. c.* 15. *p.* 105. (48) *Eunap. c.* 19. *p.* 140. (49) *Idem, p.* 141, 142. (50) *Idem, c.* 21. *p.* 160. (51) *Julian ep. xix. p.* 135. (52) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 363. *Eunap. c.* 12. *p.* 129. (53) *Eunap. c.* 8. *p.* 119. (54) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 352. (55) *Eunap. p.* 129. (56) *Idem. c.* 12. *p.* 129. *Suid. p.* 1239. (57) *Eunap. p.* 129. (58) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 352. & *c.* 213. *p.* 1075, 1141. (59) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 67. & 76. *p.* 127. (60) *Ammian. l. xxiv. p.* 390.

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ther to the philoſopher *Claudianus*, who taught at *Alexandria*, and to the ſophiſt *Nymphidianus*, profeſſor of rhetoric at *Smyrna*, and afterward ſecretary to *Julian* *Maximus* muſt have been well verſed in polite learning, ſince *Julian* ſubmitted all his compoſitions to his judgment (61); and *Eunapius* has placed his life among thoſe of the ſophiſts, tho' he is commonly ſtyled *Maximus the philoſopher*. *Julian* invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362, where he behaved, as *Eunapius* himſelf owns (62), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philoſopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from *Julian*'s letters (62) for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with *Priſcus*, attended *Julian* in his *Parthian* expedition (63). Theſe two were, without all doubt, in the number of thoſe obſtinate and ignorant philoſophers, who, according to *Ammianus*, bore great ſway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterpriſe, againſt the ſentiments of the officers of the army (64). Hence, when news of *Julian*'s death was brought to *Antioch*, the people, in the tranſports of their joy, cried out, *Thus are the predictions of the falſe prophet* Maximus *fulfilled* (65). *Eunapius* writes, that *Jovian* continued to honour *Maximus*, and the other philoſophers, who had followed *Julian* (66). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who hated all the friends of *Julian*; and, above the reſt, theſe two philoſophers accuſed, as they were addicted to the ſtudy of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both ſeized about the beginning of *April* in 364 (67). *Priſcus*, however, was cleared; but the ſoldiery and populace were, with much ado, reſtrained by *Saluſtius Secundus* from tearing *Maximus* to pieces. Having eſcaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to diſcharge, and kept a cloſe priſoner till the end of the year 365 (68); when, by the mediation of *Themiſtius*, who recommended him to *Valens*, in a ſpeech pronounced before that prince, and by the intereſt of *Clearchus*, a zealous pagan, he was ſet at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but reſtored to his eſtate, and ſuffered to come to *Conſtantinople*, where he was very well received (69). But his happineſs was ſhort lived; for he was accuſed, with ſeveral other philoſophers, as a magician in 371, found guilty of magical practices; and, being ſentenced to death with the reſt, was beheaded at *Epheſus* the ſame year (70). *Suidas* aſcribes to *Maximus*, the maſter of *Julian* the apoſtate, ſeveral rhetorical and philoſophical pieces, ſome of which were addreſſed to *Julian* him-

(61) *Julian ep.* xvi. *p.* 131. (62) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 77, 79. (62) *Julian. ep.* xv. xvi. xxxviii. (63) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 81. *Ammian. l.* xxv. *p.* 291. (64) *Ammian l.* xxiii. *p.* 245. (65) *Theodoret. l.* iii. *c.* 22. *p.* 659. (66) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 82. (67) *Zoſ. l* iv. *p.* 734, 735. (68) *Idem, p.* 374. *Ammian l.* xxvi. *p* 315. *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 83. *Themiſt. or.* vii. *p.* 100. (69) *Themiſt. ibid. p.* 99, 100. *Eunap. p.* 84—37. (70) *Ammian. l.* xxix. *p.* 390. *Socr. p.* 39. *Eunap. p.* 87.

ſelf; but adds, that he was a native of *Epirus* or *Byzantium* (71): on the other hand, *Socrates* warns us not to confound *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, the father of *Euclid*, with *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, who induced *Julian* to embrace the worſhip of the gods (72) *Chryſanthus* was a native of *Sardes* in *Lydia*, in which city his father was ſenator. He ſtudied with *Maximus* under *Edeſus* of *Cappadocia*, a *Platonic* philoſopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithſtanding the repeated and preſſing ſolicitations of *Julian* and *Maximus*, inviting him to court. *Julian* created him pontiff of *Lydia*, in which employment he had the prudence not to diſoblige the chriſtians, as we have obſerved already; and therefore was ſuffered by the chriſtian emperors to live unmoleſted (73). He lived to the age of eighty (74). After his death, *Eunapius*, who was his wife's couſin, and had been his diſciple, wrote his life, and frequently mentions him in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts, which he had undertaken at his requeſt (75). *Suidas* likewiſe ſpeaks of him, but does not inform us whether or no he left any works behind him (76). *Priſcus* was born in the country of the *Moloſſi*, or *Theſproti*, in *Epirus*; and ſtudied under *Edeſus*, with *Maximus* and *Chryſanthus*. Afterwards he retired to *Greece*, whence he was invited by *Julian* to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more eſteemed by that prince than *Maximus* himſelf. He attended the emperor to *Antioch* and there prevailed upon him to admit *Libanius* to his preſence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, though he was not a little prejudiced againſt him (77). He followed *Julian* into *Perſia*, and was accuſed, with *Maximus*, of magical practices under *Valens*; but diſcharged, and ſuffered to return to *Greece*, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (78); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (79), that is, we ſuppoſe, by the *Goths*, who, in 395, or 396, ravaged *Greece* under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*. *Julian* in his letters, beſtows great commendations on one *George*, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philoſopher *Eugenius*, whom ſome take to be the father of *Themiſtius*; and on *Eceboolus*, under whom he ſtudied rhetoric (80). As the celebrated ſophiſt *Libanius* lived long after *Julian*'s time, we ſhall ſpeak of him in a more proper place.

(71) *Suid* p. 92. (72) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *p.* 165. (73) *Eunap. c.* 5 p. 69, 80. & *c.* 12. p. 144—149 (74) *Idem*, p. 152. (75) *Idem*, p. 153. (76) *Suid* p. 1155. (77) *Eunap. c.* 5. p. 69. *Lib. vit* p. 42. (78) *Eunap. ibid. c* 81. *Ammian l.* xxv. p 291. (79) *Eunap. c.* 5. p. 75. (80) *Julian. ep* viii. p. 121, 314. *ep.* liv. p. 218 *ep.* xviii. p. 135. *ep.* xix. xliii. p. 136, 196.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Julian, *to the death of* Valens.

THE death of *Julian* was no ſooner known, than the chief officers of the army aſſembled, and, with one conſent, choſe *Jovian* to ſucceed him [b], who was accordingly ſaluted with the title of *Jovianus Auguſtus*, the day after *Julian*'s death; that is, the twenty-ſeventh of *June* of this year 363. He was the only ſurviving child of *Verronianus*, who was a native of *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, or rather in *Moeſia* [c]; and had lately reſigned the eminent poſt of *comes domeſticorum*, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time, and the reputation, which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his ſon [d]. The firſt thing *Jovian* did after his election was to name him for his collegue in the conſulſhip againſt the enſuing year; for *Verronianus* was ſaid to have been foretold in a dream, that his ſon ſhould be one day raiſed to the empire, and he to the conſulſhip; but he died before he had the honour of diſcharging that office, or the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſon emperor, though he had been informed of his promotion [e]. *Jovian*, or *Flavius Claudius Jovianus*, as he is ſtyled on an antient coin, was born about the year 331, and married *Carito*, the daughter of *Lucillianus*, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by *Ammianus*. By her he had, according to *Philoſtorgius* [f], a ſon named *Verronianus*, who was born about the time *Jovian* was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no further mention; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Verronianus* was his only child [g]. As *Jovian* was not only a true, but a pious, and zealous chriſtian, we ſhall not copy his character from the chriſtian writers, who may be ſuſpected of partiality, but from the pagans, who

[b] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 226. [c] VICT. epit. [d] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 308. THEMIST. orat. v. p. 65. [e] AMMIAN. THEMIST. ibid. SOCRAT. l. iii c. 25. p. 205. [f] PHILOSTORG. l. viii. c. 8. p. 112. [g] ZON. p. 25.

Jovian's *character.*

cannot be thought to have been biaſſed in his favour. Among theſe *Eutropius* commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no one could, with juſtice, accuſe him of neglect or imprudence in the diſcharge of his duty [h]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* [i] and *Victor* the younger [k], deſcribe him as well-ſhaped in his perſon, of a majeſtic air, of a gay and agreeable aſpect, of an even, affable, and courteous, temper, naturally inclin'd to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himſelf pretty well acquainted with the ſciences. From the few officers he preferred during his ſhort reign, we may judge, adds *Ammianus*, how careful and circumſpect he would have been in the diſtribution of offices, had he lived longer. *Themiſtius* beſtows upon him ſtill greater encomiums [l]; but we lay no great ſtreſs upon them, as coming from a panegyriſt. On the other hand, *Suidas* [m] paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, *Eunapius*, who, by his implacable hatred to the chriſtian religion, was often led into groſs miſtakes. *Ammianus* does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women [n]. The ſame author obſerves, that *Jovian* had a great reſpect and veneration for the law of the chriſtians [o]; and truly he had always made an open profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, even in the reign of *Julian*, deſpiſing both his threats and promiſes [p]. *Socrates* [q], *Suidas* [r], and *Nicephorus* [s], tell us, that *Julian* having ordered all the chriſtian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the ſervice, *Jovian*, at that time tribune, reſigned his poſt without the leaſt heſitation; but *Julian* would not ſuffer him to retire, nay, he afterwards employed him in the *Perſian* war; for he was, at the emperor's death, the firſt among thoſe officers who were ſtyled *domeſtici* [t]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was raiſed to the empire by the chief officers, at the requeſt of the whole army [u]; for *Suidas* himſelf owns him to have been an excellent commander, though, at the time of his election, he was ſcarce thirty-two years old [w]. His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as appears from the manner in which

[h] Eutrop. p. 589. [i] Ammian. p. 296. [k] Vict. p. 79. [l] Themist. orat. v. p. 63. [m] Suid. p. 1244. [n] Ammian. p. 310, 318. [o] Idem. l. xxi. p 201. [p] Theodoret. l. iv. c. 1 p 660. [q] Socrat. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. [r] Suid. ibid. [s] Nicephor. l. x. c 38. p. 94. [t] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. [u] Zos. l. iii. p 729. [w] Suid. ibid.

Ammianus

Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of it. *Ruſinus* [x], *Socrates* [y], *Sozomen* [z], and *Theodoret* [a], aſſure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the ſoldiers had declared themſelves chriſtians, and ſolemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practiſed under *Julian*; on which account he is honoured by *Ruſinus* with the title of *confeſſor*. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the anſwer of thoſe, who, having conſulted, ſurely without his conſent, the entrails of the victims, promiſed ſafety, if the army decamped; but inevitable deſtruction, if they continued in the ſame place [b]. The army was, as we have related above, in a ſtrange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite deſtitute of neceſſaries, and conſequently reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incenſed *Perſians*. *Jovian*, who was obliged to ſtruggle with two ſuch formidable enemies, did not ſo much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulſed the *Perſians* with great ſlaughter as often as they ventured to attack him, as *Ammianus* tells us in expreſs terms [c]; which is ſufficient to refute what *Libanius* writes of the great advantages gained over *Jovian* by the *Perſians* [d]. But the valour and experience of *Jovian* was no proof againſt the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at ſo critical a conjuncture [e]. That writer is of opinion, that the *Perſians*, out of mere pity and compaſſion, ſet on foot a treaty [f]; and *Libanius* cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reaſon to promiſe themſelves the greateſt advantages from the continuation of the war [g]. The negotiations laſted four days, which proved more inſupportable to the *Romans*, ſays *Ammianus* [h], than the greateſt torments, by reaſon of the famine which raged in the camp. Beſides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, *Jovian* was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, of the deſigns of *Procopius*, *Julian*'s kinſman [i]. No wonder therefore that he ſubmitted to a peace upon terms diſhonourable, we own, in themſelves, but abſolutely

The army reduced to great ſtraits.

Jovian obliged to ſubmit to the terms propoſed by the Perſians.

[x] RUF. l. xi. c. i. p. 177. [y] SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. [z] Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 635. [a] THEODOR. l. iv. c. 1. p. 660, 661. [b] AMMIAN. p. 297. [c] Idem ibid. & p. 303. [d] LIB. or. xii. p. 324. [e] AMMIAN. p. 299. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] LIB. pro templis, &c. p. 24. 25. [h] AMMIAN. ibid. [i] Idem, l. xxiii. p. 240.

ſolutely neceſſary to extricate himſelf, and ſo many brave men, out of the difficulties, into which the temerity and imprudence of *Julian* had led them. A peace was agreed on for thirty, or, as *Ruſinus* will have it [k], for twenty-nine, years, upon *Jovian*'s promiſing to abandon and yield up to the *Perſians* the five provinces on the *Tigris*, which had been taken from them in the reign of *Dioclesian*, with ſeveral caſtles, and the cities of *Niſibis* and *Singara*. To this article was added another, in itſelf no leſs, if not more, ſhameful, which was, not to lend any aſſiſtance to *Arſaces* king of *Armenia* againſt the *Perſians*, though *Arſaces* was a faithful friend and ally of the empire. *Jovian* however, with much-ado, prevailed upon the king of *Perſia* to ſuffer the inhabitants of *Niſibis* and *Singara* to withdraw with their effects into the *Roman* territories [l]. The loſs of *Niſibis*, which was the bulwark of the empire againſt the *Perſians*, chiefly affected the *Romans*; and *Ammianus* takes great pains to exaggerate that loſs, in order to raiſe the public odium againſt *Jovian*, to whom he is favourable on no occaſion. Both that writer [n] and *Eutropius* [o] obſerve, that, from the foundation of *Rome*, no conſul or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch of ground. But therein they are certainly miſtaken; for *Adrian* abandoned to the barbarians a far greater extent of country than *Jovian*. *Aurelian* relinquiſhed all the countries conquered by *Trajan* beyond the *Danube*; and *Dioclesian* an immenſe tract towards the borders of *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, as *Tiberius* had done long before the large provinces, conquered at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure by the brave *Druſus*. 'Tis true, that theſe countries were not given up in virtue of a treaty, but becauſe they could not be kept without an immenſe charge. However, if it was thought commendable in thoſe princes to abandon them on that ſcore, we ought not to join *Ammianus* and *Eutropius* in condemning *Jovian* for abandoning, even by treaty, provinces which he could not keep without expoſing, to certain death or captivity, the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great eaſe have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what others had abandoned of their own accord does not render the action leſs neceſſary, nor conſequently leſs prudent. *Ammianus* pretends, that *Jovian* might have reached the province of *Corduene* belonging to the empire, in the four days which he ſpent in negotiations [p]. But

Jovian *not to be blamed for the peace concluded with the* Perſians.

[k] Ruf. p 177. [l] Ammian. p. 300. Zos. p. 730. Ruf. p. 177. Greg Naz. orat. iv. p. 118. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 303. Idem, p. 305. [o] Eutrop. p. 731. [p] Ammian. p. 300.

between

between them and that province flowed the *Tigris*, which, even after the peace, and when oppoſed by no enemy, they paſſed with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without the loſs of many perſons, who were carried away by the violence of the ſtream, as *Ammianus* himſelf informs us [q]. *Zoſimus* ſuppoſes them to have paſſed the *Tigris* before the treaty [r]; but his authority is of no weight when he diſagrees with *Ammianus*, who [s] ſerved in this expedition. Between the *Tigris* and *Corduene* lay a deſert ſeventy miles in extent, deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions, even of water, which reduced them to the neceſſity of feeding upon their horſes, and conſequently of leaving behind them great part of their baggage and arms [t]. *Libanius* owns, that moſt of them returned without either arms or money [u]. What therefore muſt have become of them, had they at the ſame time been inceſſantly harraſſed by a formidable enemy? *Agathias*, who lived two hundred years after, writes, that *Jovian*, impatient to get out of the *Perſian* dominions, betrayed *Niſibis* [w]; but *Eutropius*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the peace; but owns, that it was neceſſary [x]: and *Philoſtorgius*, a chriſtian writer, but an *Arian*, and conſequently no-ways favourable to *Jovian*, tells us, that there was no other means of ſaving the army, already reduced to the tenth part [y]. The only thing *Eutropius* blames in *Jovian*, is his faithfully obſerving the articles, to which neceſſity alone obliged him to ſubmit, inſtead of following the example of the antient *Romans*, who never ſcrupled to break a diſadvantageous treaty, extorted from them by force or fear [z]. But his religiouſly executing the articles of a treaty, however diſadvantageous, when he was under no other reſtraint but that of his oath, reflects no leſs honour on him, than glory on the religion which he profeſſed. He was not acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great diſgrace of our religion, prevails now-a-days with the moſt chriſtian princes, that no treaties, how ſolemnly ſoever entered into, are binding, when the leaſt advantage may be reaped from the breach of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greateſt prince, as in the meaneſt of the people. We ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

He obſerves the articles with great exactneſs.

Jovian, after the concluſion of the treaty, purſued his retreat; and having paſſed the *Tigris* and the above-

[q] Idem, p. 301, 302. [r] Zos. p. 730. [s] AMMIAN. ibid. [t] LIB. orat. xii. p. 325. [u] AGATH. l. iv. p. 135, 136. [w] EUTROP. p. 589. [x] PHILOST. l. viii. c. i p. 106. [y] EUTROP. p. 589.

mentioned

mentioned desert, without being in the least molested by the enemy, he arrived at *Ur*, a *Persian* fortress, between the *Tigris*, and the city of *Nisibis*, where he was met by *Cassianus* governor of *Mesopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a tribune, with such provisions as the army commanded by *Procopius* and *Sebastian* could spare them; for he had sent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the extremity to which he was reduced [z]. From *Ur* he dispatched messengers into *Illyricum* and *Gaul*, with the news of *Julian*'s death, and his own promotion. At the same time he appointed *Lucillianus* his father-in-law commander in chief of the horse and foot in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, and *Malericus* general of the troops in *Gaul*, in the room of *Jovinus* [a]. Then, continuing his march, he entered at last the *Roman* territories at a place called *Thilsalphata*, and was there met by *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, who commanded the army which *Julian* had left in *Mesopotamia*. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and soon after sent *Procopius*, who was *Julian*'s kinsman, to attend the corpse of that prince to *Tarsus*, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired. When the funeral ceremonies were over, *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarsus*; and, tho' diligent search was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he assumed the purple in 365 [b]. From *Thilsalphata* the emperor advanced to *Nisibis*; but encamped without the walls, though greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predecessors had always done. He was ashamed, says *Ammianus*, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy [c]. The next day *Binesses*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, who attended *Jovian* in the quality of an hostage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, pursuant to the articles of the treaty. The inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earnestly entreated him to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the least charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a siege, and knew how to check the *Persian* pride. But *Jovian* insisting upon the faith of the treaty and the obligation of his oath, *Binesses* was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took possession in his master's name, by setting up the *Persian* standard. At the same

Jovian *pursues his march to the* Roman *dominions.*

Nisibis *delivered up to the* Persians.

[z] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 301. Zos. l. iii. p 730. [a] Ammian. p. 302. [b] Idem, p. 303—306. [c] Idem ibid.

ſame time, the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elſewhere, with what effects they could carry with them. This order occaſioned the moſt melancholy ſight, ſays *Ammianus*, the ſun ever beheld [c]. *Chryſoſtom* likewiſe deſcribes their departure in a very affecting manner [d]. But the emperor, alledging the ſanctity of his oath, was deaf to their cries, entreaties, and lamentations; ſo that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one curſing, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the moſt bloody wars. All the roads were crouded with theſe forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loſs of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Moſt of them retired to *Amida*, and were placed by the emperor in the ſuburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the loſſes it had ſuſtained in the time of *Conſtantius*, and by degrees became the metropolis of what remained to the *Romans* in *Meſopotamia* [e]. *Jovian* did not leave *Niſibis*, according to *Ammianus* [h], till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he marched away in the night, after he had been two days encamped before it; two months, we read in *Suidas*, which muſt be a miſtake in the tranſcriber [i]. He then continued his march to *Antioch*, paſſing through *Edeſſa*, where he was on the twenty-ſeventh of *September*, as appears from the date of one of his laws [k]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was no-where received with the demonſtrations of joy uſual on ſuch occaſions [l]. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of *Antioch*, who hated *Julian*, and conſequently muſt have been pleaſed to ſee his ſucceſſor arrive in their city. During his ſtay at *Antioch*, which was not long, he revoked all the laws that had been enacted by *Julian* againſt the chriſtians, and made it his chief ſtudy to reſtore the chriſtian religion to its former luſtre [m]. *Themiſtius*, a pagan philoſopher, tells us, that he publiſhed a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleaſed; and, after having beſtowed great encomiums upon him, on that ſcore, he adds, that he ſuffered the temples to be opened, and the uſual ſacrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them [n]. On the other hand, *Sozomen* aſſures us, that, by a law enacted at *An-*

Jovian *revokes all the laws againſt the chriſtians.*

[c] Idem, p. 304. [d] CHRYS. in gent. tom 1. p. 696. [e] AMMIAN. ibid. Zos. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p 696. [h] AMMIAN. p. 305. [i] SUID. p. 1244. [k] Cod. Theod chron. p. 67. [l] Zos. p. 733. [m] RUF. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. [n] THEMIST. p. 57, 63.

tioch, he ſuppreſſed all religions, except the chriſtian, ordered the temples to be ſhut up, and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worſhip [o]; inſomuch, that the pagans were obliged, according to *Socrates* [p], to creep into holes and corners, and thoſe who, in *Julian*'s time, had wore the philoſophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan ſophiſt *Libanius*, who ſays, that, after the death of *Julian*, thoſe were heard with applauſe, who inveighed againſt the gods; that the pontiffs and philoſophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent, to confeſs what ſums they had received from *Julian* for the worſhip of their gods, and forced either to reſtore what they had received, or to languiſh in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down, and the ſophiſts, who, in *Julian*'s reign, had been entertained with the greateſt reſpect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides [q]. The emperor was even adviſed to put *Libanius* to death, for commending *Julian*; but a *Cappadocian*, who had a great aſcendant over *Jovian*, adviſed him to take no notice of ſuch trifles [r]. As for the chriſtians, *Jovian* wrote to all the governors of provinces, ſtrictly injoining them to take care, that they were not diſturbed in their uſual aſſemblies. He reſtored to the churches, to the eccleſiaſtics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by *Conſtantine* and his children; but lately revoked by *Julian* [s]. He likewiſe ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by *Conſtantine* to the churches, for the ſupport of the poor, to be continued to them; but as the famine ſtill raged, only the third part of *Conſtantine*'s donation could be ſpared. *Jovian* promiſed them the other two parts as ſoon as the famine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his ſucceſſors did not make good his promiſe; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what *Conſtantine* had allotted to them [t]. *Jovian* likewiſe reſtored the *labarum*, or the ſtandard with the croſs, and obliged one *Adagnus*, a *comes* or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of *Berytus*, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had com-

[o] Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. [p] Socrat. l. iii. c. 25. p. 205. & c. 24. p. 202, 203. [q] Lib. or. xii. p. 327. [r] Lib. vit. p 46. [s] Soz. l vi. c. 3. p. 604. [t] Theodor. l. i. c. 10. p. 552. & l. iv. p. 664.

manded

manded his head to be cut off, but was with much-ado prevailed upon by his friends to ſpare him [u]. As in *Julian*'s time ſeveral ſacred virgins had married, ſome by choice, others by conſtraint, *Jovian*, by a law addreſſed to the preſect *Saluſtius Secundus*, declares thoſe guilty of death, who ſhall mention marriage to the ſacred virgins, or utter a ſingle word in their preſence repugnant to the rules of modeſty [w]. This law is ſtill extant, and dated from *Antioch*, the nineteenth of *February* of the enſuing year 364 [x]; which is a groſs miſtake, it being certain, that *Jovian* was dead before that time, and that he left *Antioch* before the end of the preſent year. *Jovian* not only eſpouſed the cauſe of the chriſtians againſt the pagans, but that of the orthodox believers againſt the *Arians*; for by the firſt law he publiſhed after he had entered the *Roman* dominions, he commanded the churches to be everywhere reſtored to thoſe, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of *Nice*, and recalled all the biſhops who had been baniſhed on that ſcore, and *Athanaſius* in particular, to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter [y], which has reached our times [z]. Some time after he wrote a ſecond letter to him, deſiring him to draw up and ſend him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. *Athanaſius* readily complied with the emperor's requeſt, and ſent him a creed or rule of faith, ſuppoſed to be that which ſtill paſſes under his name, approved of and ſubſcribed by all the biſhops of *Egypt* [a]. *Jovian* ſoon after invited *Athanaſius* to court, received him, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and eſtabliſhed by the council of *Nice* [b]. After this, *Athanaſius* took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his dioceſe. *Socrates* [c] tells us, that the emperor no ſooner entered the *Roman* dominions upon his return from *Perſia*, than he was met by the leading men among the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Acacians*, and other ſectaries, all ſtriving to ingra-

He eſpouſes the cauſe of the orthodox chriſtians againſt the Arians.

[u] Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. [w] Soz. p. 640. [x] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. *leg.* 2 p. 197. [y] THEODOR. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. GREG. NAZ. p. 394. SOCR. p. 202. [z] ATHAN. tom. 2. p. 33. 34. [a] THEODOR. p. 661. RUF. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. GREG. NAZ. p. 394. [b] THEODOR. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661—664. EPIPHAN. c. 10. p. 726. SOZ. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642. [c] SOCR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205.

tiate themſelves with the new prince, and prepoſſeſs him in their favour; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention, and ſhould eſteem and countenance thoſe only who promoted unity and concord. However, as *Jovian* himſelf openly profeſſed the faith of the council of *Nice*, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time, had been very ſanguine in oppoſing it, and was ſoon after ſolemnly confirmed in a council held at *Antioch* this year [d]. *Jovian*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Antioch*, ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, tho' the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the diſturbances, which he had reaſon to apprehend in the weſt. As he paſſed through *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he ordered ſome ornaments to be added to the tomb of *Julian*; on which account he is blamed by ſome chriſtian writers [e]. From *Tarſus* he proceeded to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, where he was informed, that *Malericus*, whom he had appointed general of the troops in *Gaul*, having declined that poſt, *Lucillianus*, the emperors's father-in-law, and general of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, had haſtened into *Gaul*; and taking upon him there, when matters were not yet ſettled, to examine the accounts of ſome officers, one of them, conſcious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the *Batavians* who ſerved in the *Roman* army; and by perſuading them that *Julian* was ſtill alive, had ſo incenſed them againſt *Lucillianus* as a traytor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by name *Seniauchus*, whom he had brought with him into *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of *Lucillianus*, narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. This tumult which happened at *Rheims*, did not prevent the troops in *Gaul*, nor their general *Jovinus*, from declaring for *Jovian*, and proclaiming him emperor. They even ſent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands. The deputies met the new emperor at *Aſpona* in *Galatia*, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued *Jovinus* in the poſt of general, charging him not to ſuffer the death of *Lucillianus* to go unrevenged. From *Aſpona Jovian* purſued his journey to *Ancyra*, the metropolis of *Galatia*, where he took upon him his firſt conſulſhip. We have obſerved above, that he had named his father for his collegue; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own ſon, whom, though then only an infant, he diſtin-

He ſets out for Conſtantinople.

A tumult in Gaul.

Jovian *enters upon his firſt conſulſhip.*

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem. l. iii. c. 26. p 205. Baron. ad ann. 364.

guiſhed

guiſhed with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, or *moſt noble* [f]. The diſcourſe which *Themiſtius* is ſaid to have pronounced on occaſion of the emperor's conſulſhip, has reached our times [g]; but *Socrates* aſſures us, that he pronounced it ſix weeks after at *Dadaſtana*, and a ſecond time at *Conſtantinople* [h]. *Jovian*, haſtening to reach the latter city, left *Ancyra*, and continued his journey, though the cold was then ſo ſevere and intenſe, that ſome of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at *Dadaſtana*, a town on the borders of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by *Themiſtius*, and other perſons of diſtinction, ſent by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* to attend him. But before he left that place, he was found dead in his bed, on the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth of *February* of this year 364, after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned ſeven months and twenty days [i]. His ſudden death gave occaſion to various reports; ſome aſcribe it to the dampneſs of his chamber, which had been newly plaiſtered; others ſay, he was ſtifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a ſurfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and poiſonous muſhrooms. *Socrates* ſays, he was carried off by an obſtruction; and *Chryſoſtom*, that he was either poiſoned or murdered by his guards. *Ammianus* likewiſe ſeems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was ſtrangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either of them [k]. But *Jovian* had not yet diſobliged any man, nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps *Procopius*, who took no advantage of his death, nor even ſhewed himſelf on that occaſion. The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried to *Conſtantinople*, and there interred with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the *Apoſtles*, where his tomb was to be ſeen many years after [l]. His wife was coming to meet him, according to *Zonaras* [m], with her ſon *Veronianus*, and a retinue worthy of an empreſs, when ſhe received the news of his death. *Cedrenus* likewiſe tells us, that ſhe never ſaw him after his promotion [n]; but *Themiſtius* writes, that the ſon, and conſequently, in all likelihood, the mother

He dies at Dadaſtana

[f] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 306, 307. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205; Zos. p. 733 ZONAR. p. 25. [g] THEMIST. or. v. p. 71. [h] SOCRAT. ibid. p. 205. [i] AMMIAN. p. 308 SOCRAT. ibid. Zos. ibid. ZONAR. ibid. [k] AMMIAN. p. 308. [l] PHILOST. l. viii. p. 113. ZONAR. ibid. DU CANGE. urb. Conſtant. deſcript. l. iv. p. 110. [m] ZONAR. ibid. [n] CEDREN. p. 309.

too,

too, was with the emperor at *Dadaſtana*; and adds, that by his crying and ſtruggling when he was to be carried, according to cuſtom, in the conſular chariot, he ſeemed to portend what happened ſoon after, that is, the death of his father [o]. The empreſs was ſtill living in 380 [p], and was buried after her death by her huſband [q]. Of her ſon we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Jovian* is greatly commended by all the eccleſiaſtic writers, among whom *Theodoret* ſays, that heaven raiſed him to the ſovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue; but that the world did not deſerve to enjoy long ſo great a bleſſing [r].

Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, aſſembled in order to chuſe a new emperor, when ſome propoſed *Equitius*, tribune of the firſt company of the ſhield-men of the emperor's guard; and others *Januarius*, a kinſman of the deceaſed emperor, at that time commander of the troops in *Illyricum*: but the former was rejected on account of his ſurly and ruſtic temper, and the latter becauſe he was at too great a diſtance [s]. *Zoſimus*, ever favourable to the pagans, tells us, that the electors, with one voice, named to the empire *Saluſtius Secundus*, prefect of the eaſt; a man, ſays he, of great worth and long experience in war, by religion a pagan, but no great enemy to the chriſtians. He adds, that *Saluſt*, excuſing himſelf on account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his ſon; but that the father oppoſed his election, alledging, that he was too young, and conſequently not equal to ſo great a charge [t]. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, *Valentinian* was, by univerſal conſent, choſen emperor; which unanimity *Ammianus* aſcribes to a particular inſpiration from heaven [u]. The prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*, *Arintheus*, one of the generals of the army, *Dagalaiphus*, general of the horſe, and *Datianus*, a patrician, who had been conſul in 358, are ſaid to have been the chief authors of his election [w]. The latter had been left by *Jovian* on account of his old age, and the ſeverity of the winter, in *Galatia*; whence he wrote to the army, adviſing them to chuſe *Valentinian*, as a man well qualified for that high ſtation [x]. This election was made at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, whither the army that attended *Jovian*, had, after his death, removed from *Dadaſtana* [y]. *Valentinian* was the ſon of *Gratianus*, a native of *Cibale* in *Pannonia*:

Valentinian is choſen emperor.

His parentage, education, employments, &c.

[o] Themist. or. v. p. 71. [p] Chrys. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463. [q] Zonar. p. 25. [r] Theodoret. l. iv. c. 4. p. 664. 665. [s] Ammian. l xxvi. p. 310. [t] Zos. l. iii. p. 734. [u] Ammian. p. 310. [w] Philostorg. l. viii. c 8. p. 113. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ammian. ibid.

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his anceſtors were no-ways conſpicuous; but *Gratianus* himſelf being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary ſtrength, and great addreſs at all manner of exerciſes, raiſed himſelf by degrees to the dignity of count of *Africa*; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a ſuſpicion of his having embezzled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in *Britain*; in which office he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. On his return from thence, he withdrew to his eſtate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confiſcated by *Conſtantius*, incenſed againſt him for having entertained *Magnentius* as he paſſed that way, with a deſign to uſurp the empire. But he continued, notwithſtanding his diſgrace, to be greatly beloved and eſteemed by the army [z]; and the eſteem and affection they all had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of the ſon [a]. The ſenate of *Conſtantinople* decreed him a ſtatue in the beginning of the reign of *Valens* [b]. We do not find, that he had any other children beſides *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who are ſuppoſed to have been both born in the city of *Cibale*, the birthplace of their father. The former is ſtyled on ſome medals [c] *Flavius*, which prænomen became common to all thoſe who, after *Conſtantius*'s time, were raiſed to the empire. *Valentinian* had by his firſt wife, named *Valeria Severa*, the emperor *Gratian*, born in the year 359. Of his ſecond wife, *Juſtina*, the mother of *Valentinian* II. and of three daughters, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Valentinian* was baptized, as we read in St. *Ambroſe* [d], and held the doctrine of the council of *Nice*, though that of *Arius* generally prevailed in *Pannonia* [e]. He is ſaid by moſt writers to have been altogether illiterate; and *Themiſtius* ſeems to inſinuate, that neither he, nor his brother *Valens*, had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue [f]. But *Auſonius* allows him ſome erudition [g]. He betook himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, and on ſeveral occaſions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and experience [h]. In *Gaul* he commanded a body of horſe, in quality of tribune; but that command was taken from him by *Conſtantius*, as we have related in the reign of that prince, upon a falſe charge brought againſt him by *Barbetio*. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that while he was in *Gaul*,

[z] AMMIAN l. xxx. p. 428. VICT. epit. p. 545. [a] VICT. ibid. [b] THEODORET. p. 171. THEMIST. or. vi. p. 81. [c] BIRAG. p 501. 505. [d] AMBROS. ep xiii. p. 204. [e] SOCR. l. iv. c. 1. p. 210. [f] THEMIST. or. vi. p. 71. [g] AUSON. idyll. xxviii. p. 339. [h] Zos. p 734.

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it was conjectured from ſome omens, that he ſhoul attain one day to the empire; which induced *Conſtantius* to ſend him into *Meſopotamia*, to ſerve there againſt the *Perſians* [i]. Under *Julian* he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards, called *Joviani*, who conſtantly attended the emperor [k]. We are told, that being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor into a temple, and the miniſter of the idols ſprinkling thoſe who entered with water, which was ſuppoſed to purify them, *Valentinian*, who was a zealous chriſtian, ſeeing a drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontiff as an impoſtor, but ſtruck him, and, in the preſence of *Julian*, cut out that part of his habit on which it had fallen, and threw it contemptuouſly on the ground. This provoked *Julian* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ordered *Valentinian* either to ſacrifice to the gods, or lay down his employment: he choſe, without heſitation, the latter; but *Julian*, not ſatisfied therewith, confined him, according to *Philoſtorgius*, to *Thebes* in *Egypt*; according to *Sozomen*, to *Melitene* in *Armenia*, charging him with ſome neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was appriſed would accrue to him from ſuffering on account of his religion [l]. If what theſe authors write be true, *Julian* muſt have recalled him ſoon after, perhaps to employ him in the *Perſian* war; for he is ſuppoſed to have been baniſhed in 362, and on the other hand it is plain from *Ammianus Marcellinus* [m], that, at the death of *Julian*, he ſerved in the army in quality of tribune. Upon the promotion of *Jovian*, *Lucillianus*, father-in-law to that prince, took him with him into *Gaul*, as one capable of eſtabliſhing, by his prudence and known abilities, the authority of the new emperor in that province. *Lucillianus* was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at *Rheims*; and *Valentinian* narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. Upon his return into the eaſt, *Jovian* preferred him to the command of the ſecond company of the *ſcutarii*, or ſhield-men of the guard; and left him at *Ancyra*, when he ſet out from thence on his march to *Conſtantinople*, with orders to follow him ſome time after [n]. *Valentinian* was ſtill at *Ancyra*, when *Jovian* died at *Dadaſtana*; and he was choſen, in the manner we have related above, to ſucceed him. Upon his election meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to acquaint him with it; and in the

His ſteadineſs in the chriſtian religion, and averſion to idolatry.

[i] Philost. l. vii. c. 7. p. 93. [k] Theodor. l. iii. c. 12. [l] Soz. l. vi. c. 6. p. 644. Philostorg. p. 93 Theodoret. p. 650. Zos. l. iv p. 735. Oros. l. vii. c. 32. Ruf. l. ii. c. 2. p 178. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 302. [n] Idem ibid.

mean

mean time *Equitius* and *Leo* ordered to prevent diſturbances or tumults in the army. *Valentinian*, ſoon after the arrival of the meſſengers, ſet out from *Ancyra*, and reached *Nice*, where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of *February*; but did not appear abroad till the twenty-ſixth, perhaps becauſe he was in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould accept the empire or no, as we read in *Victor* the younger [o]. This, at leaſt, ſeems more probable to us than the conjecture of *Ammianus Marcellinus* [p], *viz.* that out of ſuperſtition he avoided tranſacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the *biſſextile*, and conſequently an unlucky day. Be that as it will, orders were given in the evening, by the advice of the prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*, that no perſon who might, on account of his poſt or quality, be ſuppoſed to aſpire at the empire, ſhould, on pain of death, be ſeen abroad the next morning. As ſoon as it was light, the whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of *Nice*; and *Valentinian*, appearing at their head, was deſired to aſcend the tribunal; which he had no ſooner done, than he was, with loud ſhouts, ſaluted *Valentinianus Auguſtus*, and adorned, in the ſight of the whole army, with all the enſigns of ſovereignty, that is, with a purple robe and a diadem [q]. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing to harangue the army, according to cuſtom, and had already ſtretched out his hand to begin his ſpeech, when he was ſtopped by a ſeditious noiſe of the ſoldiery, requiring him to take that inſtant a collegue in the ſovereignty, that the empire might not for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without a head. *Valentinian*, though a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, was at firſt ſomewhat alarmed; but ſoon reſuming his uſual courage, he firſt reproved, with an air of authority, thoſe who appeared the moſt forward and ſeditious; and then, without any interruption, addreſſed himſelf to the army in the following terms: "It was in your power a few "days ago to chuſe for your emperor whom you pleaſed; "but ſince you have raiſed me to that high ſtation, I muſt "tell you, that power is no longer in your hands: you are "not to preſcribe laws to your ſovereign; it is my province "to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, and not "you, what may be uſeful and conducive to the public wel-"fare. However, I do not ſay, that I will not take a col-"legue; but in an affair of ſuch importance, I muſt pro-"ceed with the utmoſt care and precaution imaginable, leſt

He is ſaluted by the army with the title of Auguſtus.

His firmneſs and intrepidity in quelling a tumult in the army.

[o] VICT. epit. p. 545. [p] AMMIAN. p. 312. [q] Idem ibid. Zos. l iii. p. 734.

" both you and I may hereafter have occaſion to repent of " our raſhneſs." This reſolute ſpeech, uttered with all the authority of a ſovereign, ſtopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppoſe a man, who ſeemed born to command, he was again, with a general acclamation, ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus*, and conducted, or, as *Philoſtorgius* will have it, carried on a large ſhield, to the imperial palace [r].

He declares his brother Valens *his colleague in the empire.*

Valentinian being thus declared emperor at *Nice* on the twenty-ſixth of *February* of this year 364, left that city on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, and ſet out for *Conſtantinople*. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *March*, and there created his brother *Valens præfectus ſtabuli*, that is, according to the modern phraſe, maſter of the horſe, with the title of tribune; and after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, declared him his collegue in the empire on the twenty-eighth of *March*, according to the moſt probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called *Hebdomon*, or the *ſeventh*, becauſe it was ſeven miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and ſeveral churches, the emperors who ſucceeded *Valens* were commonly crowned, and that prince embelliſhed it with ſeveral edifices, and with a ſtately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of *the tribunal* [s]. *Ammianus* tells us, that *Valentinian* having ſummoned a council at *Nice*, as ſoon as he was declared emperor, to deliberate about a collegue; and the other officers being all ſilent, through fear of diſobliging the emperor, *Dagalaiphus* addreſſing him with great liberty, *If you are partial*, ſaid he, *to your own family, you will make choice of your brother; but if you love your people, you will prefer ſome other.* *Ammianus* adds, that when he named *Valens*, his choice was univerſally applauded, becauſe no one dared to diſapprove or oppoſe it [t]; which ſhews, that no great advantages to the ſtate were expected from *Valens*. However, *Ammianus*, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones [u], obſerves to his praiſe, that he ever kept up a good underſtanding with his brother; that he undertook nothing without his advice, and obeyed him not only as his elder brother, but as his ſovereign [w]. Some time after, both

[r] Ammian p. 312. Theodoret. l. iv. c. 5. p. 665. Sozom. p. 645. Philostorg. p 113. [s] Du Cange urb. Conſt. deſcript. l. ii. p. 140. [t] Ammian. p. 314. [u] Idem. l. xxx. p. 428. [w] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

princes

princes were ſeized with a violent fever, which was by ſome aſcribed to the magical practices of *Julian*'s friends, eſpecially of the philoſophers *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to *Conſtantinople*. *Priſcus* was ſoon diſcharged; but *Maximus*, who was univerſally hated, and ſuppoſed to have ſtirred up *Julian* againſt *Valentinian*, on account of his zeal for the chriſtian religion, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to lie in priſon till he had paid it. Many eminent perſons were accuſed on this occaſion; but the prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*, with his uſual addreſs, prudence, and good-nature, ſtifled ſuch accuſations, and put a ſtop to all further inquiries [x]. The two emperors were no ſooner recovered, than they left *Conſtantinople*; and paſſing through *Adrianople*, where they were on the twenty-ninth of *April* [y] arrived at *Philippopolis*; whence they proceeded to *Sardica*, and from that city to *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*, where they were on the third of *June*, and ſeem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the ſame month, partly at *Naiſſus*, partly at a caſtle named *Mediana*, about three miles from that city [z]. As the empire was threatened with a general invaſion from the barbarous nations that ſurrounded it, *Valentinian*, the better to make head againſt them, thought it adviſeable to divide the provinces between himſelf and his brother; and accordingly made this famous partition at *Mediana*, committing to the government of *Valens* the eaſt, that is, all *Aſia*, with *Egypt* and *Thrace*, and reſerving to himſelf *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*, that is, all the weſt. After this partition, both princes repaired to *Sirmium*, where they parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Conſtantinople* [a]. In the mean time the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the *Germans* into *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* into *Pannonia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Atacotti* into *Britain*, and the *Auſturians*, with other *Mooriſh* nations, into *Africa*. But the latter province was not ſo much harraſſed by the barbarians as by *Romanus*, who had been ſent by *Jovian* to protect it; for the *Auſturians* had in his reign made frequent inroads into *Libya Tripolitana*, and the neighbouring countries. *Romanus* ſurpaſſed the barbarians themſelves in oppreſſing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refuſed to march a-

He puniſhes ſome of Julian's friends.

He divides the empire with his brother Valens.

Libya Tripolitana *harraſſed by the* Auſturians *and oppreſſed by* Romanus.

[x] Zos. l. iv. p. 735. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 82, 83. [y] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodoſ. Chron. p. 69. [z] Idem ibid. [a] AMMIAN. p. 316. Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p 69, 70.

gainſt the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, becauſe the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, beſides immenſe ſums, no fewer than four thouſand camels, without which, he ſaid, he could not take the field. The *Africans* finding they could have no protection from *Romanus*, charged the deputies, whom they ſent with the uſual preſents to *Valentinian* upon his acceſſion to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miſerable ſtate of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial, which they preſented to the emperor; but *Remigius*, who was then *magiſter officiorum*, and ſhared with *Romanus*, his kinſman and confident, the ſpoils of the province, by repreſenting things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cauſe with ſo much cunning and addreſs, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further inquiry; which *Remigius* got eaſily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of buſineſs at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to *Ruricius*, governor of *Libya Tripolitana*; but, by the intereſt of *Remigius*, it was ſoon after reſtored to *Romanus*. In the mean while, the *Auſturians* came down in greater numbers than ever, laid waſte the fruitful territories of *Leptis* and *Oea*; from which cities, and that of *Sebrata*, the province is ſaid to have been named *Tripolis*, that word importing *three cities*. As *Romanus* continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the barbarians ſcoured the country without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, ravaged it in a moſt miſerable manner, put many perſons of all ranks to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and had even the confidence to lay ſiege to *Leptis*, a ſtrong and populous city, but were not able to reduce it. The noiſe of theſe devaſtations reaching the emperor's ears, he diſpatched *Palladius* to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the ſtate of the province. *Romanus*, being immediately acquainted by his friend *Remigius* with the errand on which *Palladius* was ſent, perſuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good underſtanding, to preſent *Palladius*, whom he repreſented as a man of great authority at court, with a great ſhare of the money which he had brought to pay them. *Palladius* accepted the preſent, and proceeded to *Leptis*, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by them conducted to view the country, that he might be an ey-ewitneſs of the miſerable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the barbarians had made, without being in the leaſt curbed or reſtrained.

Romanus accuſed but continued in his command.

Palladius ſent to inquire into the ſtate of the province.

trained. *Palladius*, at that ſight, could not help exclaiming againſt *Romanus*, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But *Romanus* ſoon ſtopt his mouth, by upbraiding him in his turn with converting to his private uſe the money with which he was to pay the ſoldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his truſt. This put *Palladius* into ſuch a fright, that he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he aſſured on his return, that the city of *Leptis*, and the *Tripolitan* province, complained without reaſon; which was believed, *Palladius* being generally eſteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him ſo miſled, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, that he ſent him back into *Africa* to try and puniſh the authors of the ſuppoſed calumnies and falſe informations brought againſt *Romanus*. In the diſcharge of this ſcandalous office, he tampered ſo cunningly with the inhabitants of *Leptis*, that they diſowned the complaints which *Jovinus*, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining that they had given him no ſuch commiſſion. *Jovinus* himſelf, to gain the favour of *Palladius* and *Romanus*, and by that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a falſe report to the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with ſome of the chief citizens of *Leptis*, and the governor *Ruricius*, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought againſt *Romanus*. The latter was executed at *Stephæ* in *Mauritania*, and the others at *Utica*. *Erecthius* and *Ariſtomenes*, two other citizens of *Leptis*, who had complained of *Romanus*, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their eſcape, and lay concealed till the reign of *Gratian*, when this ſcene of iniquity was brought to light [b].

He is gained over by Romanus.

His accuſers puniſhed.

THE following year, 365, both princes entered upon their firſt conſulſhip, the one at *Milan*, the other at *Conſtantinople*. *Valentinian* ſeems to have continued at *Milan* till the month of *Auguſt*, and then to have viſited ſeveral cities of *Italy*, *viz.* *Verona*, *Aquileia*, and *Luceria* [c]. From *Italy* he paſſed into *Gaul*, and was either at or near *Paris* in his way to that city in the latter end of *October*, when he received certain intelligence that the *Germans* had made an irruption into that province; and that *Procopius* had revolted in the eaſt. Of the

The Germans break into Gaul;

[b] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 316. & l. xxvii. p. 347—380. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 75.

latter

latter we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of *Valens*. As for the *Germans*, they had ſent embaſſadors to congratulate *Valentinian* upon his acceſſion to the empire; but *Urſacius*, then *magiſter officiorum*, having received them in a very diſobliging manner, and ſent them back with far leſs preſents than were uſually given them, they had thrown them away with ſcorn and indignation; and upon their return, ſtirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into *Gaul*, and laid waſte the country bordering on the *Rhine*. *Valentinian* diſpatched *Dagalaiphus* againſt them, and advanced in perſon as far as *Rheims* to ſupport him. But the *Germans* retiring at his approach, he returned to *Paris*, and there took up his winter-quarters [d]. He was for returning into *Illyricum* to make head there againſt the rebel *Procopius*; but his friends, and the deputies that were ſent to him from all the cities in *Gaul*, earneſtly intreating him not to leave that province expoſed to the inroads of the *Germans*, he complied with their requeſt, conſidering, ſays *Ammianus*, that *Procopius* was only an enemy to his family, whereas the *Germans* were declared enemies to the whole *Roman* empire [e]. Being therefore reſolved not to ſtir out of *Gaul*, he diſpatched *Neotherius*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards, that is, in 390, conſul, into *Africa*, to prevent *Procopius* from making himſelf maſter of that province; and at the ſame time injoined *Equitius* to cover *Illyricum*, and watch the motions of the uſurper on that ſide [f]. St. *Jerom* writes, that *Equitius* abuſed his authority in oppreſſing and plundering the people whom he was ſent to protect [g]. *Equitius* was already *comes* or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occaſion that of *magiſter* or general [h].

But retire at the approach of the emperor

The next conſuls were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*; the latter was general of the horſe, and had been *comes domeſticorum* under *Julian*: his name gives us room to believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his collegue, he was the ſon of the emperor *Valentinian*, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus NB. P. that is, *Nobiliſſimus Puer*. The *Germans*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul* the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have obſerved above, returned this year, 366, and having paſſed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, took the ſtandards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, and killed the two counts *Cha-*

The Romans defeated by the Germans.

[d] Ammian. l. xxvi. p 315—317. [e] Idem, l. xxvii p. 334.
[f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. ad. ann. 373. [h] Ammian. ibid.

rietto

rietto and *Severianus*, says *Zosimus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces [i]. That the *Romans* were defeated, and *Severianus* killed, is owned by *Ammianus* [k]; but *Charietto* must have escaped, since we find a law dated the seventeenth of *May* addressed to him [l]; whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter, when the *Rhine* was frozen over [m]. *Zosimus* adds, that *Valentinian*, who, according to him, was present at this battle, highly provoked against the *Batavians* for having given ground the first, ordered them to be cashiered and sold for slaves, but suspended the execution of his orders, upon their promising to retrieve their reputation by some signal enterprise; which they did accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful slaughter [n]. What *Zosimus* writes touching the *Batavians* may be true; but as for *Valentinian*, it is plain from *Ammianus*, that when this battle was fought, he was at *Paris*; whence he immediately dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the troops in *Gaul*, was sent in his room; who, having carefully informed himself of the motions of the barbarians, fell upon one of their parties at a place called *Scarponna*, between *Toul* and *Metz*, and cut them all off, without losing one man. Being attended with the like success against another party, which he surprised, he advanced with incredible expedition against the main body of their army, attacked them, though far superior to him in number, and after a long and bloody contest, put them to flight. The fight continued the whole day, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune, named *Balchobaudes*, who was a great boaster, and consequently, as it generally happens, a downright coward, having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them, more by his example than by words, with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to a disorderly flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand

Jovinus gains a complete victory over the Germans.

[i] Zos. l. iv p. 740. [k] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 334. [l] Cod Theodos. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 1. p. 440. [m] AMMIAN. & Zos. ibid. [n] Zos. ibid.

were

were killed upon the ſpot, and four-thouſand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed, and as many wounded [o]. The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by ſeveral parties ſent out by *Jovinus* for that purpoſe; inſomuch, that few of them had the good luck to eſcape. *Jovinus* followed them the next morning with the whole army; but finding he could not overtake them without harraſſing his troops, he returned to his camp, where he was informed, that their king, who had been taken by a party ſent to plunder their camp, had been hanged in his abſence. Being greatly provoked at ſo baſe an action, he reſolved to puniſh with death the tribune, who commanded the party; but he found upon examination, that the ſoldiers had done it in the height of their rage, which the tribune had in vain attempted to reſtrain [p]. *Valentinian* had advanced as far as *Rheims* to ſupport *Jovinus*, as we conjecture from ſeveral laws enacted this year in that city, and dated the ſeventh of *April*, the ſeventeenth of *May*, and the fourteenth of *June* [q]: but he muſt have returned to *Paris* before the end of the campaign; for *Jovinus* marching back to *Paris* with his victorious army, the emperor, to do him honour, went out to meet him, and for his eminent ſervices named him conſul for the enſuing year [r]. The public joy for the happy ſucceſſes of this glorious campaign was greatly heightened by the arrival of meſſengers from *Valens*, with the head of *Procopius*, killed in *Aſia* on the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. *Valentinian* was returned to *Rheims* on the twenty-ſeventh of *November* [s], and ſeems to have continued there all winter [t]. He made it his chief ſtudy to fortify the banks of the *Rhine*, cauſing a great number of forts to be erected on the *German*, as well as on the *Roman* ſide of that river; by which means, and by augmenting his forces, he prevented the barbarians, ſays *Zoſimus* [u], from ever breaking into the *Roman* territories during the nine remaining years of his reign. But that writer muſt be underſtood of the *Alemans*; for we ſhall have ſoon occaſion to ſpeak of the irruptions of the *Franks* and *Saxons* into *Gaul*.

Valentinian fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

The next conſuls were *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, both generals, the former under *Valens* in *Syria*, and the latter under *Valentinian* in *Gaul*. *Jovinus* is by the ableſt critics thought to be the ſame perſon with *Valens Jovinus*, general of the horſe, who was ſucceeded in that employment by

[o] Ammian. p. 334, 335. [p] Zos. ibid. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p 77. [r] Ammian. ibid. [s] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 77, 79. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 742.

Theodoſius

Theodosius in 370, as we read in *Ammianus* [w]. He was sent this very year into *Britain*, and attended *Valentinian* in his expedition against the *Germans* in 368 [x]. *Flodard*, in his history of the church of *Rheims*, produces the epitaph of one *Jovinus*, who had been twice general of the *Roman* horse and foot, and yet was more illustrious for his piety than his employments [y]. He was baptized and buried at *Rheims*, in the church of St. *Agricola*, now the abbey of St. *Nicasius*, or St. *Nicaise*, as the natives call it. The stately tomb, still to be seen there, is thought to have been his [z]. The epitaph seems to insinuate, that he was the founder of that church, which, in the last will of the holy bishop *Rhemigius*, is styled the *Jovinian church* [a]. Most authors take this *Jovinus* to be the consul of this year, which we can hardly believe, since in the epitaph no notice is taken of the consulship, a dignity far superior to the others mentioned in it. Besides, we are nowhere told, that *Jovinus*, the consul of this year, was a christian; nay, from *Julian*'s preferring him to the first employments both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profess the christian religion, at least in that prince's reign. All the laws of this year to the third of *June* are dated from *Rheims* [b]; a plain proof, that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the sixth of *August* was enacted at *Nemæsia*, said to have been a place in the neighbourhood of *Rheims* [c]. From *Nemæsia* the emperor removed to *Amiens*, as appears from a law dated the eighteenth of *August*, and addressed to *Prætextatus*, prefect of *Rome* [d]. He was probably kept so long at *Rheims* by a violent distemper, with which he was seized this year. As his recovery was despaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a successor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were *Rusticus Julianus* and *Severus*, both dreaded on account of their severity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a most cruel and savage temper, when he was proconsul of *Africa* in 371, and 372. *Symmachus* is thought to have addressed to him the first fifteen letters of his third book. As for *Severus*, he was, in the judgment of *Ammianus*, in every respect preferable to *Julianus* [e]. But the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end to the hopes and intrigues of the cour-

Valentinian falls ill.

But recovers, and creates his son Gratian *emperor.*

[w] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 369. [x] Idem, l. xxvii p. 346. [y] FLODARD. Remens. eccles. hist. l. i. c. 6. p. 33. [z] MARLOT. metropol. Remens. hist. l. i. c. 28. p. 101. [a] FLODARD p. 32, 33. [b] Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 78, 79. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 342.

tiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been tranſacted, reſolved to prevent any farther diſputes, by raiſing his ſon *Gratian* to the empire. Having therefore beforehand gained the ſoldiery, he aſſembled them in the neighbourhood of *Amiens*; and, with their conſent and approbation, declared him his collegue in the empire, veſting him with the purple, and other enſigns of ſovereignty, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude [f]. Thus was *Gratian* created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, 367, at the city of *Amiens*, for which he is ſaid to have ever ſhewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359, on the eighteenth of *April*, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of *May*. Every one was ſurpriſed, ſays *Ammianus*, at the emperor's raiſing him at once to the ſovereignty, inſtead of creating him firſt *Cæſar*, purſuant to the cuſtom, which had prevailed till that time [g]. *Victor* writes, that he was induced thereunto by his mother-in-law and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in hiſtory. As to the latter, ſhe was, without all doubt, the mother of *Gratian*, *Valentinian*'s firſt wife, called by *Socrates*, *Severa* [h], and ſtyled on ſome medals *Valeria Severa Auguſta* [i]. That princeſs was then certainly at court, and in favour; but ſeems to have been ſoon after diſgraced. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that the empreſs *Severa* having purchaſed an eſtate at a very low rate, the emperor, ſuſpecting ſome foul dealing, was ſo provoked, that, not ſatisfied with obliging her to reſtore the eſtate to the former owner, he drove her out of the city [k]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Valentinian* divorced her, and married *Juſtina*, a native of *Sicily* [l], and the daughter, as is ſuppoſed, of one *Juſtus*, whom *Conſtantius* ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of *Picenum*, becauſe he had bragged, giving credit to ſome omens, that he ſhould one day be the father of an emperor. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſhe had been married before to *Magnentius*, killed in 352 [m]. She favoured the doctrine of *Arius*, but craftily concealed her ſentiments in the emperor's life-time [n]. She had two brothers, *viz. Conſtantianus*, who was raiſed to the dignity of *tribunus ſtabuli*, but killed by a band of robbers in 369, and *Cerealis*, on whom the emperor

He diverces Severa *and marries* Juſtina.

[f] Idem ibid. p. 343. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219.
[g] Ammian. ibid. [h] Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [i] Goltz. p. 132. [k] Chron. Alex. p. 702, 704. [l] Socr. p. 249. [m] Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 652. Zos. ibid. p. 746. [n] Rufin. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184.

conferred

conferred the ſame dignity after the death of his brother [o]. By *Juſtina* the emperor had four children, *viz.* *Valentinian* II. *Juſta*, *Grata*, and *Galla*, of whom the latter was married to the emperor *Theodoſius* [p]. *Socrates* writes, that the empreſs *Severa* having taken *Juſtina*, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was ſo taken with her charms, that he reſolved to marry her; but on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife *Severa*, he cauſed a law to be publiſhed in all the cities of the empire, allowing his ſubjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that *Valentinian* himſelf being the firſt who made uſe of his own licence, married *Juſtina* without diſmiſſing *Severa* [q]. Thus *Socrates*. But as neither *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is no-ways favourable to *Valentinian*, nor *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to all the chriſtian princes, take any notice of ſuch a remarkable law, we cannot help looking upon the account of *Socrates* as an arrant fable. *Jornandes* indeed relates the ſame thing [r]; but he copied it from *Socrates*, whom, for the moſt part, he follows. About the cloſe of this year, the city of *Mentz* was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered, by *Rhando*, one of the princes of the *Alemanns*, while the emperor, ſays *Ammianus*, was employed in ſome other expedition [s]; but in what expedition, we are no-where told. The ſame writer obſerves, that *Rhando* ſurpriſed the place, while the inhabitants, for the moſt part chriſtians, were celebrating a ſolemn feſtival. The *Romans*, to revenge this inſult, had recourſe to treachery, and cauſed *Vithicabius*, a prince of the ſame nation, to be aſſaſſinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emiſſaries. *Vithicabius* was the ſon of *Vadomarius*, king of the *Alemanns*, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Conſtantius*. The death of *Vithicabius*, who was a prince of great addreſs, intrepidity, and reſolution, put a ſtop for ſome time to the incurſions of the *Alemanns* [t]. *Valentinian*, ſoon after the promotion of *Gratian*, left *Amiens*, and repaired to *Treves*, in which city he paſſed the winter, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws of this and the following year [u]. Before he reached that place, he was alarmed with diſmal tidings from *Britain*, *viz.* that the *Picts*, *Scots*, and other northern nations, had broke into the *Roman* territories; and having

The city of Mentz taken and plundered by the Alemanns.

The treachery of the Romans.

The Picts and Scots break into the Roman territorie

[o] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 367. [p] SOCR. p. 150. [q] SOCR. l. iv. c. 32. [r] JORNAND. reg. c. 40. p. 652. [s] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 349. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 81.

killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaudes*, who is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *dux* or *duke*, had committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the province to a moſt deplorable condition. Hereupon the emperor immediately diſpatched into *Britain Severus*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*; but receiving ſtill worſe news of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland, he ſoon after recalled him, and ſent *Jovinus* in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miſerable condition to which the iſland was reduced, and the ſtill greater evils with which it was threatened, if a powerful reinforcement both of horſe and foot were not ſent with all poſſible expedition to its relief, *Valentinian* made choice of *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of the ſame name, and committed to him the whole management of this troubleſome war. *Theodoſius*, who was an officer of great experience and known abilities, haſtened to *Boulogne*, and embarking there, landed at *Rutupiæ*; whence, as ſoon as his forces arrived from the continent, he marched to *Lundonium* or *London*, which *Ammianus* ſtyles an ancient city; and there dividing his troops into ſeveral parties, he advanced againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged them to quit the booty and priſoners they had taken, and recovered an entire province, which they had ſeized and held as their own. To this province which compriſed the ſouthern parts of *Scotland*, the emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. Thus was the number of the provinces in this iſland encreaſed, *Valentia* being added to the four former, which were *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis* [w]. *Theodoſius*, at the ſame time, cruſhed in its very beginning the revolt of *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who, being baniſhed into *Britain*, prevailed upon ſome of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; which *Theodoſius* no ſooner underſtood, than he marched againſt the uſurper, and having got him and ſome of his confederates into his power, he delivered them up to the civil magiſtrates; but would not ſuffer them to be examined concerning their accomplices, leſt that ſhould give occaſion to new troubles [x]. The ſame year, the *Franks* and *Saxons* broke into *Gaul*, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by *Theodoſius*, on his return from *Britain* [y]: it was probably on account

But are repulſed by Theodoſius.

The revolt of Valentine *in* Britain *ſuppreſſed.*

[w] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 346. & l. xxviii. p. 368. Usher. Britannicar eccleſiar. antiq. p 588. [x] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. [y] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 346.

of

of the advantages gained on theis occaſion, that *Valentinian* aſſumed the title of the conqueror of the *Franks*, which is given him in an inſcription of the year 369 [a]. *Ammianus*, among the other tranſactions of this year 367, relates ſeveral inſtances of the exceſſive ſeverity and injuſtice of *Valentinian*, who had hitherto with great care concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemn d *Dioeles*, who had been *comes largitionum* in *Illyricum*, to be burnt alive for very inconſiderable faults; and ordered *Diodorus*, who had been *agens in rebus*, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of *Italy*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe *Diodorus* had commenced a ſuit againſt a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, purſuant to their office, ſummoned him to appear. The memory of *Diodorus*, and the three apparitors is ſtill honoured, ſays *Aminianus*, by the chriſtians at *Milan*, who call the place where they were buried *the innocents* [a]. To this probably the quæſtor *Euphraxius* alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another perſon to be put to death for cauſing the ſentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the chriſtian religion honoured thoſe as martyrs whom he condemned as guilty [b]. St *Jerom* tells us, that this year, in the country of the *Atrebates*, now the *Artois*, wool fell from heaven mixed with rain [c]. *Oroſius* adds, that it was true *wool* [d]; and *Bucherius*, that ſome of it is ſtill to be ſeen at *Arras*, where it is called *manna* [e].

Inſtances of Valentinian's *cruelty.*

THE following year, the two emperors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, were conſuls for the ſecond time. The former enacted this year ſeveral excellent laws; and among the reſt one commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abuſive terms, invectives, and injuries, and to content themſelves with ſuch fees as their clients ſhall be pleaſed to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for ſuch lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be ſatisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debaſing themſelves to accept of any other reward [f]. By another law, he eſtabliſhes a phyſician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of *Rome* was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this

Several laws enacted by Valentinian.

[a] VALES. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46. [a] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 345. [b] Idem ibid. [c] HIER. chron. ad ann. 367. [d] OROS. l. vii. c. 32 p. 218. [e] BUCH. Belg. p. 349. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ii. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 140. & cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 6. leg 6. p. 187.

law

law the phyſician is allowed to accept what his patient ſhall think fit to give him, when intirely recovered, but not what he had promiſed during his illneſs[g]. By a third law, he commands ſome ſoldiers to remove from a ſynagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the reſpect due to a place ſet apart for the worſhip of God [h].

Valentinian *enters the territories of the* Alemanns.

Valentinian, having ſpent the winter at *Treves* in making vaſt preparations, with a deſign to attack the *Alemanns* in their own country, took the field on the ſeventeenth of *June*; and, having aſſembled all his troops, croſſed the *Rhine*, attended by his ſon *Gratian*, by the two generals *Jovinus* and *Severus*, and by count *Sebaſtian*, a man notorious in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory for his cruelty to the orthodox chriſtians in *Egypt*, while he was governor of that province. The emperor was, as appears from the date of one of his laws, at *Worms* on the thirty-firſt of *July* [i]. From thence he advanced into the enemy's country, and marched ſome days without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, though he committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. At length he came to a place called *Solicinium*, where the *Alemanns* had poſted themſelves on a high and ſteep mountain, which ſeemed inacceſſible on every ſide, except that which looked to the north; and thither he ſent *Sebaſtian* to intercept them in their flight, if he ſhould have the good luck to diſlodge them from any other quarter. As he advanced to view their ſituation, he narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade; but being with much difficulty got ſafe to the main body of his army, he led them on to the attack. The *Romans* on this occaſion behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed: they were ſeveral times repulſed, the *Alemanns* de-

Whom he defeats with great ſlaughter.

fending themſelves with equal courage and bravery. But the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the place, and the deſpair of the enemy, gained at length the top of the mountain, and put all to the ſword who oppoſed them. Some of the *Alemanns* made their eſcape by favour of the night; but the far greater part were cut in pieces, either in the fight or the purſuit, *Sebaſtian* having cut off their retreat [k]. This memorable battle was fought, as we have hinted above, at *Solicinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*, at a ſmall diſtance from the head of that river, in the dutchy of *Virtemberg* [l]. As the ſeaſon

[g] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p 34. [h] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 9 leg. 4. p. 101. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 250—252. [l] Baud. p 209.

was

was already far advanced, after this victory; the ſoldiers were ſent into winter-quarters, and the emperor returned with his ſon *Gratian* to *Treves*, which he entered in a kind of triumph [m]. *Bucherius* deſcribes at length the route, which he ſuppoſes the emperor to have taken on his return from *Germany* [n]. We find no laws dated from *Treves* till the firſt or the ſecond of *December*; but one publiſhed at *Cologne* the thirtieth of *September* [o]; whence we conjecture *Valentinian*, on his return from *Germany*, to have marched againſt the *Franks*, who had broken into *Gaul*, as we have obſerved above.

He fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

Valentinian ſeems to have ſpent the greater part of the following year, when *Valentinian* the ſon of *Valens*, and *Victor*, one of that prince's generals, were conſuls, in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine* with an incredible number of forts, towers, and caſtles, from the mouth of that river quite to *Rhætia*, where it riſes [p]. He even built ſome caſtles on the other ſide of that river in the enemy's country, and one among the reſt at the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Neckar*, where the preſent city of *Manheim* ſtands [q]. He likewiſe ordered a fort to be built on a hill called by our hiſtorian *Pirus* [r]; which *Bucherius* takes to be the hill of *Heidelberg*. But the *Germans*, after having by their deputies intreated the emperor in vain to forbear that undertaking, fell upon the ſoldiers who were employed in the work, and cut them in pieces, with the two dukes, *Arator* and *Hermogenes*, who commanded them. *Sy-egrus*, a notary or ſecretary, the only perſon who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, brought the news of it to the emperor, and was on that account diſgraced [s]; but ſoon after taken again, it ſeems, into favour; for we ſhall ſee him conſul in 381. The emperor, to animate with his preſence the ſoldiers in carrying on the above-mentioned works for the defence of the *Rhine*, and the ſafety of *Gaul*, paſſed great part of the preſent year on the banks of that river, as appears from ſeveral laws of different dates enacted at *Marciaticum*, which moſt geographers take to be *Minſheim*; at *Altrip*, between *Manheim* and *Spire*, and at *Briſac* [t]. This year, the emperor caused ſeveral ſenators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, and oppreſſing the people committed to their care, and among the reſt the eunuch *Rhodanus*, his chief chamberlain, whom upon the complaint of a widow named *Berenice*, whoſe eſtate the

Several perſons put to death by the emperors.

[m] Idem, l. vii. p. 352.
[n] BUCH. Belg. p. 351—353.
[o] COD. Theod. chron. p. 89.
[p] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 966.
[q] BUCH. Belg. p. 351.
[r] AMMIAN. p. 766, 767.
[s] Idem ibid.
[t] Cod Theod. chron. p. 85, 86.

eunuch

eunuch had ſeized unjuſtly, he cauſed to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were aſſembled to behold the ſports [u]. The next conſuls were the two emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both the third time. The former continued all this preſent year 370, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, partly at *Treves*, partly at *Alteia*, which is ſuppoſed to have been an imperial palace or country ſeat near that city. In an inſcription of this year, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, we read, that *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inſcription of the following year found near *Strigonium* or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*, it appears, that another fort was built by his orders in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the ſubjects of the empire in thoſe parts [w]. The emperor cauſed likewiſe a bridge to be built this year over the *Tiber* at *Rome*, which was then called the bridge of *Gratian*, afterwards the bridge *Ceſtius*, and is by the preſent inhabitants ſtyled *Ponte di S. Bartolomeo*, or the bridge of St. *Bartholomew*, being near the porch of St. *Bartholomew*'s church [x]. In the inſcription it is ſaid to have been built in the ſeventh year of the tribuneſhip, that is, of the reign, of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the third of *Gratian*, which was the preſent year: nevertheleſs the two former princes are marked there conſuls the ſecond time; whereas it is certain, that, in the ſeventh year of their reign, and the third of *Gratian*'s, they were both in their third conſulſhip. *Valentinian* and *Valens* are, in the ſame inſcription, ſtyled emperors for the ſeventh time, and *Gratian* for the ſecond, and are all three honoured with the title of *conquerors of the* Germans, Alemanns, Franks, *and* Goths; which ſhews, that each of them ſhared with his collegues the glory of his victories and conqueſts. Their victories, or rather the victories of *Valentinian*, over the *Franks*, muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince *Ammianus* takes no notice of them. This year is remarkable in hiſtory for an irruption of the *Saxons*, who dwelling on the coaſts of the ocean amongſt inacceſſible marſhes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the *Roman* territories, committed there dreadful ravages. Count *Nannenus*, who commanded in thoſe parts, endeavouring to make head againſt them, was dangerouſly wounded, and put to flight. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Severus* againſt

The Saxons *break into the empire.*

[u] Zonar. p. 26. Chron. Alex. p. 700. Suid. p. 706, 707.
[w] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291. [x] Gruter. p. 160. Baron. ann. 312.

them,

them who, as he was an officer of great experience and addreſs, ſo diſtreſſed and harraſſed them, that they were forced to ſue for peace; which was granted them, with leave to return unmoleſted into their own country, after the *Romans* had picked out their beſt men to ſerve among their troops. But as they were returning, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger, the *Romans*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all to a man in pieces. Though the *Saxons* were no-ways on their guard, yet they fought with incredible bravery, and ſuch preſence of mind and reſolution, that victory for ſome time inclined to their ſide *. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is not aſhamed to ſtyle this black piece of treachery a ſucceſsful attempt. But for ſuch breaches of the public faith, and violations of the right of nations, practiſed by the *Romans* more frequently under the chriſtian than the pagan princes, we ſhall ſee them abandoned by heaven to thoſe very barbarians, whom they thus treacherouſly endeavoured to cruſh and utterly ſuppreſs. The *Saxons* were thus ſlaughtered, according to St. *Jerom* [y] and *Oroſius* [z], on the territories of the *Franks*, at *Deuſona*, ſays the former, which was a caſtle on the other ſide the *Rhine*, over-againſt *Cologne*, and is now known by the name of *Tuits* or *Duits*. The ſame year the *Burgundians*, to the number of eighty thouſand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promiſed to paſs the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the *Alemanns*, with whom they were then at variance on account of ſome ſalt-pits. But the emperor being thus buſied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promiſed to do, they put to the ſword all the priſoners they had taken, and returned to their own country, highly enraged againſt the emperor, by whom they had been thus diſappointed and deluded [a]. However, *Theodoſius*, general of the horſe, to which poſt he had been raiſed for his gallant and prudent conduct in *Britain*, taking advantage of the conſternation the *Alemanns* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a conſiderable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and ſettlements on the banks of the *Po* [b]. *Ammianus*, in ſpeaking of the *Burgundians*, informs us of ſeveral particulars relating to their government and religion. He ſeems not to doubt but they were deſcended from the *Romans*;

Are treacherouſly cut off by the Romans.

An army of 80,000 Burgundians *on the banks of the* Rhine.

* AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 375. OROS. l. vii. c. 32. [y] HIER. chron. [z] OROS. p. 219. [a] Idem, p. 377. [b] Idem ibid.

and *Oroſius* ſpeaks of them as the deſcendants of thoſe *Romans*; who were left by *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, the adopted ſons of *Auguſtus*, in the caſtles and boroughs of *Germany*; nay, he ſuppoſes them to have been named *Burgundiones*, from the *Latin* word *burgus*, ſignifying a *borough* [c]. But from the word *burgus* they ought perhaps to have been called *Burgiones*, as *Valeſius* obſerves [d]. *Pliny* the elder takes them to be originally a *German* nation, ſprung from the *Vindili*, that is, as is generally ſuppoſed, of the *Vandals* [e]. *Valeſius* diſtinguiſhes the *Burgundiones* of *Germany* from thoſe of the ſame name, who dwelt more to the eaſt on the banks of the *Danube* [f]. *Ammianus* gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practiſed this year at *Rome* by *Maximinus*; or, as others ſtyle him, *Maximus*, a man of a moſt inhuman and ſavage temper. He was brother-in-law to *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who attempted to uſurp the ſovereignty in *Britain*; but nevertheleſs of a mean deſcent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raiſed himſelf by degrees to the firſt employments in the ſtate. He was made firſt governor of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and afterwards of *Tuſcia* or *Tuſcany*. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of *præfectus annonæ* at *Rome*, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with proviſions; which he did at firſt with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a moſt cruel, inhuman, and revengeful temper, which he began to do on the following occaſion: One *Chilo*, who had been vicar to the prefects, and his wife *Maxima*, having accuſed *Sericus*, *Aſbolius*, and *Campenſis*, three perſons of mean condition, before *Olybrius*, prefect or governor of the city, for having, by magical practices and inchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, *Olybrius* began to inquire into this matter; but he falling ſick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cauſe might be referred to the *præfectus annonæ*, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to ſatisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, ſays *Ammianus*, than that of a wild beaſt let looſe upon the prey. He had ſcarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable perſons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor, who was himſelf naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed

The great cruelties of Maximinus *at* Rome.

[c] Oros. l. vii. c. 32. p. 219. [d] Vales. rer. Francic. p. 48. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86. [f] Vales. ibid.

Maximinus

Maximinus vicar to the prefects in the room of *Aginacius*, and impowered him by an edict to put ſuch perſons, if thought neceſſary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only ſubjected to it in caſes of treaſon. With *Maximinus* he joined in commiſſion one *Lea*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raiſed to the dignity of *magiſter officiorum*. He was by birth a *Pannonian*, of mean parentage, but no leſs blood-thirſty, according to *Ammianus*, than his collegue *Maximinus* [g]. Theſe two implacable judges executed their commiſſion with that cruelty which every one may imagine: perſons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tortured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or ſtript of their eſtates, and ſent into baniſhment. Among the former were *Marinus*, a famous pleader, *Cethegus*, *Paphius*, and *Cornelius*, all three ſenators, and many other eminent perſons of both ſexes. *Alypius*, a young nobleman of great diſtinction, was, for a very ſmall fault, ſent into exile. *Lollianus*, the ſon of *Lampadius*, who had been governor of *Rome* in 366, and *præfectus prætorio* under *Conſtantius*, being accuſed of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding *Maximinus* inclined to condemn him to baniſhment, adviſed him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly; but *Valentinian* having referred the cauſe to *Phalangus* governor of *Bætica*, who ſurpaſſed *Maximinus* himſelf in cruelty, the youth was by him ſentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As *Maximinus* continued raging without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, the ſenate diſpatched deputies to the emperor, earneſtly intreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent ſubjects, to revoke the power he had given to *Maximinus*. *Valentinian* complied with their requeſt, which put an end for the preſent to thoſe bloody executions. *Maximinus* was called to court, and received with great marks of eſteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of *Gaul*, in which office he continued at leaſt three years (for he was ſtill prefect in 376); but ſoon after put to death by *Gratian*, with ſome of the miniſters of his cruelty [h].

Perſons of all ranks tortured and executed.

THE following year, when *Gratian* and *Sex. Petronius Probus* were conſuls, the emperor enacted ſeveral remarkable laws, and among the reſt one dated the eleventh of *February*, and addreſſed to *Viventius* prefect of *Gaul*, enacting, that ſuch players and comedians as ſhould have received at the point of

Laws enacted by Valentinian.

[g] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 358---360.

[h] Idem, p. 361---366.

death the ſacrament of baptiſm, ſhould not be obliged, if they ſhould recover, to act again on the ſtage [i]. From this law it appears, that the profeſſion of a player, always deemed infamous among the *Romans*, was under the chriſtian princes, thought inconſiſtent with chriſtianity; and likewiſe, that it was not free and voluntary, but ſervile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the ſeventh of *September*, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players ſhall not be obliged to follow the profeſſion of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling ſo as to deſerve a good character [k]. By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of *May*, and addreſſed to the ſenate, he allows the free exerciſe of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-eighth of *June*, ſeveral privileges are granted or reſtored to the pagan pontiffs, and the ſame honour and reſpect is ordered to be paid to them as to the *comites* or counts [l]. It is ſurpriſing, that an emperor, who is ſaid to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous, chriſtian, ſhould have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the ſeventeenth of *May*, he exempts from all civil offices, ſuch as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the reſt to diſcharge them, notwithſtanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all eccleſiaſtics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of *June*, are dated from *Treves*, whence he removed to *Cantionacum*, a place unknown to geographers, but which muſt have been but at a ſmall diſtance from *Treves*, ſince the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of *June*, and the very next day at *Cantionacum*, where he ſtaid till the fifteenth of *Auguſt*. On the ſixth of *September* he was at *Mentz*, probably on his march into the country of the *Alemanns*: for this year he undertook an expedition againſt them, hoping to ſurpriſe *Macrianus* their king, a brave and reſolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, ſaved himſelf by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his diſappointment, returned to *Treves*, after having laid waſte the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemanns* called *Buciuharites*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name *Fraomarius*, for king, who ſoon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of ſome of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*. *Valentinian* was returned to *Treves*, with his two generals, *Severus* and *Theodoſius*, on the ſixth of *December*

He attempts to ſurpriſe the king of the Alemanns.

[i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 361. [k] Idem ibid. p. 363. [l] Idem ibid.

cember [m]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* [n] and St. *Jerom* [o] obſerve, among the tranſactions of this year, that *Octavianus*, who had been proconſul of *Africa* under *Julian*, having concealed himſelf, while he was purſued by the officers of juſtice, in the houſe of an eccleſiaſtic, the magiſtrates commanded the eccleſiaſtic to deliver him up; which he refuſing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at *Sirmium*. The ſame year *Hymetius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* under *Julian*, and raiſed by *Valentinian* to the proconſulſhip of *Africa*, being accuſed of evil practices (our hiſtorian explains himſelf no farther), was brought to *Ocricolum*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, to be tried there by *Ampelius*, governor of that city, and his vicar *Maximinus*. A letter was produced againſt him, written with his own hand to a pagan prieſt, named *Amantius*, deſiring him to offer ſacrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his eſtate had been already confiſcated for ſome real, or, as *Ammianus* believed, ſuppoſed, crime. When this letter was produced, *Hymetius*, well appriſed of the cruelty of *Maximinus*, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the ſenate, by whom *Hymetius* was baniſhed to the iſland of *Boas* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. The emperor was highly diſſatisfied with the ſenate for not ſentencing him to death; but did not think it adviſeable to make the leaſt alteration in their decree [p]. The next conſuls were *Modeſtus* and *Arintheus*, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened in the weſt, which authors have thought worthy of tranſmitting to poſterity. From the dates of ſeveral laws it appears, that the emperor paſſed the whole year, partly at *Treves*, and partly at *Nazonacum*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that city [q].

Other inſtances of his ſeverity.

THE next conſuls were *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both for the fourth time. This year *Maximinus* was created prefect of *Gaul*; and the firſt againſt whom he exerted his new authority, was a perſon guilty of no leſs enormous crimes than himſelf, *viz.* *Remigius*, who, being *magiſter officiorum*, had ſcreened his kinſman *Romanus* from the puniſhment due to the many cruelties, murders, and extortions which he had committed in *Africa*, as we have related above. *Leo*, upon his return from *Rome*, where he had been joined in commiſſion with *Maximinus*, being raiſed to the poſt of *magiſter officio-*

[m] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 398. Cod. Theod. p. 89. [n] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 238. & l. xxix. p. 396. [o] HIER. chron. [p] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 359. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

rum,

rum, *Remigius*, who held it before him, retired to his eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But *Maximinus*, deſpiſing him now that he was out of power, ſeized and put to the rack one of his domeſtics, by name *Cæſarius*, in order to make him diſcover the evil practices of his maſter, and what ſums he had received of *Romanus* to defend and ſupport him at court. This *Remigius* no ſooner underſtood, than, overcome by fear, he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a public and more ignominious death [r]. *Palladius*, who was no leſs guilty than *Remigius*, had been, it ſeems, diſgraced before, for ſome other miſdemeanour, though he aſcribed his misfortune chiefly to his having impoſed upon the emperor in an affair of ſuch importance. Of this *Valentinian* had ſome ſuſpicion, and therefore ordered him to be arreſted; but while the ſoldiers who guarded him were paſſing the night (no doubt the eve of ſome feſtival) in a church, he ended his life in the ſame manner as *Remigius* had done his [s]. *Romanus* himſelf was then under arreſt, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven *Firmus* a *Mooriſh* prince, to revolt. *Theodoſius*, who was ſent to ſuppreſs the rebellion, had ſeized *Romanus* with all his domeſtics and papers, among which were found ſome relating to the affair of *Leptis*. Upon this *Palladius* had been arreſted; but both he and *Remigius* having laid violent hands on themſelves, *Romanus* was ſome time after ſet at liberty, and the matter dropped for the preſent, but reſumed under *Gratian*, when *Romanus* was convicted of high miſdemeanours; but nevertheleſs, by the intereſt of *Merobaudus*, allowed to come to court to plead his own cauſe before the emperor [t]. What was the iſſue of this affair, we are no-where told. *Firmus*, whom we have mentioned above, was the ſon of *Nubel*, the moſt powerful of all the *Mooriſh* princes, who looked upon him, though ſubject to the *Romans*, as their king and ſovereign. He left ſeveral ſons behind him, and among the reſt *Firmus* and *Zamma*. The latter being privately murdered by his brother *Firmus*, *Romanus*, with whom *Zamma* lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incenſe the emperor againſt *Firmus*, being backed therein by his kinſman *Remigius*, then *magiſter officiorum*. Hereupon *Firmus*, appriſed of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and inſolent behaviour of *Romanus*, and the officers of the army, reſolved to revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having ani-

Remigius and Palladius, the accomplices of Romanus, ſtrangle themſelves.

[r] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 417. [s] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. & l. xxix. p. 399. [t] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381, 382.

mated

mated the other *Mooriſh* nations to ſhake off the yoke; under which they had long groaned, he aſſumed the purple and the other enſigns of royalty, with the title of *king*; a *Roman* tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon the head of the new king inſtead of a diadem [x]. Some antiquaries will have this to be the *Firmus*, who, on an antient dal, bears the title of *Auguſtus* [y]; but their opinion is rejected by others. *Firmus*, finding himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of a conſiderable body of *Moors*, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the provinces of *Africa* and *Mauritania* without oppoſition, and even made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, now *Alger*, the metropolis of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, where he found a conſiderable ſum belonging to the exchequer, but left in the hands of the magiſtrates of that city. The officers of the treaſury ſued the magiſtrates for the money which had been left with them in truſt; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the proſecution, *Clemens*, biſhop of the place, having prevailed upon him to iſſue that order, and by that means ſaved his country from certain ruin [z]. The famous *Symmachus*, of whom hereafter, wrote on this occaſion to *Titianus*, then vicar of *Africa*, preſſing him to cauſe the order which the biſhop had obtained to be put in execution [a]. *Firmus* took likewiſe the city of *Rucata*, betrayed to him, as was believed, by the biſhop of the *Donatiſts*, upon his promiſing not to moleſt any of that ſect [b]. The *Donatiſts* looked upon *Firmus*, not as an uſurper, but a lawful prince; whence they were in thoſe parts ſtyled *Firmiani* [c]. The emperor was no ſooner informed of the revolt of *Firmus*, than he diſpatched againſt him *Theodoſius*, the beſt general of his time, with the troops that were quartered in *Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*, and a detachment out of thoſe that attended the court, and were thence called *comitatenſes*. *Theodoſius* embarqued at *Arles* in the latter end of the year 372, or the beginning of 373, and having had a favourable paſſage, landed ſoon after at a place called *Igilgitanum* in *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. His firſt care, upon his arrival, was to arreſt *Romanus*, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced the *Moors* to revolt. *Firmus*, in the mean time, hearing that ſo renowned a commander was ſent againſt him, began to deſpair of ſucceſs; and thereupon diſpatched deputies to *Theodoſius*, declaring, that he had been

Firmus *revolts in* Africa.

Takes Cæſarea *and other places.*

Theodoſius *is ſent againſt him.*

Firmus *pretends to ſubmit.*

[x] Idem, l. xxx. p. 429. OROS. l. vii. c. 33. ZOS. l. iv. p. 744. [y] SPANH. l. vii. p. 599. [z] Cod Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. SYMMACH. l. i. epiſt. 58. p. 39. [a] SYM. ibid. [b] Augustin. ep. 164. p. 286. [c] Idem in par. l. i. c. 10, 11.

in

in a manner forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to juſtify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to ſubmit, and quit the enſigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his paſt conduct. *Theodoſius*, thinking it adviſeable to admit of his ſubmiſſion and excuſe, aſſured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up to him ſome of the chief men among the *Moors*, by way of hoſtages. This *Firmus* promiſed to do; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promiſe, *Theodoſius*, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, marched from *Panchariana*, the place of the general rendezvous, to *Tubuſuptius*, in the neighbourhood of mount *Ferratus*, where *Maſcezel*, brother to *Firmus*, lay encamped with a conſiderable body of *Moors*. He was there met by a ſecond embaſſy from *Firmus*; but, as the deputies brought no hoſtages along with them, he would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence, but fell unexpectedly upon the *Tyndenſes* and *Maſſiniſſenſes*, two *Mooriſh* nations, commanded by *Maſcezel*; and having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he laid waſte the country, razed the caſtle of *Petra*, which had been lately built, and made himſelf maſter of another ſtrong-hold, which he made choice of for a magazine, ſtoring it with all ſorts of proviſions, that they might be nearer at hand, in caſe he ſhould think fit to penetrate farther into the country. In the mean time, *Maſcezel*, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a ſecond engagement, in which he was attended with no better ſucceſs than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaping.

Theodoſius *defeats ſome nations in alliance with* Firmus.

Hereupon *Firmus* ſent at laſt the promiſed hoſtages, and with them ſome biſhops to intercede with *Theodoſius* in his behalf. The *Roman* general received them with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, and upon their promiſing in the name of *Firmus*, that the booty and priſoners he had taken ſhould be reſtored, and the *Roman* army ſupplied with proviſions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers; which ſo encouraged the *Moor*, that he came in perſon to wait on *Theodoſius*; and, bewailing his folly and raſhneſs, promiſed to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. *Theodoſius* received him in a moſt obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or deſired, and diſmiſſed him extremely pleaſed with his reception. *Firmus*, at his departure, left ſome of his relations behind him for hoſtages; and two days after delivered up to the *Romans* a place called *Icoſium*, with the priſoners, military enſigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence *Theodoſius* advanced to *Tipaſa*, where he was met by the embaſſadors of the *Mazices*, a nation inhabiting the eaſtern parts of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*;

Firmus *pretends anew to ſubmit.*

who

who had joined *Firmus* in his revolt. They came to submit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but *Theodosius* returned them no other answer, than that their perfidy deserved to be punished with the utmost severity. From *Tipasa* he proceeded to *Cæsarea*, now *Alger*, which *Firmus* had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his soldiers. There he received certain intelligence, that *Firmus* was preparing under-hand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the *Romans*; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the best advantage. Hereupon *Theodosius*, leaving at *Cæsarea* the first and second legions, who were to repair the fortifications, and secure it in the best manner they could against any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to *Sugabarri*, a town of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, where he surprised a *Roman* cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himself with condemning the common soldiers to the meanest offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having made himself master of *Gaionatis* and *Tingitanum*, two places of great strength, he passed the mountain *Ancorarius*, and entering the country of the *Mazices*, gained a signal victory over them. They made at first a vigorous resistance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almost all put to the sword. But, notwithstanding this victory, the *Moors* poured down upon him from all quarters in such multitudes, that he thought it adviseable to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thousand five hundred strong. But the enemy, apprised of his design, not only harrassed him incessantly on his march, but, by stopping up all the passes, cut off his retreat; insomuch, that the whole army must inevitably have perished, had not the *Moors* unexpectedly betaken themselves to flight, and left the passes open, at the sight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they mistook, observing some *Roman* deserters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve *Theodosius*. The *Romans*, having thus, by a happy mistake, escaped death or slavery, retired in good order to *Muzucanum*, and from thence to *Tipasa*, where *Theodosius*, reflecting on the posture of his affairs, resolved to manage the war after another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promises, prevail upon the nations in alliance with *Firmus* to make a separate peace, and deliver him up to the *Romans*. With this view he dispatched embassadors to the several nations that had joined him; which *Firmus*, who was well acquainted

But prepares for war.

Theodosius *gains great advantages over his confederates.*

Firmus *abandons his army, and flies to the* Isaflenſes.

with the fickle temper of the *Moors*, no ſooner underſtood, than, dreading the iſſue of ſuch negotiations, he abandoned his army; and, taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called *Caprarienſes*, which, by reaſon of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inacceſſible. The multitude, ſtruck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without a head, ſoon diſperſed; and *Theodoſius*, ſeizing their camp, made himſelf maſter of the neighbouring countries, without the leaſt oppoſition, placing ſuch governors over them, as had given him evident proofs their fidelity. He then marched without delay in purſuit of *Firmus*, who, as he was informed, had taken of ſanctuary in the country of the *Iſaflenſes*. That warlike nation refuſing to deliver him up, ſeveral battles were fought, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus*'s brother, was taken priſoner; but died the ſame day of the wounds he had received. *Evaſius*, a perſon of great authority among the *Iſaflenſes*, and his ſon *Florus* fell likewiſe into the hands of the *Romans*; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cauſe of *Firmus*, they were both, by *Theodoſius*'s orders, burnt alive. The

Who are defeated by Theodoſius.

Romans, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great ſtraights; but having in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which laſted from morning to night, ſome nations, that had joined the *Iſaflenſes*, began to be weary of the war, and deſert them. Hereupon *Igmazen*, prince of the country, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, and no-ways in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans* with his own forces alone, privately agreed with *Theodoſius* to betray *Firmus* into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be ſecured, while he was preparing to make his eſcape. But *Firmus*, to avoid the diſgrace of the puniſhment, which he apprehended from the *Romans*, ſtrangled himſelf while his guards were aſleep, to the great grief of *Igmazen*, who had propoſed to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately ſent the body to *Theodoſius*, who received it with great joy, and ſoon after returned to *Sitifis*, which city he entered in a kind of triumph. The ſeveral *Mooriſh* nations that had ſided with *Firmus* ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which *Theodoſius* readily granted them, upon their delivering up to him ſome of their leading men, whom he cauſed to be put to death [q]. In this war *Gildo*, one of *Firmus*'s brothers, took party with the *Romans*, and gave ſignal proofs

Firmus *ſtrangles himſelf.*

[q] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 398---408. Zos. l. iv. p. 744.

of

of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under *Honorius*, and was attended with no better ſucceſs than his brother. When the war was ended, *Theodoſius* wrote to *Symmachus*; but in his letter he ſpoke only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. *Symmachus*, in his anſwer, commends his modeſty, which to him ſeemed the more worthy of praiſe, as *Theodoſius* was no leſs qualified for writing than fighting [r].

Cruelties exerciſed at Rome by Simplicius

THE following year, when *Gratian* was conſul the third time with *Equitius*, many eminent perſons of both ſexes were cruelly racked and put to death by *Simplicius*, vicar of *Rome*, who being raiſed to that employment by the intereſt of *Maximinus*, put, under various pretences, all thoſe to death to whom his patron bore the leaſt grudge, and among the reſt *Aginacius*, a patrician of an illuſtrious and antient family, who had been conſular or governor of *Byzacene* under *Julian*, and vicar of *Rome* in the preſent reign. He was accuſed of adultery; and though the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was ſentenced to death, and executed with *Anepſia*, a lady of great diſtinction, who, being accuſed of the ſame crime, had impeached *Aginacius*, hoping by that means to ingratiate herſelf with *Simplicius*, and eſcape the danger that threatened her [s]. As for the emperor he paſſed the winter at *Milan*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, but was again at *Treves* on the twenty-firſt of *May*, and the twentieth of *June* [t]. From thence he marched into *Germany*; and, after having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, returned to *Baſle*, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named *Robur*: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of *July* [u]. While the emperor was encamped there, news was brought, that the *Quadi* had with great violence broken into *Illyricum*, upon the following provocation: *Valentinian*, perhaps over-careful in fortifying the borders of the empire, had ordered ſome forts to be built beyond the *Danube*, in the territories of the *Quadi*, who, alarmed thereat, prevailed upon *Equitius*, then general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to ſuſpend the work till he received further orders from the emperor, to whom they had ſent ſome of the chief men of their nation to complain of that violence. But in the mean time, *Maximinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, upbraiding *Equitius* with cowardice and irreſolutino, bragged that, in ſpite of the *Quadi*, the forts

The Quadi *and* Sarmatians *break into* Illyricum.

[r] SYM. l. x epiſt. 1. p. 389. [s] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 363---366. [t] Cod. Thodoſ. chron. p. 93, 94. [u] Idem ibid.

should be soon finished, provided his son *Marcellianus*, though yet very young, was but created duke of *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Marcellianus* being accordingly advanced to that dignity, upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, ordered the work, which had been for some time discontinued, to be carried on a-new, without taking the least notice of the complaints of the *Quadi*. Hereupon *Gabinius*, their king, came in person to wait upon him, intreating him, with the greatest modesty and respect imaginable, not to give any motives of jealousy or misunderstanding between his people and the subjects of the empire. *Marcellianus* received him in a very obliging manner; and pretending to hearken to his just remonstrances, invited him to a banquet, during which he caused him, without any regard to the sacred laws of hospitality, or the rights of nations, to be inhumanly murdered. This black piece of treachery alarmed and incensed both the *Quadi* and their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, who, flying to arms, passed the *Danube* in the utmost rage; and falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, cut most of them in pieces, laid waste the country to a great distance, and returned loaded with an immense booty. In this confusion, *Constantia*, the daughter of *Constantius*, who was then passing through *Illyricum*, in order to be married to *Gratian*, had fallen into their hands, had not *Messala*, governor of the province, who attended her, put her into a chariot in great haste, and conveyed her with all possible speed to *Sirmium* [w]. *Constantia* was born after the death of her father, and therefore was at that time in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of her age [x]. She is styled on the antient coins *Flavia Maxima Constantia*. *Probus*, the prefect of *Illyricum*, resided then at *Sirmium*; but as he was a man of no courage, though descended of an illustrious family, he was so alarmed at the report of the many murders and unheard-of cruelties committed by the incensed enemy, that he had already provided himself with swift horses to make his escape; but being with much-ado prevailed upon to stay, more out of regard to his own safety, than the public good, he took all imaginable care to put the city in a condition to withstand the efforts of the barbarians; who thereupon, instead of laying siege to it, resolved to pursue *Equitius*, whom they looked upon as the chief author of the murder of their king. He had fled into *Valeria*, and thither they followed him, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they passed. In their way

Gabinius, *king of the* Quadi, *murdered by the* Romans.

The Quadi *invade* Pannonia, *and commit dreadful ravages.*

[w] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zos. l. iv. p. 745.
[x] Chrys. ad vid. junior. p. 463.

they

they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and the *Mœsian*, who had been sent to oppose them, and were of sufficient strength to restrain their fury, had they not fallen into an unseasonable contention about precedency, each of them claiming the honour of charging the first. The barbarians, apprised of their disagreement, without waiting for the signal of battle, fell first with great fury upon the *Mœsian* legion, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence; and having cut most of them in pieces, attacked, and in like manner put to the sword, the other legion, only a small number of them by flight escaping death or captivity [y]. Thus all the open country was abandoned to the barbarians, the *Romans* remaining masters only of the fortified places, where they committed, says *Zosimus* [z], as great disorders as the barbarians themselves in the other parts. But the *Sarmatians*, having entered *Upper Mœsia*, were repulsed with incredible slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, but at that time very young, and only duke of *Mœsia*. The barbarians who were infinitely superior to them in number, thought to have over-powered him; but he, with a courage and conduct far above his years, made such a dreadful havock of them, as to satiate with the bodies of the slain, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, the birds of prey, and the most ravenous among the wild beasts [a]. The *Sarmatians*, despairing of success against so brave a leader, sent deputies to sue for peace; which they obtained, and for some time observed, being kept in awe by some troops, which *Valentinian* had sent into *Illyricum* upon the first notice of the irruption of the barbarians into that province. He was for leaving *Gaul*, and marching in person against them: but as the autumn was already far spent, and *Macrianus* king of the *Alemanns*, with other princes, seemed ready to break into *Gaul* upon the departure of the emperor, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to put off his march to a more convenient season. However, as he was determined to leave *Gaul* early in the spring, and march into *Illyricum*, he invited *Macrianus*, whose valour he chiefly dreaded, to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. *Macrianus* complied with his invitation, and though at first he betrayed a great deal of pride in seeing his friendship thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet in the end he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and continued to his death a faithful friend to the *Romans* [b]. He was

They defeat two Roman legions.

The Sarmatians defeated by Theodosius.

The emperor concludes a peace with the king of the Alemanns.

[y] AMMIAN. & Zos. ibid. [z] Zos. p. 745. [a] AMMIAN. p. 410, 411. [b] Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418,

in

in the end killed by *Merobaudes* king of the *Franks*, whoſe dominions he had invaded [c]. *Valentinian*, having thus concluded a peace with the brave king of the *Alemanns*, returned to *Treves*, where he paſſed the winter [d]; and the following ſpring ſet out from thence for *Illyricum*, attended by his wife *Juſtina* and *Valentinian* her eldeſt ſon. *Gratian* was left at *Treves*, with a numerous body of troops, to keep the *German* nations in awe. The preſent year 375, is marked in the *faſti* thus; *the year after the third conſulſhip of* Gratian *and his collegue* Equitius. St. *Jerom* writes, that no conſuls were named this year, on account of the diſturbances raiſed in *Pannonia* by the *Sarmatians* [e]. The emperor was ſtill at *Treves* on the ninth of *April* [f]; but left that city ſoon after [g]. He was met on his march by embaſſadors from the *Sarmatians*, who throwing themſelves at his feet, earneſtly intreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been ſpread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties ſaid to have been committed by thoſe of their nation; they aſſured him, that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged againſt them: The emperor anſwered, that he would determine nothing for the preſent; but ſuſpend his judgment till his arrival in thoſe parts, which had moſt ſuffered by their late irruption. Having thus diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he purſued his march; and arriving in *Illyricum*, took up his quarters at *Carnuntum*, once a flouriſhing city, but then in decay. Moſt geographers take it to be the city of *Hainburgh* on the *Danube* in *Auſtria*, about thirty-three miles eaſt of *Vienna*. The emperor choſe it, as being moſt conveniently ſituated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition againſt the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* [h]. He was ſtill at *Carnuntum* on the twelfth of *Auguſt* [i]. *Ammianus* blames him for not inquiring how *Gabinius* kingof the *Quadi* came to be murdered, nor puniſhing thoſe, who, through treachery or cowardice, had abandoned the defence of the frontiers; both which things were expected from a prince of his exactneſs and ſeverity [k]. *Probus* the preſect was the only perſon againſt whom he ſhewed any reſentment; for he, to ſatisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to *Ammianus*, oppreſſed the people committted to his care in a manner hardly to be expreſſed, putting to death,

And marches into Illyricum.

The people of Illyricum *oppreſſed by* Probus.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 64. [e] Hier. chron. [f] Cod. Theod. chron p. 94. [g] Ammian, l. xxx. p. 418. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 425.

baniſhing,

baniſhing, or condemning to dungeons, the moſt wealthy among them, that he might ſeize their eſtates; inſomuch, that all the perſons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately diſpoſed of their effects, and abandoned their country. All this the emperor learned of a philoſopher, by name *Iphicles*, who had been ſent by the *Epirots* his countrymen, to thank *Probus* for his prudent and mild adminiſtration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was ſent, aſked him, whether his countrymen were really ſatisfied with their governor? and whether their thanks and commendations were ſincere? They thank and commend him, anſwered frankly the philoſopher; but with tears in their eyes, and ſore againſt their will. Hereupon *Valentinian* made a ſtrict inquiry into his conduct, and, finding him guilty of moſt enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, reſolved to depoſe him; but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution [l]. Thus *Ammianus*. But St. *Jerom* writes, that *Illyricum* was plundered, and tyrannically oppreſſed, by *Equitius*, without ſo much as mentioning *Probus* [m]; and *Ammianus* himſelf owns, that *Leo*, then *magiſter officiorum*, exaſperated the emperor againſt *Probus*, hoping to be made prefect in his room [n]. *Probus* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, and reckoned amongſt his anceſtors the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*. The families of the *Probi*, of the *Anicii*, and of the *Olybrii*, were, according to St. *Jerom* [o], *Auſonius* [p], and *Prudentius* [q], the moſt conſpicuous in *Rome*. *Probus*, who had embraced the chriſtian religion, with his whole family [r], lived in great intimacy with St. *Ambroſe*, the celebrated biſhop of *Milan*. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, *Probus*, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: *Acquit yourſelf in your office, not like a governor, but like a biſhop* [s]. St. *Ambroſe* was then by profeſſion a pleader or advocate. *Probus* was firſt proconſul of *Africa* in 358, afterwards four times prefect of *Italy* or *Gaul*, and in 371, *Gratian*'s collegue in the conſulſhip. He was no leſs famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is ſaid to to have owned immenſe poſſeſſions in all the provinces of the empire [t]. *Paulinus Diaconus* tells us, that two *Perſian* lords of great diſtinction, being come to *Milan* to viſit St.

An account of the family of Probus.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] HIER. chron. [n] AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 424, 425. [o] HIER. ep. 8. p. 63. [p] AUSON. ep. 3. p. 422. [q] PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Ambroſ. vit. p. 79. [t] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 352.

Ambroſe,

Ambroſe, went from thence to *Rome*, on purpoſe to behold the grandeur and pomp in which *Probus* lived [u]. He died, as appears from *Claudian*, before the end of the year 394, being then in the ſixtieth year of his age [w], after having received the ſacrament of baptiſm; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, of which monument ſome remains were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of pope *Nicolas* V [x]. Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times [y], and a poem addreſſed to him by *Auſonius* in 372. *Ammianus* commends him in ſeveral places of his hiſtory, but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps becauſe he profeſſed the chriſtian religion [z]. *Claudian*, though a pagan as well as *Ammianus*, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children [a]. Both writers agree in extolling his generoſity. His wife *Proba*, named in the ancient inſcriptions *Anicia Faltonia Proba*, was no leſs eſteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her huſband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her ſex, and deſcended from the *Anician* family, equalled by *Caſſiodorus* [b], St. *Auſtin* [c], St. *Jerom* [d], and St. *Ambroſe* [e], to the imperial families. Some of her anceſtors bore the firſt employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is ſaid to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing *Illyricum* [f]. *Ammianus* [g] and *Zoſimus* [h] take notice of their immenſe wealth; and St. *Jerom*, writing to *Demetrias* the grand-daughter of *Probus*, ſays, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to poſſeſs riches, and deſpiſe them [i]. *Anicius Julianus*, on whom *Symmachus* beſtows great encomiums [k], was the firſt *Roman* ſenator that embraced the chriſtian religion [l]. *Ammianus* obſerves, that, in the reign of *Conſtantius*, the *Anicians* bore the chief ſway in *Rome* [m].

Faustinus *executed.*

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Valentinian*, during his ſtay at *Carnuntum*, cauſed *Fauſtinus*, nephew to *Viventius*, a few years before preſect of *Gaul*, to be firſt inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accuſed of magical practices, and of having anſwered one *Ni-*

[u] Ambros. vit. p. 83. [w] Claud. de conſulat. Olyb. & Prob. p. 2. [x] Baron. ad ann. 395. [y] Sym. l. iii. epiſt. 50—55. p. 36. [z] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424. [a] Claud. ibid. [b] Cassiod. l. x. ep. 12. p. 162. [c] August. ep. 179. p. 305. [d] Hier. ep. 11. p. 162. [e] Amb ep. 33. p. 263. [f] Auson. p. 422. [g] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. [h] Zos. l. vi. p. 628. [i] Hier. ep. 8. p. 68. [k] Sym. p. 299. [l] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. [m] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68.

grinus,

grinus, deſiring him in jeſt to make him a notary, *Make me firſt emperor*. They were joking; but the joke coſt both of them their lives. From *Carnuntum* the emperor diſpatched *Merobandes* and count *Sebaſtian*, with a party of foot, to lay waſte the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary* [n]. There he paſſed the *Danube*, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, he returned to *Acincum*, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being deſirous to find out ſome convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to *Sabaria*, now *Servar*; but that place not anſwering his expectation, he purſued his march along the *Danube* to *Bregetio*, which ſome take to be a village now called *Bregnitz*, and others a place in the iſle of *Schut*, where the preſent city of *Komare* ſtands, or a little below that of *Markelhaz* [o]. There he gave audience to the embaſſadors of the *Quadi*, come to ſue for peace; but while he was ſpeaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a ſudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by thoſe who attended him, where he was ſeized with convulſion fits, and violent contorſions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the ſeventeenth of *November* of this year 375, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days [p]. *Victor* writes, that he died of a ſurfeit [q]. St. *Jerom* aſcribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood [r]. *Socrates* tells us, that being affronted at the meanneſs and beggarly appearance of the embaſſadors of the *Quadi*, he aſked them, if their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They anſwered, That the firſt men in the nation were in his preſence. Hereupon he fell into a great paſſion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for preſuming to inſult the majeſty of the *Roman* emperor and people. He delivered this with ſo much heat and violence, that, his veins burſting, he was inſtantly ſuffocated in his own blood [s]. The reader will find in *Socrates* part of the ſpeech which he made, or is ſuppoſed to have made, to the embaſſadors [t]. His death was preſaged, according to *Ammianus*, by ſeveral omens: A blazing ſtar, which, in the opinion of that writer,

Valentinian *ravages the country of the* Quadi

He dies ſuddenly.

Several omens revealing Valentini*an's death.*

[n] Vide BAUDR. p. 55. [o] Vide SANS. & BAUDR. p. 129, 130. [p] AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 427. VICT. epit. PHILOST. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130. [q] VICT. epit. [r] HIER. ep. 3. p. 26. [s] SOCR. p. 248, 249. [t] Idem ibid.

ever forebodes the death of ſome great perſonage, had appeared a few days before: at *Sirmium* the palace, court, and forum, were conſumed by lightning: the night before he died, he ſaw, or imagined to ſee, his wife then abſent, ſitting by him in a melancholy poſture and in a mourning dreſs, with her hair diſhevelled. This *Ammianus* takes to have been his genius forſaking him [u]. On the day he died, his horſe, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his *ſtrator* or equerry, ſtriving to place the emperor in the ſaddle, happened to give him a blow; which he reſenting, with his uſual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off; but *Cerealis*, *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe, put off the execution of ſo cruel and unjuſt an order at the peril of his own life [w]. The year before, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of *Rome* under water, the inhabitants being obliged to ſave themſelves upon the hills, where they had periſhed with hunger, had not *Claudius*, prefect of the city, ſent them a ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions in boats. Theſe overflowings of the *Tiber* were generally looked upon as the forerunners of ſome public diſaſter. The body of the deceaſed emperor was embalmed, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to be interred there amongſt the other chriſtian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of *December* of the enſuing year 376, but was not buried till the twenty-firſt of *February* of the year 382, when *Theodoſius* paid it that laſt duty [x]. Some pretended in 1174, to have diſcovered his body at *Andernach* on the *Rhine*; but it is evident from hiſtory, that he was buried at *Conſtantinople*.

His character.

As to his character, *Ammianus* taxes him with ſeveral vices. He was, according to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, puniſhing even the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity, and ſuffering his miniſters, or rather encouraging them, to exerciſe unheard-of cruelties. He was covetous to a great degree, uſing all poſſible methods to raiſe money; which, however, ſome excuſe in him, as he found, on his acceſſion to the empire, the exchequer quite exhauſted by his predeceſſors, eſpecially by *Julian*, who had ſpent immenſe ſums in the *Perſian* war. He had a mighty opinion of his own accompliſhments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, ſkill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even ſuch as had a genteel fancy in dreſs. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheleſs, on ſeveral occaſions, betrayed more fear than was

[u] Ammian. p. 426. Marc. chron. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem, p. 433.

becoming

becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms; inſomuch, that his miniſters, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a paſſion, and they could by no other means appeaſe him, uſed to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire; which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, as mild as ever was *Antoninus Pius* [y]. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtrangely impoſed upon by his miniſters, repoſing an intire confidence in thoſe who deſerved it the leaſt; whence the provinces were often oppreſſed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, miſled and deceived by thoſe about him, believed they enjoyed an intire happineſs [z]. Had he not been deceived in the choice of his miniſters, ſays *Victor*, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongſt the beſt princes [a]. And truly he was, even according to *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways partial to him, or any of the chriſtian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities; well acquainted with the military art, and no leſs with the art of governing; careful in protecting the ſubjects of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians; an exact obſerver of the military diſcipline; enured from his infancy to hardſhips, and no-ways biaſſed by favour in diſpoſing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother *Valens*, whom he aſſumed for his collegue, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainmens he was ſplendid, but not profuſe; in his perſon comely, and well-ſhaped; in his converſation agreeable; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himſelf to all times and occaſions [b]. He ſuffered no places to be bought or ſold during the whole time of his reign; and tho' he was often miſtaken in the choice of his officers and miniſters, yet his intention was to prefer only the moſt deſerving, and for that reaſon he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eaſed his people, as far as the ſtate of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predeceſſors [c]. He was an utter ſtranger to debauchery and unlawful pleaſures, which he endeavoured to reſtrain by ſeveral excellent laws [d]. As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which at that time divided the world, he inviolably

[y] AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 431, 432. [z] VICT. epit. p. 345.
[a] Idem ibid. [b] AMMIAN. p. 433. [c] Idem p 423.
[d] VICT. p. 651.

adhered to the orthodox faith; but, avoiding all diſputes, he allowed to the reſt of his ſubjects, even to the pagans, an intire liberty of conſcience. He is blamed by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for ſuffering his brother *Valens* to perſecute the orthodox chriſtians; but ſome alledge in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppoſe *Valens*, ſince that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to *Ammianus*, with ſuch excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, eſpecially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors *Trajan* and *M. Aurelius* [c]. Amongſt his other laws he enacted one addreſſed to *Maximus* vicar of *Rome*, relating to the ſtature or ſize of ſuch as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under ſix foot ſeven inches [d].

The reign of Valens in the eaſt.

WE ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of *Valens* in the eaſt, which, to avoid confuſion, we have thought proper to deliver ſeparately, there being no other connection, but that of time, between the reigns and tranſactions of the two princes. After the diviſion of the provinces made at *Mediana* in the neighbourhood of *Naiſſus* in *Dacia* in 364, *Valens* returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-ſixth of *December*, forbidding the meſſengers of good news to exact, according to the abuſe which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people; but allows them to receive what perſons of rank and fortune ſhall think proper to offer them of their own accord [e]. The following year 365, *Valens* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople* on the nineteenth of *March* [f]; but ſoon after ſet out for *Syria*, the *Perſians* being in motion, with a deſign, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with *Jovian*. Being informed, as he entered *Bithynia*, that the *Goths* were ready to invade *Thrace*, he diſpatched meſſengers to his officers in thoſe parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and purſued his march to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he was on the fourth of *July*, and continued there till the latter end of the ſummer [g]. During his ſtay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in moſt provinces of the empire, and overturned ſeveral cities in *Sicily*, *Paleſtine*, and above all in the iſland of *Crete*, where the ſhock was

[c] Ammian. p. 432. [d] Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyronib. [e] Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. p. 602, 603. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 73. [g] Idem, p. 74. Ammian. p. 322.

moſt

moſt violent [b]. When *Valens* was upon the point of departing from *Cæſarea*, news was brought him of the revolt of *Procopius*, who, after having paid the laſt duty to the body of his kinſman *Julian*, had privately withdrawn, through fear of *Jovian*, into *Cherſoneſus Taurica*; but not truſting thoſe barbarians, and finding himſelf deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, he left that inhoſpitable country, and returning in diſguiſe into the territories of the empire, he reached undiſcovered the city of *Chalcedon*, where he was received by one *Strategius*, his truſty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-houſe. From thence he went frequently in a mean dreſs to *Conſtantinople*; and finding that the people there were generally diſſatisfied with the preſent government, on account of the cruelties practiſed by *Petronius*, whoſe daughter, *Albia Dominica*, the emperor had married, he reſolved to improve that diſſatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch of great wealth, by name *Eugenius*, lately diſgraced by *Valens*, and ſome of the officers who commanded the troops that had been ſent into *Thrace* againſt the *Goths*, and were then quartered at *Conſtantinople*, he boldly ventured to diſcover himſelf, and lay before the people and ſoldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly related to *Julian*. Hereupon the officers, whom he had gained before-hand, proclaimed him emperor; and the reſt, following their example, ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction joined him, and at length the whole city of *Conſtantinople* [c]. The news of this revolt ſtruck *Valens* with ſuch terror and diſmay, that he was for quitting the imperial purple and reſigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, perſuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached ſome troops againſt his new rival, hoping to cruſh him before he was in a condition to make any reſiſtance. This detachment met *Procopius* at *Mygdus* in *Phrygia*, attended by a promiſcuous multitude of fugitive ſlaves, deſerters, and perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But *Procopius*, diſtruſting their courage, while both parties were ready to engage, ſtept boldly forward, as if he deſigned to challenge one of the adverſe party to a ſingle

Procopius revolts.

And is acknowledged by the city of Conſtantinople.

[b] AMMIAN. p. 331, 333. HIER. chron. p. 258. [c] AMMIAN. p. 320. ZOS. l. iv. p. 737. THEMIST. p. 91.

combat;

combat; and taking *Vitalianus*, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-ſoldiers, for ſiding with a *Pannonian* robber againſt one allied to the family of *Conſtantine the Great*. His ſpeech made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon them, that they immediately paſſed over to his party, and, with loud acclamations ſaluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion [k]. This defection brought a very ſeaſonable acceſſion of ſtrength to *Procopius*, who thereupon detached a ſtrong party, under the conduct of *Rumitalca* a tribune, to ſeize on *Nice*; which they did accordingly without the loſs of a ſingle man [l]. *Valens*, alarmed at the uſurper's unexpected progreſs, diſpatched *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemanns*, to recover that important place, while he went in perſon to lay ſiege to *Chalcedon*, from which city one of his laws is dated the firſt of *December* [m]; but he met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to give over the enterpriſe, the beſieged inſulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of *Sabaiarius*, that is, *Beer-drinker*, *ſabaia* being a kind of ſmall drink made of barley, and common in *Pannonia*, where *Valens* was born. *Rumitalca*, who commanded in *Nice*, being informed of his retreat, ſallied out with great boldneſs, and bearing down all before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not *Valens*, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a quite different route by the lake *Sunona*, and the windings of the river *Gallus* [n]. Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon *Bithynia* to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to *Ancyra*, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which *Lupicinus* was leading out of the eaſt to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, *Arintheus*, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great proweſs and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one *Hyperechius*, formerly an apparitor, and ſcorning to enter the liſts with ſuch a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, *Hyperechius*'s own men to bring to him in chains their vile and deſpicable leader; which they did accordingly, ſtruck with the awful and majeſtic mien of that renowned commander [o]. But, in the mean time, *Procopius*, being informed, that the money allotted for the pay of the ſoldiers who ſerved in the eaſt, was lodged in the city of *Cyzicus*, haſtened thither, laid ſiege to the place, and in the end reduced it, though defended with great reſolution and intrepidity by *Seronianus*, at

He is joined by a party of the emperor's troops.

Valens *obliged to raiſe the ſiege of* Chalcedon.

Procopius *ſeizes on* Cyzicus, *and the treaſure lodged there.*

[k] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324. [l] Idem, p. 325. [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76. [n] Ammian. ibid. Socrat. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. [o] Ammian. ibid.

that

that time *comes domeſticorum*, who found means to make his eſcape, as *Zoſimus* informs us [p]; but was afterwards taken in *Lydia*, carried priſoner to *Nice*, and there by *Marcellus* governor of the place, put to death. *Procopius* being, by the reduction of this place, become maſter of the *Helleſpont*, he appointed *Hormiſda* governor of that province, with the title of proconſul. He was the ſon of *Hormiſda*, brother to *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, who, as we have related elſewhere, had, in the year 323, taken refuge in the court of *Conſtantine the Great*, and ever after ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity. *Procopius* ſpent the beſt part of the winter in endeavouring to draw over to his party the cities of *Aſia*; but his deſigns were in great meaſure defeated by *Clearchus* vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a ſudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had ſubmitted to him with exorbitant taxes, tho' he knew, that their averſion to *Valens* was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people againſt him, than his commanding the houſe of *Arbetio* to be ſtripped of the moveables of ineſtimable value, and of the immenſe riches, which that ancient and brave commander had amaſſed under *Conſtantius*. He gave him this unſeaſonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendſhip with him, upon his declining to wait upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it [q]. The following year 366, *Valens*, upon the arrival of the troops from the eaſt under the command of *Lupicinus*, left *Galatia*, whither he had retired from before *Chalcedon*, and marched into *Lycia*, with a deſign to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As the ſoldiers of *Procopius* were greatly animated by the preſence of *Fauſtina*, *Conſtantius*'s widow, and her little daughter *Conſtantina*, whom *Procopius* carried about with him, and often expoſed to the view of the army, *Valens*, to defeat that artifice, prevailed upon *Arbetio*, who had commanded the forces under *Conſtantius*, and was beloved by the ſoldiery, to join him, not doubting, but the preſence and intereſt of one of that prince's chief commanders, would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the preſence of *Arbetio*, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of *Procopius*'s men; which *Gomoarius*, one of his chief commanders, being well

He grows tyrannical.

[p] *Zos.* p. 328. [q] AMMIAN. p. 327, EUNAP. c. 5. p. 84. THEMIST. orat. vii. p. 92—99.

apprifed

Procopius abandoned by some of his chief officers.

appriſed of, thought it adviſeable to abandon the tyrant, and ſubmit to *Valens* [t]. This happened, according to *Zoſimus*, in the neighbourhood of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, in the heat of a battle, while *Valens* was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the courageous behaviour and prudent conduct of young *Hormiſda* [u]. We queſtion whether this can be reconciled with what we read in *Ammianus*. After this, *Valens* advanced to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Nicolia*, a city of *Phrygia*, where he gave the rebels battle, the iſſue whereof continued doubtful, till *Agilo*, by nation a *German*, one of *Procopius*'s chief commanders, with many others, went over to *Valens*; which ſo diſheartened *Procopius*, that, quitting his horſe, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon ſhining out with great brightneſs, they began to apprehend they might be diſcovered. Hereupon *Procopius*'s two companions, ſeizing him to ſave themſelves, carried him bound to the emperor who immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to *Valentinian* then in *Gaul* [x]. *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* were likewiſe put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, contrary to the rules of juſtice and equity: for had they betrayed, ſays that writer, a lawful prince, their treaſon had deſerved to be puniſhed with death; but as he was a rebel and uſurper, they had great reaſon to expect another ſort of reward for their ſeaſonable ſervice [y]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the army cauſed *Florentius* to be burnt alive, for his cruelties to thoſe of their party at *Nice* [w], he having been appointed by *Procopius*, governor of that city; but from *Ammianus* it is evident, that *Marcellus*, of whom anon, and not *Florentius* was governor of that city. What *Socrates* writes [x] of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned *Procopius*, and likewiſe his two generals, *Agilo* and *Gomoarius*, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deſerves no credit, ſince *Ammianus*, who never ſpares *Valens*, in diſplaying with great minuteneſs his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in expreſs terms, that *Araxes*, father-in-law to *Agilo*, by his intereſt obtained his pardon, tho' he had been *præfectus prætorio* to *Procopius* [y]. Such was the end of this uſurper, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor for the ſpace of about eight months. He

Defeated, taken, and put to death.

[t] Ammian. p. 327. 328. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 739. [x] Ammian. p. 329. Philost. l. vii. c. 5. p. 123. [y] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 335. & l. xxvi. p. 329. [w] Philost. p. 123. [x] Socrat. l. iv. c. 5. p. 214. [y] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 329.

was

was put to death, according to *Idatius* and *Socrates*, on the twenty ſeventh of *May*; but on the twentieth of *June*, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was born of an illuſtrious family in *Cilicia*, and nearly related to the emperor *Julian*. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by *Conſtantius* on account of his integrity, and raiſed by *Julian* to great employments, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of count. When that prince ſet out on his memorable expedition againſt the *Perſians*, he inveſted him and count *Sebaſtian* with the command of a body of thirty thouſand choſen men, who were to remain in *Meſopotamia*, and cover the empire on that ſide againſt any ſudden irruption of the enemy [a]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he delivered up to *Jovian* the purple robe, which *Julian* was ſaid, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to aſſume it, if he ſhould happen to die before his return from *Perſia* [a]. That writer adds, that thereupon *Jovian* gave him leave to retire with his family to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain from *Ammianus*, that he was ſent by *Jovian* to attend the corpſe of *Julian* to *Tarſus*; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himſelf concealed till he aſſumed the title of emperor, which occaſioned his ruin. He was, according to *Ammianus*, a man of few words, cloſe and reſerved; of no mean preſence, tho' he went ſomewhat ſtooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper; yet he was always averſe to the ſhedding of blood, which, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, was a thing to be wondered at, conſidering the moroſeneſs of his diſpoſition [b]. *Marcellus*, governor of *Nice*, and kinſman to *Procopius*, hearing of his death, ordered *Serenianus*, who was kept cloſe priſoner in the place, to be immediately diſpatched, ſaving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, ſays *Ammianus*; for as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great aſcendant over *Valens*, whoſe countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of *Procopius*'s party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himſelf, to revenge, and occaſioned the deſtruction of many perſons, innocent as well as guilty [c]. After this bold execution, *Marcellus* being informed, that a body of *Goths* was marching to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius*, and not doubting but he ſhould be able to draw them over to his own party, ſeized on the city of *Chalcedon*; and being aſſiſted by ſome, whom poverty and deſpair had driven into rebellion, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſed him-

His birth, preferments, and character.

Marcellus revolts;

[a] Idem ibid. [a] Zos. l. iv. p. 736. [b] AMMIAN. ibid.
[c] Idem. l. xxvi. p. 325.

ſelf to be proclaimed emperor. But *Valens*, upon the firſt notice of his revolt, diſpatched without delay a party of choſen men againſt him, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, ſeized him, and, having loaded him with chains, dragged him to the public priſon; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death [d]. *Themiſtius*, in his panegyric upon *Valens*, written a few months after the death of *Procopius*, tells us, that he uſed his victory with great moderation, puniſhing only the chief authors of the revolt [e]. But *Ammianus* [f] and *Zoſimus* [g] aſſure us, that he proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt ſuch as were but barely ſuſpected of having favoured the rebels. His ears were open to all complaints and informations; and few who had the misfortune to be accuſed, were ſo happy as to eſcape death, baniſhment, or confiſcations, till the emperor had glutted himſelf with blood, and filled his own coffers, and thoſe of his friends likewiſe. He ordered the city of *Chalcedon* to be diſmantled, purſuant to an oath he had taken; but the inhabitants of *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, and *Conſtantinople*, interceding in behalf of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the ſame time with their requeſt, and his own oath, he cauſed only part of the walls to be demoliſhed, which he immediately rebuilt with ſmaller ſtones, ordering the others to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, where they were made uſe of to build a public bath, called the *Thermæ*, or *hot baths of* Conſtantius, if *Socrates* is not miſtaken [h]; for it is certain, that *Valens* built at *Conſtantinople* a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter *Caroſa* [i], which was ended in 375. This year the empreſs *Albia Dominica* was on the eighteenth of *January*, delivered of a ſon, named *Valentinian*, and ſurnamed *Galata*, no doubt, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*, where *Valens* paſſed the firſt months of this year, as we have obſerved.

But is taken and tortured to death.

Valens reſolves to make war upon the Goths.

The following year 367, *Valens*, hearing that a body of three thouſand *Goths*, who were come to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius*, and had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet paſſed the *Danube*, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt them, who cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners [k]. Hereupon *Athanaric*, at that time king, or rather judge, of the *Goths*, named *Thervingi* (for he ſeems to have declined the

[d] Idem, p. 326, 327. [e] Themist. orat. vii. p. 84. [f] Ammian p. 330. [g] Zos. l. iv. p 739. [h] Socrat. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. [i] Ammian. p. 614. Chron. Alex. p. 704. [k] Zos, l. iv. p. 740. Eunap. de legation, p. 18.

royal

royal title), diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, earneſtly entreating him to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and ſuffer them to return to their own country, ſince they had been ſent by their prince, a friend and ally of the *Romans*, to the aſſiſtance of a *Roman* emperor. The embaſſadors, after having delivered this meſſage, produced a letter from *Procopius* to their maſter, wherein he aſſured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinſman of *Conſtantius*, and the heir of the great *Conſtantine*'s family. *Valens* returned, it ſeems, no anſwer to the embaſſadors; but ſent *Victor*, then *magiſter equitum*, or general of the horſe, to complain in his name of *Athanaric*, for aſſiſting a rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign. The *Goths* anſwered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinſman of *Conſtantine*, and heir of his family, adding, that it was not their buſineſs to examine, whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, ſince their counſels had been influenced by what appeared to them juſt and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their priſoners, *Valens*, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being deſirous to humble that powerful nation [l]. *Ammianus* thinks he had juſtice on his ſide [m]; but *Eunapius* will not take upon him to decide whether he had or no [n]. This war was likely to prove very dangerous, the *Goths* being then very powerful, and beſides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations, if *Jornandes* is to be credited [o], who ſeems to have been but indifferently acquainted with the hiſtory of his country, ſince he takes no notice of the preſent war. *Valens*, being bent upon war, and well appriſed of the ſtrength and power of the enemy, made vaſt preparations during the winter, with a deſign to fall upon the enemy early in the ſpring. Before he ſet out on ſo dangerous an expedition, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the ſacrament of baptiſm; but, out of complaiſance to the empreſs, at the hands of *Eudoxius*, then biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, a leading man among the *Arians*, who, in adminiſtering to him that ſacrament, obliged him to ſwear, that, to his death, he would adhere to the doctrine of *Arius*, and look upon thoſe who oppoſed it as enemies to truth; which oath he but too ſtrictly obſerved, as the reader may find in the eccleſiaſtic writers of thoſe times. He had before ſhewed no ſmall partiality to the

He is baptiſed by the Arians.

[l] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340. EUNAP. p. 18. *Zos.* p. 748. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643.
[m] AMMIAN. p. 338.
[n] EUNAP. p. 18.
[o] JORN. ibid. c. 3. p. 642, 643.

Arians; but thenceforth he became their great patron, and a cruel perſecutor of the catholics. But to return to the war: the emperor being informed, that the *Goths*, appriſed of his deſign, were aſſembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the firſt, took the field before the winter was over; and having ſent ſtrong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, he encamped with the reſt of his army in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia*, where he raiſed *Auxonius* to the dignity of prefect, in the room of *Saluſtius Secundus*, no longer able to diſcharge that office, on account of his great age. He was ſtill at *Marcianopolis* on the thirtieth of *May*, as appears from the dates of ſome laws [p]; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in *Ammianus* [q] and *Zoſimus* [r], *viz.* that in the beginning of the ſpring he left that city, and having aſſembled his troops, he paſſed the *Danube* at a place called *Daphne*, and ſpent the whole ſummer in ravaging and laying waſte the enemy's country, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, the *Goths* having fled, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, to the neighbouring mountains, called *Serri*, inacceſſible to thoſe who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of *September* at *Doroſterum* in *Mœſia*, and on the thirty-firſt of *January* of the enſuing year 368, at *Marcianopolis* [s], where, without all doubt, he paſſed the winter. This year the *Iſaurians*, who had continued quiet ever ſince the year 359, over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and advancing as far as *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, where they amaſſed an immenſe booty. *Muſonius*, vicar of *Aſia*, endeavoured to reſtrain them; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. *Muſonius* had taught rhetoric at *Athens*, from which employment he was raiſed to the dignity of proconſul of *Achaia*, and afterwards to that of vicar of *Aſia*. However, the *Iſaurians* were in the end ſurrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and, their retreat being cut off, obliged to ſubmit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were ſpared, upon their promiſing to give no moleſtation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376, that is, for the ſpace of ten years [t]. *Germanicopolis* was their chief

He paſſes the Danube, *and lays waſte the country of the* Goths.

Great diſorders committed by the Iſaurian *robbers.*

[p] Cod Theod. chron p 79 [q] Ammian. p. 340. [r] Zos. p. 741. [s] Cod Theod chron. p. 80, 81. [t] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 348, 349. Eunap. c. 8. p. 125. 126.

city,

city, and in the fifth century an epiſcopal ſee; but not at this time, for a biſhop could find no employment among perſons who were robbers by profeſſion. The following year 368, *Valens* was ſtill at *Marcianopolis* on the ninth of *March* [u], and heard there his panegyric pronounced by *Themiſtius*, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign. The orator mentions in his ſpeech an eaſtern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very conſiderable, to have the honour of ſerving under *Valens* [w]. Some writers conjecture this prince to have been *Para*, the ſon of *Arſaces* king of *Armenia*, who came to implore the aſſiſtance of *Valens* againſt the *Perſians*, and continued ſome time at *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*; but he cannot be ſaid to have ſerved under *Valens*. One *Bacurus*, ſtyled king of *Iberia*, ſerved under *Valens* at the battle of *Adrianople* [x], as he did afterwards under *Theodoſius* [y]; and him perhaps *Themiſtius* meant. From *Marcianopolis* the emperor marched early in the ſpring to *Carpi*, a village, as is ſuppoſed, of *Mœſia*, with a deſign to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country: but he was obliged to remain encamped in the ſame place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to croſs the *Danube*, which continued ſwelled beyond meaſure all that ſummer. He therefore returned to *Marcianopolis*, where he took up his winter-quarters [z]. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of *November*, and another the thirteenth of *December* [a]. This year is remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of *Nice* was utterly ruined, and in that of *Germa* in the *Helleſpont* only a few houſes left ſtanding [b]. The following year, 369, the emperor was ſtill at *Marcianopolis* on the third of *May*; but at *Noviodunum* in *Leſſer Scythia* on the third and fifth of *July* [c], where he paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Zoſimus* tells us, that the *Goths* ſallying frequently out of their woods and marſhes upon the *Romans*, the emperor diſpatched againſt them the ſervants who attended the army, promiſing them a certain ſum for each head they ſhould bring. Hereupon ſuch numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marſhes where they lurked, that the reſt finding no-where a ſafe re-

He invades anew the country of the Goths.

[u] Cod. Theod. chron. p 81. [w] THEMIST. orat. viii. p. 433. [x] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 460. [y] RUF. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. [z] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 460. [a] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 83. [b] HIER. chron. SOCR. l. 4. c. 11. p. 219. [c] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87.

treat,

treat, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace [d]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Ammianus*, whoſe authority is of greater weight, informs us, that *Valens*, having attacked the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation, at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Danube*, after ſeveral encounters, gained a great victory over *Athanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him [e]. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a deſign to winter there, and renew the war early in the ſpring. But, in the mean while, the *Goths*, weary of ſo deſtructive a war, which had laſted already three years, and reduced them to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Valens* at firſt refuſed to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with much-ado, prevailed upon by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* to hearken to their propoſals. Thus *Themiſtius*, who was at the head of the *Conſtantinopolitan* deputies [f]. *Valens*, having at their requeſt diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with a favourable anſwer, approached the *Danube*, and named *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After ſome conferences, a peace was concluded upon the following terms, highly honourable for the *Romans*, viz. 1. That the *Goths* ſhould not for the future paſs the *Danube*, nor ſet foot on the *Roman* territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleaſed, ſhould be reſtrained to two only, ſituated on the *Danube*. 3. That they ſhould not for the future claim nor expect the penſions that had been annually paid them by other emperors; but nevertheleſs, that *Athanaric*'s penſion ſhould be continued to him [g]. This was the firſt peace, concludes *Themiſtius*, which the *Romans* had in our memory granted to, and not purchaſed of, the *Goths*. When *Valens* and *Athanaric* were to meet, in order to ratify and ſign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to paſs the *Danube*, pretending, that his father had obliged him ſolemnly to ſwear never to tread on *Roman* ground. On the other hand, *Valens*, thinking it below the majeſty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes ſhould meet in boats in the middle of the river; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual ſatisfaction [h]. *Themiſtius*, who was preſent at this interview, deſcribes it much at length, but more like an orator than an hiſtorian [i]. He pronounced his ſpeech in all likelihood at *Conſtantinople*, whither he retired after the conclu-

The Goths *defeated, ſue for peace, and obtain it.*

Articles of the treaty.

[d] Zos. l. iv. p. 741. [e] Ammian. p 341. [f] Themist. orat. x. p. 133. [g] Idem p. 135. [h] Ammian. p. 341, 342. [i] Themist. orat. x. p. 132, 133.

ſion

ſion of the treaty; for, according to the code, he was at *Marcianopolis* on the ſecond of *December*, and on the thirtieth of the ſame month at *Conſtantinople* [k]. This year, dreadful diſorders were committed in *Syria* by the inhabitants of a large village near *Apamea*, called *Maratacupris*, who, roving about the county, robbed all they met, and had even the boldneſs to enter ſome cities in the night-time, and plunder the houſes of the moſt wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon *Valens* ſent a party of ſoldiers againſt them, with orders to ſet fire to their village, and put them all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age; which was done accordingly with the utmoſt rigour, the ſoldiers being in expreſs terms injoined not to ſpare even the ſucking children [l].

Severity of Valens *to ſome robbers.*

THE following year, 370, *Valens*, leaving *Conſtantinople*, ſet out for *Antioch*; but he had ſcarce reached *Nicomedia*, when he received news of the death of *Eudoxius*, the *Arian* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in whoſe room the *Arians*, with his approbation, placed one *Demophilus*. The catholics too choſe their biſhop, and raiſed to that ſee *Evagrius*; but the emperor ſent a party of ſoldiers from *Nicomedia*, with orders to drive him out. The *Arians*, thus countenanced by the emperor, raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the catholics, who thereupon had recourſe to *Valens*, ſending eighty eccleſiaſtics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, inſtead of redreſſing them ordered *Modeſtus*, who had been raiſed this year to the dignity of prefect in the room of *Auxonius*, to put them all to death. *Modeſtus*, fearing the public execution of ſo many eccleſiaſtics might occaſion great diſturbances, put them all on board a veſſel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be ſent into baniſhment; but when the veſſel was at ſome diſtance from land, the mariners ſet fire to it, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſaving themſelves in their boat. The ſhip was driven by a ſtrong wind into a harbour called by *Socrates*, *Dacidazus*, and there conſumed with all who were in it. This cruelty, ſays that writer, was puniſhed by heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged moſt of the inhabitants of *Phrygia* to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief [m]. Some unforeſeen accident muſt have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to *Antioch*; for he was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, on the tenth of *June* at *Cyzicus*; on the twelfth of *December* of this year, and during the months of *January*, *February*, and

Valens *cauſes eighty orthodox eccleſiaſtics to be put to death.*

[k] Cod. Theod. chron. 86. [l] AMMIAN. l. xxviii p. 367, 368. [m] SOCR. l. iv. c. 15, p. 226.

April

April of the enſuing year at *Conſtantinople* [n]; which he left after the fifth of *May* [o], and ſet out for *Syria*, advancing ſlowly, and adminiſtering juſtice in all the cities through which he paſſed; which would have gained him the affections of the inhabitants, had he not at the ſame time made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh every-where the hereſy of *Arius*, and betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the catholics [p]. He paſſed the winter at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where, to his unſpeakable grief, his only ſon *Valentinian Galata* died. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that, during his malady, the emperor had recourſe to the prayers of St. *Baſil*, who was then at *Cæſarea*, and promiſed to reſtore the child to health, provided *Valens* would ſuffer him to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm at the hands of an orthodox biſhop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptiſed by the *Arians*, the young prince immediately died [q].

Valentinian, *his only ſon, dies.*

This year the emperor divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, appointing *Tyana* the metropolis of *Cappadocia Secunda*, as *Cæſarea* was of *Cappadocia Prima*. At the ſame time he divided *Paleſtine* into three provinces, *viz.* *Palæſtina Prima*, *Palæſtina Secunda*, and *Palæſtina Salutaris*. *Cæſarea* was the metropolis of the firſt, *Scythopolis* of the ſecond, and *Petra* of the third. The latter city, with the greateſt part of *Palæſtina Salutaris*, was diſmembered from *Arabia*, as were ſeveral cities in the two other provinces from *Phœnicia*. The governor of *Palæſtina Prima* was honoured with the title of *conſular*; but thoſe of the other two were only ſtyled *preſidents* [r]. At what time *Lycaonia*, which had *Iconium* for its metropolis, was made a ſeparate province, and thoſe of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, divided into two, and *Arabia* into three, we will not take upon us to determine. Theſe diviſions of provinces proved very burdenſome to the people, and raiſed quarrels and diſputes among the metropolitan biſhops, as appears from the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and the letters of St. *Baſil*.

Cappadocia *divided into two provinces, and* Paleſtine *into three.*

The following year 372, *Valens* left *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* early in the ſpring; for he was at *Seleucia* on the fourth of *April*, and on the thirteenth of the ſame month at *Antioch* [s]. Soon after his arrival in that city, *Libanius* pronounced in his preſence part of a ſpeech compoſed in his praiſe, the other

[n] Cod. Theod. chron. p 87—89. [o] Idem ibid. [p] *Zos.* l. iv. p. 742. [q] Greg. Naz orat. xx p 351. [r] Hier. quæſt. Hebr. p. 212 Cod. Theod. tit 4 p. 171. notit. c. 1 p 3. Noris. epoch. p. 401, 402. [s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

part,

part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleaſure, if the orator himſelf is to be credited; but the remaining part of his ſpeech was never pronounced [t]. *Valens* was come to *Antioch* to watch the motions of the *Perſians*; for *Sapor* laying claim to *Armenia*, which had formerly belonged to the kings of *Perſia*, but not caring openly to invade it, left the *Romans* ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendſhip for *Arſaces* their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be ſeized, and, having put out his eyes, ſent him in chains to a caſtle, called *Agabana*, where he was ſoon after put to death [u]. This in all likelihood is what gave occaſion to the long account we read in *Procopius* of the captivity of *Arſaces* king of *Armenia*, taken priſoner by one *Pacurus* king of *Perſia* [w]; an account which has all the air of a romance. *Sapor*, having thus treacherouſly diſpatched *Arſaces*, gave the government of *Armenia* to *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his intereſt. Then, driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the *Romans* had created king of *Iberia*, he put one *Aſpacuras* in his place, couſin-german to *Sauromaces*, honouring him with a diadem, which the *Romans* had refuſed to the other [x]. *Olympias*, the daughter of *Ablavius*, one of *Conſtantine*'s chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to *Arſaces*, was no ſooner informed of the captivity of her huſband, than ſhe took refuge with her ſon *Paras* in a ſtrong fort called *Artogeraſſa*, where the king's treaſures were lodged. *Cylax* and *Artabanes* were immediately ordered by *Sapor* to lay ſiege to the place; which they did accordingly: but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince, they agreed with the beſieged to abandon the *Perſians* to their fury; who were accordingly almoſt all to a man cut off in a ſally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themſelves in the camp were aſleep, *Cylax* and *Artabanes* having given out, that the beſieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to conſider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen thus delivered from the preſent danger, ſent her ſon *Paras* to implore the aſſiſtance of the emperor, who cauſed him to be entertained for ſome time at *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, in a man-

Sapor *begins new troubles in* Armenia *and* Iberia

[t] Liban. vit. p. 48. [u] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii. p. 353. [w] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 5. p. 15—17. [x] AMMIAN. p. 353—344.

ner ſuitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to aſſiſt him openly, at the requeſt of the nobility of *Armenia*, he charged *Terentius*, who commanded on the borders of that country, with the title of *comes* or count, to conduct him into his father's kingdom, which he ſuffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the enſigns of royalty, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace. *Sapor* was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed in *Armenia*, than, tranſported with rage, he ſent a ſtrong body of troops into that kingdom, who, committing every where dreadful ravages, obliged *Paras*, noways in a condition to oppoſe them, to take refuge, with *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, among the inacceſſible mountains between the *Roman* territories and *Lazica*. The *Perſians*, in the mean time, after having taken and burnt ſeveral ſtrong-holds, ſat down at length before *Artogeraſſa*, which, after ſeveral attacks, they took and deſtroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treaſures of *Arſaces*. *Sapor*, finding he could not get *Paras* into his power, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, in which he ſeldom miſcarried; and by private meſſages to the young prince, whoſe cauſe he promiſed to eſpouſe, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, who, he ſaid, were rather his governors than miniſters, and ſend them to him into *Perſia* [y]. *Valens*, who had hitherto declined ſending troops into *Armenia*, leſt he ſhould be charged with a breach of the peace, was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he ordered *Arintheus*, one of the beſt commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preſerved, the *Perſians* not daring to ſend more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Sapor* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, complaining of his ſending troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Armenians*, which, he ſaid, was a manifeſt breach of the treaty concluded between him and *Jovian*. *Valens*, without regarding the complaints of the *Perſian* king, ſent a new reinforcement of troops to *Arintheus*, and at the ſame time diſpatched *Terentius* with twelve legions into *Iberia*, to reſtore *Sauromaces*, driven out of his kingdom by the *Perſians*. *Terentius* was met, as he drew near the river *Cyrus*, by embaſſadors from *Aſpacuras*, whom the *Perſians* had created king of *Iberia*, deſiring, that he and his kinſman *Sauromaces* might reign jointly, ſince he could neither reſign, nor take part with the *Romans*, by reaſon his ſon was detained as an hoſtage in the *Perſian* court. The

He ſeizes and deſtroys ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Armenia.

Valens *ſends troops to the aſſiſtance of the* Armenians.

[y] Idem ibid.

emperor,

emperor, being acquainted with his propoſal, and willing to ſettle the affairs of *Iberia* without bloodſhed, conſented to a partition of the country, aſſigning to *Sauromaces* that part which lay ſouth of the river *Cyrus*, and next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*, and the remainder, bordering upon *Albania* and *Perſia*, to *Aſpacuras* [z]. This highly incenſed *Sapor*, who loudly complained, that the *Romans*, contrary to the treaty of peace, had ſent troops into *Armenia*, and, deſpiſing his embaſſy, had, without his knowledge or conſent, divided *Iberia*. Being now reſolved to make open war upon the *Romans*, he aſſembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and ſpent the winter of this year, 372, in vaſt preparations. However, he could not, it ſeems, put himſelf in a condition to act this year; for we do not find that he attempted any thing, or even appeared in the field. As for *Valens*, he advanced to the banks of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conſpiracy was, it ſeems, formed againſt *Valens*, but ſeaſonably diſcovered [a]; and this is all we find in hiſtory concerning it. The following year *Sapor* ſent a conſiderable army towards the borders of the *Roman* empire, where they were met by *Trajan*, an officer of great experience, and *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemanns*, at the head of a numerous and choſen body of troops. The *Roman* generals had orders not to attack the *Perſians* the firſt, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the *Perſians* falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, *Valens* readily conſented to a truce; which was no ſooner concluded, than he returned to *Antioch*, and *Sapor* to *Cteſiphon*; for both princes had advanced as far as *Meſopotamia*, to ſupport their reſpective generals [b].

Iberia *divided into two kingdoms.*

The Perſians defeated.

THE following year, while *Valens* was paſſing the winter at *Antioch*, many of all ranks and conditions were accuſed of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the perſon who was to ſucceed *Valens* in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared that *Theodorus*, the emperor's ſecond ſecretary, was the man whom the ſtars ſeemed to have deſtined to the empire. *Theodorus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family in *Gaul*, or, as others will have it, in *Sicily*, endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments, and in every reſpect worthy of

The conſpiracy of Theodorus.

[z] Idem, p. 355. THEMIST. orat. ii. p. 143—149. [a] THEMIST. or. xi. p. 148. [b] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 383.

the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aſpiring at it, and endeavouring to raiſe himſelf, by unlawful means, to that high ſtation [c]; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. *Ammianus*, who, it ſeems, was then at *Antioch*, or at leaſt in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and diſtinct account of what paſſed on that occaſion, which it would be too tedious to tranſcribe. *Theodorus* was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conſpired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in *Ammianus* [d], whoſe authority is of more weight with us than that of *Sozomen*, who writes, that he was burnt alive [e]. As *Theodorus*, and the others concerned in this conſpiracy, were pagans, *Libanius* endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, he is not aſhamed to tell us, that *Theodorus* was condemned unjuſtly [f], though both *Zoſimus* [g] and *Ammianus* [h] own, that he aſpired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treaſon, and that the emperor narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated. No one would have complained, if only *Theodorus* and his accomplices had ſuffered; but innumerable innocent perſons were, on that occaſion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or ſent into baniſhment: a diligent ſearch was made, not only after thoſe who had been privy to the conſpiracy, but after ſuch as were only ſuſpected of practiſing magic, or uſing magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accuſed and ſeized, that the public priſons could no longer contain them, and few of thoſe who were apprehended, had the good luck to eſcape death or baniſhment. *Diogenes*, formerly governor of *Bithynia*, was publicly executed; and *Salia*, treaſurer of *Thrace*, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was ſuppoſed, by an apprehenſion of the torture he was to undergo [i]. *Baſſianus*, whom ſome writers ſuppoſe to have been the ſon of *Baſianus Cæſar*, brother-in-law to *Conſtantine the Great* [k], was ſaved by the powerful interceſſion of his relations, who were all perſons of great diſtinction; but ſtript of his eſtate, and all his effects. The two brothers, *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers-in-law to *Conſtantius*, who had been conſuls in 359, were accuſed of having aſpired at the empire; and though the charge could not be proved, yet they were

Who is beheaded.

Many innocent perſons put to death.

[c] Ammian. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. c. 35. p. 229. [d] Ammian. p. 389. [e] Sozom. p. 694. [f] Liban. vit. p. 69. [g] Zos. p. 743. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idem, p. 390. [k] Cange Byz. fam.

baniſhed,

baniſhed, and condemned to pay a great fine, but ſoon after recalled with great honour [l]. *Eutropius*, proconſul of *Aſia*, was accuſed of having been privy to the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*; but the philoſopher *Paſiphilus*, who was brought as an evidence againſt him, having ſuffered all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was diſmiſſed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to *Feſtus* the hiſtorian, who diſcharged it for the ſpace of five years with the utmoſt cruelty. *Alypius*, formerly vicar of *Britain*, and employed by *Julian* in rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was accuſed with his ſon *Hierocles*, the diſciple of *Libanius*, as a poiſoner; the father was ſtript of his eſtate, and baniſhed; and the ſon condemned to death, but ſaved, as *Ammianus* writes, without explaining himſelf any farther, by a favourable accident [m]. But the moſt rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philoſophers, who were, generally ſpeaking, addicted to the ſtudy of magic. The moſt conſiderable among them were publicly executed, *viz.* *Hilarius*, who was burnt alive, *Patricius*, *Andronicus*, and *Cæranius*: *Maximus*, the famous maſter of *Julian*, was carried to *Antioch* to be examined there, and afterwards ſent back to *Epheſus*, where *Feſtus* ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he was then ſo ill, that he muſt have ended his life in a few days, without the intervention of the executioner [n]. *Zonaras* writes, that the philoſopher *Iamblichus*, by a draught of poiſon, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands [o]. *Valens* expected, and greatly deſired, to find *Libanius* in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alledged againſt him, though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himſelf owns, not free from all guilt; but as to the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*, he ſolemnly proteſts, that he was altogether a ſtranger to it [p]. A diligent ſearch was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever diſcovered, were committed to the flames, with thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they were found. 'Theſe inquiries extended to all the provinces ſubject to *Valens*; and from the moſt remote parts were daily brought to *Antioch* numbers of people to be tried as magicians, becauſe books of magic had been found in their cuſtody. *Ammianus* tells us, that the officers themſelves, out of ſpite or malice, often conveyed privately, among the other writings, ſome charm or inchantment; upon which the perſons, to whom

Maximus and other philoſophers put to death.

[l] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 392. [m] Idem, p. 390. [n] Idem ibid. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 83, 89. [o] ZONAR. p. 28. [p] LIB. vit. p. 56, 57.

whom they were ſuppoſed to belong, were immediately ſeized and condemned, and their eſtates confiſcated. Hereupon perſons of all ranks were ſeized with ſuch dread and terror, that they burnt their libraries, leſt, amongſt their other books any ſhould be found, unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occaſion *Feſtus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the other miniſters of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmoſt inhumanity, and putting to death, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, ſuch as were convicted or only ſuſpected of having uſed any kind of charms or inchantments: he tortured the philoſopher *Cæranius* till he expired, for no other crime but becauſe in a private letter to his wife he had uſed a proverbial expreſſion, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' ſhe had before been ſent for, with his knowledge and conſent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with ſucceſs: a young man being obſerved in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breaſt, to repeat the ſeven vowels, which he fancied was a preſent remedy againſt a pain in the ſtomach, *Feſtus* cauſed him to be immediately ſeized, tortured, and executed [q]. At *Antioch*, a perſon being accuſed of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not ſave him; for though the book could not be produced againſt him, yet he was, after a ſhort hearing, condemned, and publicly executed. A few days after, St. *Chryſoſtom*, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to viſit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the ſtrand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curioſity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the ſame time obſerved, not without dread and horror, a ſoldier at a ſmall diſtance, ſo that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had deſigned at firſt, into the river, leſt the ſoldier ſhould ſuſpect and ſeize them. However, *Chryſoſtom*'s companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to eſcape without being ſearched, tho' every ſoldier was impowered to ſearch all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been diſcovered, they muſt both have inevitably periſhed; but they found means of throwing it again into the river,

Feſtus practiſes great cruelties in Aſia.

St. Chryſoſtom in danger.

[q] Ammian, ibid.

without

without being obſerved [r]. *Socrates* writes, that an oracle having anſwered thoſe, who came to inquire who ſhould ſucceed *Valens*, that the firſt part of his name was *Theod*, the emperor, acquainted with that anſwer, cauſed not only *Theodorus* to be put to death, but all thoſe whoſe names began with thoſe letters, ſuch as *Theodulus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodoſius*, *&c.* among theſe was, according to that writer, one *Theodoſiolus* or *Theodoſius*, a *Spaniſh* lord of great diſtinction [s]. *Ammianus* and *Zoſimus* give us a very minute account of the other cruelties of *Valens*, without taking the leaſt notice of this, which makes us queſtion the truth of what *Socrates* writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary ſeverity which *Valens* exerted on this occaſion againſt magicians, aruſpices, aſtrologers, and diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the chriſtian, writers [t]. If *Valens* looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſtrive to prevent their being accompliſhed: and truly, in ſpite of all his cruelties, he was ſucceeded by *Theodoſius*, whoſe name began with the letters, which, if *Socrates* is to be credited, he ſo much dreaded. This fire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Libanius* [u], continued raging till the emperor was diverted by another, which the *Goths* kindled three years after in *Thrace*. This year is likewiſe remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherouſly murdered by the *Romans*, *viz.* of *Gabinius*, king of the *Quadi*, in the weſt; and of *Paras*, king of *Armenia*, in the eaſt. Of the former we have ſpoken in the reign of *Valentinian*: as to the latter, he had in ſome degree ſubmitted to the king of *Perſia*, as we have obſerved above, but afterwards renewed, it ſeems, his alliance with the *Romans*, and was by them acknowledged king, ſince *Ammianus* gives him that title; but ſeveral perſons at the head of whom was count *Terentius*, having tranſmitted to court diſadvantageous accounts of his conduct and adminiſtration, the emperor ſent for him, as if he deſigned to adviſe with him about the proſecution of the *Perſian* war.

Upon his arrival at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but being in the mean time informed, that the emperor's deſign was to arreſt him, and ſend another to be king of *Armenia* in his ſtead, he reſolved to make his eſcape, with the aſſiſtance of three hundred of

Paras, *king of* Armenia, *detained at* Tarſus.

[r] CHRYS. in Act. hom. xxxviii. p. 340. [s] SOCR. l. iv. c. 15. p. 229. [t] Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694. SOCR. l. iv. c. 15. p. 229. [u] Lib. vit. p. 58.

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He makes his escape.

his own subjects, who persuaded him to it, and privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening; but were soon pursued and overtaken by a whole legion, sent on purpose to prevent their escape. At their approach, *Paras* faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they made more haste to fly from him, than they had done to overtake him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the *Euphrates*, which he passed upon barrels joined together, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his escape, dispatched a thousand archers under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well acquainted with the country, to which *Paras* was altogether a stranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from each other, through one of which they took for granted he would pass. But being informed of his danger by a traveller, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he escaped the ambuscade, and got safe to his dominions, where he was received with inexpressible joy, while the *Roman* officers, who had long waited for him, were by all derided and ridiculed upon their disappointment. This incensed them to such a degree against *Paras*, that in order to hasten his ruin, they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consume and waste by degrees a man's body, though at never so great a distance. This so alarmed the emperor, that though *Paras*, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the *Romans*, yet his death was resolved on, and orders sent to *Trajan*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Armenia*, to dispatch him by private treachery, if he could not by open force. The manner which *Trajan* chose to put this base and inhuman command in execution, was no less base and inhuman, than the command itself: for he having gained the young prince's confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from *Valens*, filled with the most tender expressions of kindness, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at his house, during which he caused him to be barbarously murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpose [w].

Is treacherously murdered.

The death of *Paras* gave great uneasiness to *Sapor*, who had hoped to gain him over in the end to his interest. He was therefore no sooner informed of his misfortune, than he dispatched embassadors to *Valens* with proposals for

[w] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 412—415.

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an accommodation. The remaining part of this year was ſpent in negotiations, but without ſucceſs, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army, being deſirous of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with *Jovian*. But, in the mean time, *Thrace* being threatened with a general invaſion of the *Gothiſh* nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Perſians*, but upon what terms we know not. The following year, 375, *Valens* was alarmed by an embaſſy from the *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, deſired leave to ſettle in *Thrace*. But before we ſpeak of that embaſſy, and the memorable events attending it, we muſt take a curſory view of what happened in the weſt after the death of *Valentinian*, who, as we have related already, died at *Bregetio* on the ſeventeenth of *November* of this year. He left two ſons, *viz.* *Gratian*, born in 359, and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt* 367, and *Valentinian* born in 371. As *Gratian* was at a great diſtance from the army when his father died, having been left as we have obſerved above, at *Treves*, the great officers of the court, uncertain what ſuch an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, eſpecially among the *Gauls*, who ſerved in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the *Quadi* beyond the *Danube*, diſpatched a meſſenger with private intelligence of the emperor's death to *Merobaudes* their leader, who thereupon ſent immediately out of the way, purſuant to his inſtructions, count *Sebaſtian*, an officer greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, and then marched back to the camp at *Bregetio*. Upon his arrival, it was reſolved in a general council of all the chief officers boch civil and military, that *Valentinian*, the ſecond ſon of the deceaſed emperor, then a child but four or five years old, ſhould be declared emperor. He was therefore ſent for without delay from a village, named *Muroscincta*, about a hundred miles diſtant from *Bregetio*, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the uſual ſolemnity the ſixth day after the death of his father. This ſtep they took to prevent any ſudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that *Gratian*, who was then but ſeventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper and an uncommon underſtanding, would acquieſce to the motives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or conſent. *Gratian* at firſt complained of their taking ſuch an extraordinary ſtep before they had made him privy to it, but

Gratian *ſucceeds his father* Valentinian.

Valentinian II. *proclaimed emperor by the officers of the army.*

Gratian confirms their election.

immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young *Valentinian* more like his child than his brother [a]. *Victor* [y] and *Zosimus* [z] will have *Equitius* and *Merobaudes* to have been the chief authors of this election, which by *Rufinus* is ascribed to *Probus* [a]. *Merobaudes*, was, according to *Victor*, related to young *Valentinian*, probably by marriage; for he seems, so far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by *Gratian*, and soon after by *Valens*, the western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young *Valentinian* had for his share *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*; and *Gratian*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. This division was made, not by *Gratian*, who was yet too young, as *Zosimus* pretends [b], but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein consult *Valens*, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephew [c]. Notwithstanding this partition, *Gratian* alone governed the western provinces to his death, *Valentinian* not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as *Gratian* lived. The first thing *Gratian* did, after the death of his father and the promotion of his brother, was to recal to court his mother *Severa*, who had been divorced and banished by *Valentinian*, and restored her to her former honours [d].

Maximinus and his accomplices put to death.

The following year, 376, *Valens* was consul the fifth time, and young *Valentinian* the first. This year *Gratian*, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practised by the famous *Maximinus* both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, caused him to be publicly executed; and named one *Antonius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in his room. *Simplicius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* in 374, and *Doryphorianus*, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in *Illyricum*, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of *Severa*, says *Ammianus*, in *Gaul*, whither he was conveyed from the *Tullian* prison in *Rome* [e]. As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a great number of senators to death, *Gratian*, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators [f], which was read by *Symmachus* in the senate on the thirteenth of *August* [g]. To the a-

[x] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. p. 746. Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [y] Victr. epit. [z] Zos. ibid. [a] Ruf. l. ii. c. xii. c. 12. p. 184. [b] Zos. ibid. [c] Eunap. legat. p. 19. [d] Chron. Alex. p. 704. Ammian l. xxviii. p. 306. [e] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 357. [f] Cod. Theodos. p. 96. [g] Symm. l. x. ep. 2. p. 392, 391.

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bove-mentioned execution St. *Jerom* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were executed [h]. *Maximinus*, *Simplicius*, and *Dorypherianus*, had long deſerved the doom which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned count *Theodoſius*, one of the greateſt officers and beſt men of his age, is a ſtain on the character of *Gratian* never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in *Britain* and *Africa*, we have ſpoken at length in the reign of *Valentinian*; but notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at *Carthage*, after he had triumphed over *Firmus*, and with his prudence and induſtry reſtored *Africa* to its former tranquility. His death was owing, if St. *Jerom* [i], *Oroſius* [k], and St. *Ambroſe* [l], are to be credited, to the malicious ſuggeſtions of certain perſons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deſervedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and by that means compaſſed the ruin of a perſon worthy, both for his valour and unblemiſhed conduct, of the greateſt honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earneſt requeſt, baptiſed juſt before he died; ſo that his death was no leſs exemplary, than his life had been glorious [m]. *Socrates* writes, as we have obſerved above, that, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*, all thoſe were by *Valens* put to death, whoſe names began with *Theod*; and, among the reſt of the names, one *Theodoſiolus*, who was, ſays he, a man of great courage, and deſcended from an illuſtrious family in *Spain*, meaning perhaps count *Theodoſius*; at leaſt *Baronius* [n], *Jornandes* [o], who, for the moſt part follows *Socrates*, and *Flechier*, in his life of the emperor *Theodoſius*, are of that opinion. But *Theodoſius* was put to death at *Carthage*, and not in the eaſt, where *Valens* reigned. Beſides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of *Socrates* as a fable, to which he too eaſily gave credit, ſince neither *Ammianus* nor *Zoſimus*, who ſeem to take particular pleaſure in diſplaying the cruelties of *Valens*, make mention of ſuch a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to death, merely for the ſake of their names. *Sozomen* indeed ſpeaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps becauſe he had read it in *Socrates* [p]. Be that as it will, ſtatues, and other extraordinary honours,

The celebrated count Theodoſius *unjuſtly put to death.*

[h] HIER. in chron. [i] HIER. chron. [k] OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [l] AMBROS. div. 3. p. 125 [m] OROS ibid. [n] BARON ad ann. 370. [o] JOR. de reg. ſucc. c. 40. p. 652. [p] Soz. l. vi. c. 35, p. 694.

were decreed to *Theodosius* some years after his death by the senate of *Rome*; and several inscriptions, setting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times [q]. His son, named likewise *Theodosius*, who, being duke of *Mœsia* in 374, had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to *Spain*, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by *Gratian*, and raised to the empire. As *Ammianus* takes no notice of these remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chasm in this part of his history, the more because he had promised elsewhere [r] to speak in a more proper place of the death of *Maximinus* and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in such of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the western provinces, from the death of *Valentinian* I. that is, from the year 375, to 378. This year *Valens* sent the celebrated philosopher *Themistius*, with the character of embassador, to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*; but what was the subject of his embassy, we know not. The philosopher, on his return to the east, came to *Rome*, complying therein with the request of *Gratian*, desiring the *Romans* might have the pleasure and honour of seeing so great a man [s]. It was at *Rome*, and before the senate of that great metropolis, that *Themistius* pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philosopher, nay, of any person who pretended to the least gravity [t]. However, he bestows great encomiums upon *Gratian*; extols his liberality and generous temper; and observes, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmost confusion, because the instruments of their malice and cruelty had, by the prince's orders being consumed in the flames [u], alluding, no doubt, to what we read in *Ausonius*, *viz.* that *Gratian* remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father's death, and caused all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were subject to him [w]. *Themistius* writes, that he found *Gratian* not far from the ocean [x]; that is, in *Gaul*; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, during the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *September*, at *Treves*; and we have no proof of his being elsewhere this year. By a law dated from *Treves*

Young Theodosius retires to his native country.

An instance of Gratian's generosity.

[q] Vide Rein. p. 326. Gruter. p. 412. [r] Ammian. l. xxviii p. 366. [s] Themist. or. xiii. p. 163—168. [t] Idem ibid. p. 178. [u] Idem ibid. p. 175. [w] Auson. ad Grat. precat. p. 406, 407. [x] Themist. orat. xiii. p. 163.

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the twenty-third of *May*, he raiſes the ſalaries of all public profeſſors in the metropolitan cities of *Gaul*, eſpecially in the moſt illuſtrious city of *Treves*, as it is ſtyled [y]. From this law ſome pretend to infer, that *Spain* and *Britain* were at this time governed, not by vicars, but proconſuls, independent of the prefect of *Gaul*. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed in both provinces. By another law dated the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, which was an anſwer to *Artemius* vicar of *Spain* and ſeveral biſhops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the ſpot by a ſynod of the dioceſe. By a dioceſe is meant the diſtrict within the juriſdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addreſſed to *Nitentius*, *Gratian* forbids all heretics, eſpecially the *Donatiſts*, to hold aſſemblies; and commands the places where they ſhall aſſemble to be confiſcated, except the churches, which he orderes to be reſtored to the catholics [z]. From ſeveral monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to the pagans, than to the *Donatiſts*, *Arians*, and other heretics.

He makes laws againſt heretics.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the weſt, a dreadful ſtorm was raiſed in the eaſt by the *Hunns*, a nation till this time quite unknown to the *Romans*. They dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the ſea of *Zabache*, and were near neighbours to the *Goths*, as *Sozomen* ſtyles them [a], or rather to the *Alans*, who inhabited the country bordering on the oppoſite ſide of that marſh, which both nations looked upon as a deep ſea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, purſued by ſome hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox ſtung by a gad-fly, having paſſed the marſh, ſome *Hunns* followed their guide to the oppoſite ſide, where they diſcovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own [b]. What we find concerning the *Hunns* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the moſt antient author that ſpeaks of them, and moſt worthy of credit, is, that they firſt broke into the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, the boundary between *Europe* and *Aſia*; and having obliged that nation to enter into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-inforced, upon the *Goths*, called by *Ammianus*, *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*, and ſpread every where ſuch terror among them, that *Ermenric*, or, as *Jornandes* calls him, *Ermanaric*, their king, tho' a martial prince, laid violent hands on himſelf, to avoid by that means the

The Goths *driven out of their country by the* Hunns.

[y] Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 40. [z] Idem tit. 6 p. 224, 225. [a] Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 696. [b] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 644.

dreadful

dreadful calamities that threatened him. The *Hunns* were headed, according to *Jornandes*, by one *Balamir*, by him ſtyled king, probably becauſe he was the moſt powerful man of their nation; for, according to *Ammianus*, they had no kings, but ſeveral chiefs, whoſe authority was very precarious [c]. *Vithimir*, created king of the *Greuthongi* or *Oſtrogoths*, in the room of *Ermenric*, attempted to make head againſt the *Hunns*; but was killed in a battle. *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, governors to his ſon *Vitheric*, apprehending all their efforts would prove unſucceſsful againſt the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and withdrew into the plains between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Danube*; that is into the preſent *Podolia*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi*, who had aſſiſted *Procopius* in his late uſurpation, reſolved to ſtand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the *Hunns*, falling upon him before he had the leaſt notice of their approach, obliged him to retire in diſorder, after he had loſt great numbers of his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, purſued him but ſlowly, he improved the ſhort reſpite they allowed him, in fortifying himſelf by a wall, which he carried through the country of the *Taifali* from the *Geraſus*, or the *Pruth*, to the *Danube* [d]. The other *Goths*, who had the good luck to eſcape the dreadful havock which the *Hunns* made of their nation, found no other reſourſe, but to abandon their country, and ſave themſelves within the *Roman* dominions. They therefore approached the banks of the *Danube*, to the number of two hundred thouſand men, moſt of them the ſubjects of king *Athanaric*, and thoſe whom *Jornandes* calls *Viſigoths*. From thence they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, begging, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*, where they promiſed to live peaceably, and to ſerve, whenever called upon, in the *Roman* armies [e]. At the head of this embaſſy was their biſhop *Ulphilas*, who, on this occaſion, out of complaiſance to *Valens*, became a proſelyte to the doctrine of *Arius*, and infected with the tenets of that hereſiarch, not only ſuch of his nation as already profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but thoſe too who promiſed to embrace it, provided proper perſons were ſent to inſtruct them [f]. The demand of the *Goths* occaſioned great debates in a grand council held at court ſoon after the arrival of their embaſſadors; but *Valens* in the end reſolved to grant them their requeſt, ſe-

They demand to be admitted into Thrace.

[c] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 435—440. Jorn. ibid. p. 645. [d] Ammian. p. 440. 441. [e] Idem, ibid. Jorn. c. 25. p 646. [f] Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 697.

veral

veral ſycophants about him flattering him, and extolling his good fortune, which had unexpectedly brought him a perpetual ſupply of excellent ſoldiers, with which he could be furniſhed at his pleaſure, and by that means ſave the expence of new levies, to the great benefit of his treaſury; nay, their demand was thought ſo advantageous to the empire, that ſome *Roman* officers having cut off a party of *Goths*, who attempted to paſs the *Danube* before the return of the embaſſadors, whom both their nation and the governor of *Thrace* had ſent to *Antioch*, they were caſhiered as good officers, but bad politicians [g]. *Valens*, upon the imaginary proſpect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from ſuch an increaſe of people, ordered them to be immediately tranſported, to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and lands to be aſſigned them to cultivate. He took, however, therein ſuch precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the diſturbances which ſoon followed, had they been duly obſerved; for, according to the inſtructions which he ſent to his officers and miniſters, the children were to paſs the firſt, and be ſent into *Aſia*, where they were to be kept as hoſtages; and as for the reſt, they were not to be ſuffered to land on the *Roman* ſide, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by preſenting the *Roman* officers with ſums of money, with beautiful women, and robuſt ſlaves, prevailed upon them to neglect both theſe orders [h]. Thus the *Goths*, in this year 376, abandoned to the *Hunns* the country, in which they had dwelt for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned in their paſſage, the river happening to be greatly ſwelled at that time [i]. *Ammianus* writes, that the *Roman* officers deſigned to have counted them as they paſſed, but could not by reaſon of their numbers, which that writer compares to the ſparks which at that very time iſſued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the ſands of the *Libyan* ſhore. They were under the conduct of *Ablavius* and *Fritigern*, who are ſtyled kings [k]. *Vitheric*, king of the *Greuthongi*, with his governors *Saphrax*, and *Alatheus*, and another chief named *Farnobius*, being likewiſe driven out of their country by the *Hunns* and the *Alans*, flocked in ſwarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor

Valens compleats with their requeſt.

They enter Thrace.

[g] AMMIAN. ibid. EUNAP. legat. p. 19. SOCR. l. iv. c. 34 p. 252. [h] AMMIAN. ibid. [i] IDAT. faſt. [k] AMMIAN. P. 443.

not thinking it consistent with the safety of the state to comply with their request, they continued for some time on the banks of the *Danube*, which they passed in the end, in spite of the *Romans*, as we shall relate hereafter. As for *Athanaric*, he retired with his people to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*. The latter people followed and joined the *Greuthongi*. A numerous body of *Goths* had been admitted some time before, on what occasion we are no-where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, under the command of their two chiefs *Suerid* and *Colias*: perhaps *Valens* had sent for them on occasion of his intended expedition into *Persia*; for *Ammianus* assures us, that he hired troops of the *Goths* [1]. The following year 377, when *Gratian* was consul the fourth time, with *Merobaudes*, *Valens* was, as appears from the dates of several laws, at *Antioch* on the fourth of *April*; at *Hierapolis* on the fourth of *July* and the ninth of *August*; and again at *Antioch* on the twenty-fourth of *September*. The *Romans* ought in policy to have immediately led the *Goths* away from the *Danube*; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining masters of the river, prevented their receiving any assistance from their countrymen encamped in great numbers on the opposite bank; but instead of that, *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, the former with the title of *count*, and the latter with that of *duke*, suffered them to continue long in that neighbourhood, pretending scarcity of provisions, in order to impose upon them, and obliged them to buy necessaries at extravagant rates. The *Goths*, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which *Lupicinus* perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, and remove from the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, charging the soldiers who guarded the banks of the *Danube*, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no disorders in the countries through which they passed. The *Greuthongi*, finding the banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to pass it, following at some distance *Fritigern* and *Ablavius*, who were advancing at the head of the *Thervingi* to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mœsia*. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, *Lupicinus*, who resided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the same time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they desired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the necessary provisions, of

The Goths, *provoked by the* Romans, *mutiny.*

[1] Idem l. xxx. p. 416.

which

which they ſtood in great need. Hereupon the *Thervingi*, who were in a ſtarving condition, falling upon the guards, cut moſt of them in pieces; which *Lupicinus* no ſooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be aſſaſſinated in the height of their mirth. The *Thervingi* without the walls, provoked at the treachery and cruelty of the governor, vowed revenge; but nevertheleſs wiſely forbore for the preſent all hoſtilities, and diſſembled their juſt reſentment, leſt the *Romans* ſhould offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hoſtages. This *Fritigern* himſelf apprehended, and therefore begged leave of *Lupicinus* to go with *Ablavius*, and ſhew himſelf to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a falſe report, that they had both been killed with the reſt. *Lupicinus*, who by this time was ſo intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his requeſt; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horſes, declared themſelves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. *Lupicinus* marched out againſt them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the *Goths*, falling upon him with great reſolution and intrepidity, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have obſerved above, that a conſiderable body of *Goths* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. Theſe, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by *Fritigern*, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the leaſt inclination to join him; but when they received orders to paſs without delay over into the *Helleſpont*, and the chief magiſtrate of *Adrianople*, incenſed againſt them for ſome damage they had done at his country-ſeat, inſtead of ſupplying them with the neceſſary proviſions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewiſe began to mutiny, put to flight the diſorderly multitude that offered to attack them, and joining *Fritigern*, laid ſiege to *Adrianople*; but not being able to reduce it, they left a ſufficient force to block it up, and ravaged all *Thrace*, growing daily ſtronger by the acceſſion of incredible numbers of *Gothiſh* ſlaves, flocking to them from all quarters; nay, many *Romans*, not able to pay the exorbitant taxes with which they were loaded and oppreſſed, took part with them, and it is not to be doubted, but *Vitheric* with his *Greuthongi* joined them ſoon after; for they too fought againſt the *Romans* in the memorable battle of *Adrianople*, of which hereafter. *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, watching the deſigns of the king of *Perſia*, upon the firſt notice of theſe dangerous commotions, diſpatched *Victor* to the *Perſian* court, with the character of embaſſador,

Declare themſelves enemies and plunder the country.

They are joined by a body of their countrymen encamped at Adrianople.

charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the beſt terms he could obtain; and at the ſame time ordered the two generals, *Trajan* and *Profuturus*, to march with the utmoſt expedition againſt the *Goths*, at the head of the legions that were quartered in *Armenia*. *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened his uncle's dominions, ſent to his aſſiſtance *Richomeres*, with a conſiderable reinforcement out of *Gaul*; but the ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers on their march, ſolicited to it, as was reported, by *Merobaudes*, who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of their abſence to break into *Gaul*. As *Profuturus* and *Trajan* were commanders of more courage than conduct, inſtead of ſecuring the paſſes, and ſhutting up ſuch multitudes in the province of *Thrace*, where they muſt inevitably have ſoon periſhed with famine, they ventured to engage them at *Salices*, a city of *Leſſer Scythia*. The battle laſted from morning to night, both armies fighting with ſuch obſtinacy and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed. Victory continued doubtful to the laſt; but the *Romans*, having loſt more men in proportion to the ſmall number of their forces, thought it adviſeable to retire to *Marcianopolis*. Thus *Ammianus*, whom we have all along followed [m]. But *Theodoret* [n], St. *Jerom* [o], and *Oroſius* [p], write, that the *Romans* were defeated, and put to flight. This battle was fought in the latter end of the ſummer of this year 377. *Trajan* and *Profuturus* being afterwards reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops ſent by *Valens*, under the command of *Saturninus* general of the horſe, they attempted to ſhut up the enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their proviſions; but the *Alans* and *Hunns* themſelves haſtening in great numbers to their relief, the *Romans* were obliged to retire, and ſuffer them to ravage and lay waſte all *Thrace*, without daring to oppoſe or moleſt them. At a place called *Dibaltum*, they fell upon a tribune, who was ſtationed there with his own legion and ſome other forces. As the tribune, by name *Barzimeres*, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men up in a cloſe body, and, endeavouring to make his way through the enemy's ſquadrons, cut great numbers of them in pieces; but was at length overpowered and put to the ſword, with all his men [q]. Animated with this ſucceſs, they went in queſt of *Frigerid*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and had been ordered by *Gratian* to march from thence to the aſſiſtance of *Valens*.

The battle of Salices.

The Romans *retire, and abandon* Thrace *to the* Goths.

They cut off a Roman *legion;*

[m] Ammian. p. 447---449. [n] Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703. [o] Hier. chron. [p] Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [q] Ammian. p. 452.

The

The *Goths*, under the command of *Farnobius*, met him near *Berea*, a city in *Thrace* properly ſo called, and attacked him with great reſolution. But *Frigerid*, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps over-cautious, and thence by ſome reproached with timorouſneſs, ſtood his ground, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, killed their leader on the ſpot, and put the reſt to the ſword, excepting a very ſmall number, who, throwing down their arms, were ſpared, and ſent captives into *Italy*, where they were employed in tilling the ground about *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, and *Parma*. With this battle, which was fought in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this year 377 [r].

But are defeated with great ſlaughter by Frigerid.

As for *Gratian*, he was on the twenty-ſeventh of *February* at *Treves*, where he had paſſed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of *July* at *Mayence*, perhaps on ſome expedition againſt the *Germans* not mentioned in hiſtory; for *Auſonius* tells us, that he took ſome *Germans* priſoners and brought them with him into *Gaul* [s]. He was returned to *Treves* on the ſeventeenth of *September* [t]. By a law dated the fifth of *March*, and addreſſed to *Cataphronus* vicar of *Italy*, he grants ſeveral exemptions to the clergy, compriſing under that name, not only biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, but likewiſe ſub-deacons, exorciſts, readers, and janitors or door-keepers [u]. A dreadful plague raged this year in moſt of the weſtern provinces, and ſwept off incredible numbers of people [w]. The following year 378, when *Valens* was conſul the ſixth time, and young *Valentinian* the ſecond, the *Goths*, from *Thrace*, advanced into *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached *Conſtantinople* itſelf, plundered the ſuburbs, and kept the city for ſome time blocked up. *Valens* therefore, having firſt ſent a body of *Saracens* to drive them from the neighbourhood of that metropolis, ſet out from *Antioch*, in order to head his army in perſon, and arrived at *Conſtantinople* on the thirtieth of *May*, where he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the *Goths* into *Thrace*, and by that means giving riſe to the preſent war. Soon after his arrival, he diſplaced *Trajan*, general of the foot, and put count *Sebaſtian*, a brave and experienced commander, in his room [x]. *Theodoret* tells us, that *Trajan*, who was a profeſſed enemy to the *Arians*, and a zealous defender of the *Nicene* faith, hearing himſelf reproached by the emperor

Gratian *grants ſeveral exemptions to the clergy.*

The Goths *block up* Conſtantinople. Valens *ſets out for that city.*

[r] Idem, p. 443——445.
[s] Cod. Theod. chron. p 97, 98.
[t] Auson. conſul. p. 378.
[u] Cod. Theod l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 24. p. 56.
[w] Amer. in Luc. xxi. p. 203. Biblioth. patr. tom. 8. p. 579.
[x] Ammian. p. 458.

Trajan reproaches the emperor with great freedom.

with cowardice, as if the loſs of the late battle had been owing to want of courage in him, anſwered boldly, that heaven, juſtly provoked at his driving out the orthodox biſhops, and putting the infamous followers of *Arius* in their room, had declared for the *Goths*; and conſequently that he ought to blame not his generals, but himſelf, for the loſſes he had hitherto ſuſtained, and for the far greater calamities that would ſoon overtake him, unleſs he altered his conduct. The generals *Arintheus* and *Victor* declared, adds *Theodoret*, that they were of the ſame opinion, and begged the emperor not to reſent their ſpeaking, as his true friends, their reſentments without diſguiſe [y]. The piety of *Trajan* is greatly commended by the eccleſiaſtic writers, eſpecially by *Theoderet* and St. *Baſil*, with whom he lived in great intimacy. But it is no eaſy taſk to reconcile with his extraordinary piety the death of *Paras* king of *Armenia*, whom, if the account of *Ammianus* be true, he cauſed to be murdered with the utmoſt treachery and barbarity, as we have related above. *Valens* continued but a very ſhort time at *Conſtantinople*; for he left that city on the eleventh of *June*, highly exaſperated againſt the inhabitants, who had inſulted him as the author of the preſent war, and threatening, if he came back ſafe, to turn their city into a deſert [z]. From *Conſtantinople* he marched to *Melanthias*, an imperial caſtle, about eighteen miles diſtant from the city; and thence detached *Sebaſtian* with a body of choſen troops againſt *Fritigern*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. *Sebaſtian*, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off ſeveral of their parties, who were roving about the country, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon *Fritigern*, having ſent orders to all the parties that were diſperſed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of *Catyle*, of which geographers can give no account [a]. *Zoſimus* tells us, that *Sebaſtian* engaged to force the *Goths* either to quit the *Roman* territories, or ſubmit to *Valens*, with two thouſand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their proviſions; but that *Valens*, deſirous to equal, by ſome memorable action, the glory acquired this year by *Gratian* in the famous battle of *Argentaria*, rejected his propoſal, and leaving *Melanthias*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, with a deſign to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army, commanded by officers of

Valens marches againſt the Goths.

[y] Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703. [z] Ammian. l. iii. p. 456. Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [a] Vide Baud. p. 142.

grea

great renown, and among the reſt by *Trajan*, whom he had reſtored to his former poſt. While he lay at *Adrianople*, *Richomeres* arrived there with letters from *Gratian*, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him; and earneſtly intreating him not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which the conjunction of their forces would render certain and indiſputable. Hereupon a council of war being immediately ſummoned, *Victor*, who commanded the horſe, and was both a brave and prudent officer, adviſed him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew, and the reinforcement of the *Gauliſh* troops; but *Sebaſtian* was for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of *Victor*, and almoſt all the other officers, being induced thereunto by his flatterers, telling him, that he ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of his nephew, and therefore ought not to allow him any ſhare in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the ſame time *Fritigern* ſent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a chriſtian prieſt, offering to conclude a peace upon very reaſonable terms, which moſt of his officers adviſed him by all means to embrace, remonſtrating, that an honourable and certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, deaf to all their remonſtrances, and obſtinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great officers of the court, with his treaſures, in *Adrianople*, and all the baggage of the army near that city, with a ſtrong detachment to guard it, ſet out with the reſt in queſt of the enemy, whom he diſcovered about noon in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, about fifteen miles from *Adrianople*. The *Goths*, commanded by *Aletheus* and *Saphrax*, were encamped at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt. Meſſengers were therefore immediately diſpatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuſe the emperor till they arrived, embaſſadors were ſent to him, with propoſals of peace to which the emperor gave ear; but inſiſted upon their delivering up to him ſome of their chief men as hoſtages. At the ſame time, *Fritigern*, further to amuſe the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, provided ſome perſons of diſtinction were ſent to him as hoſtages. *Valens*, overjoyed at this propoſal, named firſt *Equico* his kinſman for one of the hoſtages; but he, as he had been taken priſoner by the *Goths* the preceding year, and had made his eſcape, begging to be excuſed, *Richomeres* offered himſelf of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, *Bacurius*, prince of the *Iberians*, and one *Caſſio*, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the *Goths*, gave beginning to the

Gratian marches to the aſſiſtance of Valens.

But Valens reſolves to give battle before his arrival.

battle,

The battle of Adrianople.

battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy and reſolution on both ſides. *Ammianus* gives us a long, but confuſed, account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the *Romans*, having advanced too far, and ſeparated themſelves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to ſupport them, were ſurrounded by the enemy, which inſpired the barbarians with great courage [b]. St. *Jerom* [c] and *Socrates* [d] write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and *Sozomen* [e], that *Valens*, being in too great haſte to engage, did not allow himſelf time to draw up his men as he ought. *Libanius* ſays, that he fought with more courage than prudence or conduct [f]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Romans* were utterly defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The *Roman* writers themſelves own this to have been the greateſt overthrow their ſtate had ever received ſince the battle of *Cannæ*. Their foot did all that men, whoſe native courage was emboldened by deſpair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts to yield to an enemy, who was not only infinitely ſuperior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent perſons, fell in this action the brave generals *Trajan* and *Victor*, with *Valerian* the *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe: *Equico* the emperor's kinſman, and *magiſter palatii*, or great ſteward of the houſhold; and *Potentius*, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly reſpected, in regard of his father *Urſicinus*, ſo famous in the reign of *Conſtantius* [g]. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in hiſtory, than the unhappy end of *Valens* himſelf, who periſhed on this occaſion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for ſome write, that he was killed upon the ſpot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's houſe, which his attendants made good againſt the barbarians, till they, not ſuſpecting the emperor to be there, ſet fire to it, which conſumed the houſe, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his eſcape, firſt out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him priſoner, gave the *Romans* an account of the emperor's unhappy end [h]. Both theſe opinions are related

The Romans *utterly defeated.*

The death of Valens *variouſly related.*

[b] Ammian. p. 460—462. [c] Hier. in chron. [d] Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [e] Soz. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. [f] Lib. vit. p. 58. [g] Ammian. p. 463. [h] Idem, p. 462.

by

by *Ammianus*; and the former was adopted by *Libanius*, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the moſt probable, by *Victor* [i], St. *Jerom* [k], *Ruſinus* [l], *Oroſius* [m], *Zoſimus* [n], and *Socrates* [o]. *Sozomen* [p] and *Philoſtorgius* [q] follow the ſame opinion; but add ſome circumſtances, which ſeem quite improbable. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of the death of *Valens* periſhing in the flames, as a memorable inſtance of the vanity of all human grandeur [r]. *Theodoret* follows the ſame opinion; but was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Valens* not to have been preſent at the battle [s]. *Ammianus* obſerves, that before *Valens* left *Antioch*, it was become a common curſe or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, *May* Valens *be burnt alive*. The ſame writer pretends that unhappy end to have been portended by ſeveral prodigies, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven, for having cauſed *Paras* king of *Armenia* to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent perſons to death, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of *Theodorus* [t]. The reader will find in *Zoſimus* the deſcription of a ſpectre, which, ſays he, was ſeen by *Valens* and all his court, when he marched out of *Conſtantinople* againſt the *Goths* [u]. To this perhaps *Ammianus* alludes in a paſſage, which ſeems to us very obſcure [w]. *Theophanes* takes notice of ſome other prodigies, and aſſures us, that ſome of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had ſuffered the aruſpices to be conſulted concerning the iſſue of this war [x]. *Ammianus*, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was diſcovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an ancient *Macedonian* captain, by name *Mimantus* [y]. All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the leaſt remains of it were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obſequies. Eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his perſecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the hereſy of *Arius*, which flouriſhed and encreaſed in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predeceſſors. With him periſhed in the flames, according to the modern *Greeks*, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the

Said to have been portended by ſeveral prodigies.

[i] VICT. epit. p. 184. [k] HIER. chron. [l] RUF. l. ii. c. 13. [m] OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [n] Zos. p. 750. [o] SOCR. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [p] Soz. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. [q] PHILOST. l. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132. [r] CHRYS. ad vid. p. 464. [s] THEOD. l. iv. p. 704. [t] AMMIAN. p. 435. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 748. [w] AMMIAN. p. 435. [x] THEOPH. p. 55. [y] AMMIAN. p. 465. ZONAR. p. 27. CEDREN. p. 314.

Arians

Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers [z]. Such was the end of *Valens*, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and ſome days [a]. He was quite a ſtranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art than with the liberal ſciences. He did not ſo much as underſtand the *Greek* tongue, though he had reigned ſo many years in the eaſt among the *Greeks*. He found out no expedients of himſelf; but, when they were propoſed by others, he had diſcernment enough to know which was the beſt and moſt proper [b]. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averſe to buſineſs, which was owing to the eaſy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expoſe himſelf to any danger. To this diſpoſition moſt authors aſcribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother *Valentinian* [c]. *Themiſtius* commends his chaſtity [d]; and *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways biaſſed in his favour, does not reproach him with any kind of lewdneſs or debauchery. He was conſtant and faithful in his friendſhip, whereof ſeveral inſtances are related by *Ammianus* [e]. He raiſed ſuch only of his relations as were perſons of merit, and, generally ſpeaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the diſpoſal of employments [f]. He kept a watchful eye over his miniſters, exacted the military diſcipline with great rigour, not ſuffering his ſoldiers to do the leaſt injury to thoſe through whoſe countries they marched, and ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured ſubjects [g]. He ſeems to have diſcharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes, as the miniſters of their cruelty [h]. He was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of his finances, and therefore did not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, as moſt of his predeceſſors had done, by thoſe who managed them [i]. Though he was quite unacquainted with the liberal ſciences, yet he is ſaid to have compoſed ſome ſpeeches, with the aſſiſtance of one *Heliodorus*, a man of a mean deſcent and infamous character, as we read in *Ammianus*, who complains of the emperor, for obliging per-

His character.

[z] Menæ magn. Græc. p. 229. [a] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 463, 464. [b] Idem, p 464. Themist. orat. vi. p 11. & orat ix p. 71. [c] Idem ibid. & Vict. epit. Theodor. vit. patr. p. 815. [d] Themist. orat. viii. p. 119, 120. [e] Ammian. p. 464. [f] Idem, p. 463. [g] Themist. orat. x. p. 158. [h] Idem, orat. xii. p. 155. [i] Idem orat. viii. p. 114.

ſons

ſons of the firſt rank to attend his funeral [k]. *Themiſtius* ſtyles him the father of the provinces, by reaſon of the great care he took in eaſing them, by all poſſible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors [l]. *Ammianus* owns, that he could not with more care conſult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his ſubjects; and that the eaſtern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him [m]. However, all authors agree, that he had a ſtrong biaſs to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and ſuſpicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent perſons, and ſeize on their eſtates. The leaſt ſuſpicion of treaſon rendered him inexorable, ſays *Ammianus*, and his ears were open to all manner of accuſations [n]. All the eccleſiaſtic writers agree, that he allowed to the many ſects that then prevailed, nay, even to the *Jews* and pagans, the free exerciſe of their religion; but perſecuted the catholics with the utmoſt cruelty, of which we have ſeen one remarkable inſtance in the hiſtory of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, *Caroſa* and *Anaſtaſia*; but all we know of them is, that *Procopius*, who became famous in the latter end of the reign of *Theodoſius*, married one of them, he being ſtyled by *Zoſimus* [o] and *Sozomen* [p], the ſon-in-law of *Valens*. What became of the empreſs *Albia Dominica*, after the death of her huſband, we are no-where told. St. *Chryſoſtom*, writing about the year 381, obſerves, that the widow of an emperor, who had been baniſhed by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many perſons of diſtinction, who with much ado obtained that favour [q]. Moſt writers take the empreſs, of whom he ſpeaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor *Valens*. But as to the cauſe of her diſgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of *Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* ends his hiſtory; but of him, and *Eutropius*, who wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory in the reign of *Valens*, and by that prince's command, we ſhall ſpeak in note (K).

[k] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 392, 393. [l] THEMIST. orat. x. p. 129. [m] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p 464. [n] Idem, p. 465. [o] Zos. l. v. p. 786. [p] Sos. l. iv. c. 9. p. 469. [q] CARYS. ad vid. jun. p. 463.

(K) *Ammianus Marcellinus* was a native of *Antioch*, where his family made ſome figure (t). He ſerved ſeveral years in the army,

(t) *Ammian. l.* xix. *p.* 144.

from the year 350 to 359, under count *Urſincius*, partly in *Meſopotamia*, and partly in *Gaul*, in quality of *domeſticus*, which was then an honourable poſt. He attended *Julian* in his *Perſian* expedition, and was at *Antioch*, or in that neighbourhood, when the conſpiracy of *Theodorus* was diſcovered in the reign of *Valens* (2). Afterwards he renounced the profeſſion of arms, and retired to *Rome*, where he wrote his hiſtory, as appears both from the hiſtory itſelf (3), and from a letter which *Libanius* wrote to him from *Antioch* (4), while he was compoſing it. His twenty-ſixth book was not ended before the year 390, and the twenty-ſecond was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty-one books, and comprized the reigns of all the emperors, from *Domitian*, where *Suetonius* ends, to the death of *Valens*; but of his thirty-one books, only the laſt eighteen, beginning after the death of *Magnentius* in 353, have reached our times. Tho' he was a *Greek*, he choſe to write in *Latin*; but his *Latin* in the opinion of *Voſſius*, ſpeaks him both a *Greek* and a ſoldier (6). But his other good qualities make ſufficient amends, ſays the ſame writer, for theſe faults; for he writes with great judgment, and ſeems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the antient *Romans*, and no ſmall partiality for thoſe who countenanced it, eſpecially for his hero *Julian*. In his hiſtory he frequently makes long and tedious digreſſions on the comets, and other things which fall not within the province of an hiſtorian. In his accounts he is now and then ſomewhat confuſed, and often leaves out the moſt material circumſtances of the facts he relates; which has induced ſome to believe, that his hiſtory is in ſeveral places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his hiſtory, we ſhould have been quite in the dark with reſpect to the moſt remarkable tranſactions of thoſe times. Some epigrams by one *Ammianus* have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the hiſtorian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find ſeveral things relating to *Ammianus*, and his hiſtory, in the *Prolegomena*, which Mr. *Valois* has prefixed to the laſt edition of the works of that hiſtorian at *Paris* in 1681. *Eutropius* wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory in the reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and inſcribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his requeſt. He gives that prince the title of *Gothicus*, a plain proof that he publiſhed his work after the year 369, in which *Valens* defeated *Athanaric*, one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*. Mr. *Valois* ſtyles him a polite and elegant writer; but *Vinetus*, who publiſhed his works in 1553, concludes from his ſtyle, that he was not a *Roman*, but a *Greek* (8). *Voſſius* too finds fault with his ſtyle; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the *Roman* hiſ-

(2) *Idem*, *l.* xxix. *p.* 387. (3) *Idem*, *l.* xxxi. *p.* 469. (4) *Ammian vit. p.* 4—8. (5) *Idem*, *p.* 8, 9. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 201. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Eutrop. p.* 557.

tory

tory done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. *Jerom* in his chronicle, and quoted by other *Latin* writers. His work ſeems to have been in great requeſt among the *Greeks*; for two tranſlations of it were done into that language, the one by *Pæanius*, and the other by *Capito*. The latter, who was by birth a *Lycian*, not only tranſlated into *Greek* the abridgment of *Livy*, ſays *Suidas*, done by *Eutropius*, but wrote beſides the hiſtory of *Iſauria* in eight books, and likewiſe that of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. The tranſlation of *Eutropius* by *Pæanius*, was publiſhed among the other *Auguſtin* writers by *Sylburgius* at *Francfort* in 1590. *Sylburgius* is of opinion, that *Pæanius* was contemporary with *Eutropius*. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of hiſtory (10). As for *Eutropius* himſelf, *Suidas* ſtyles him an *Italian* ſophiſt; and adds, that he publiſhed ſeveral other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he profeſſed the chriſtian religion or no. He was preſent, according to *Codin*, at the laying the foundations of *Conſtantinople*, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, *Eutropius* muſt have been very young at that time. He attended *Julian* in his expedition into *Perſia* (13). He ſeems to have been of the ſenatorial order; for at the head of his work he is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *clariſſimus*, which was peculiar to ſenators. In the reign of *Valentinian*, and before the year 376, died, according to St. *Jerom*, *Aquilius*, or *Æcilius Severus*, a native of *Spain*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own life in proſe and verſe, under the title of *cataſtrophe*. He was deſcended from another *Severus*, to whom *Lactantius* inſcribed two books of his letters. St. *Jerom* places him among the eccleſiaſtic writers (14); but his work has been long ſince loſt.

(9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 8. *p.* 198. (10) *Eutrop. Græc p.* 63. (11) *Suid p.* 1099. (12) *Codin. antiq. Conſtantinop. p.* 17. (13) *Eutrop. p.* 589. (14) *Hier. vir. illuſtr. c.* 111.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Valens, *to the diviſion of the empire.*

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eaſtern provinces, over-run by the barbarians, reſolved to march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his uncle, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and in the mean time or-

dered part of the forces he had with him in *Gaul* to haſten into *Illyricum*, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter *Thrace*, and reinforce the army which *Valens* had ſent thither. This the *Germans* called *Lentienſes*, whoſe country bordered upon *Rhætia*, no ſooner underſtood, than by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but lately concluded with *Gratian*, they paſſed the *Rhine* upon the ice, to the number of forty thouſand men, and upwards; and entering *Gaul*, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into *Illyricum*, and ſent them reinforced with thoſe that were left in *Gaul* under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mallobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army in quality of *comes domeſticorum*, to drive back the *Lentienſes*, whoſe numbers increaſed daily, the *Romans*, who guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, having through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their ſtations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of *Argentaria*, which moſt geographers take to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Colmar* ſtands. The *Romans* at firſt gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of ſuch a prodigious multitude, ſcarce five thouſand had the good luck to make their eſcape, thirty thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either ſlain in the purſuit, or taken priſoners. Their king *Triarius*, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the ſlain [r]. *Oroſius* writes, that *Gratian* was preſent at the battle; and that, depending upon the aſſiſtance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, though greatly ſuperior to him in number [s]. But *Ammianus* only writes, that *Gratian* advanced to ſupport his generals [t]. This battle was not fought before the month of *May*; for on the twenty-ſecond of *April* the emperor was ſtill at *Treves*, as appears from a law bearing that date [u]. After this victory, *Gratian* paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, ſhut them up on all ſides among the barren mountains, to which they fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to ſubmit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to preſcribe; one of which was, that they ſhould deliver up

The Lentienſes *paſs the* Rhine, *and break into* Gaul.

They are utterly defeated by the Romans.

They ſubmit to Gratian.

[r] Ammian. l. xxxi p. 453, 454. Vict. epit. Hier. in chron. [s] Oros. l. vii. c. 33 p. 219. [t] Ammian. ib'd. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 93.

their

their youth to ſerve in the *Roman* army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the *Romans* greatly reinforced by this new acceſſion of ſtrength, and at the ſame time that inconſtant and faithleſs nation put out of a condition of raiſing new diſturbances in the emperor's abſence. In this expedition *Gratian* gave ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generoſity; which gained him the eſteem and affection of all who ſerved under him [w]. He immediately wrote to *Valens*, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he aſſured him would be very ſoon. But *Valens*, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipſed his own, and deſirous of equalling his exploits againſt the *Germans*, reſolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, *Gratian* having ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of *Gaul*, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to *Arbor Felix*, now *Arbon*, on the lake of *Conſtance*, and from thence to *Lauriacum*, now *Lork* in *Auſtria*, on the *Danube*, between the *Traun* and the *Ens*. There he embarqued part of his troops on the *Danube*, and marched by land with the reſt to *Bononia* in *Lower Dacia*, and from thence to *Sirmium*, where he ſtaid but four days, though he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From *Sirmium* he purſued his march along the *Danube* to a fort in the ſame province, called *Caſtra Martis*. In his march, ſome of his men, who had ſtraggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the *Alans*. From *Caſtra Martis* he diſpatched *Richomeres*, his *comes domeſticorum*, to acquaint *Valens*, that he was at hand, and earneſtly entreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But *Valens*, haſtening the battle, that his nephew might have no ſhare in the victory, was utterly defeated and periſhed, with two thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the *Goths*, informed by a deſerter, that *Valens* had left many perſons of great diſtinction in *Adrianople*, and that the imperial treaſure was lodged there, laid ſiege to the place; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, as quite ſtrangers to the art of beſieging towns, they dropped the enterpriſe; and marching towards *Perinthus* or *Heraclea*, laid waſte that fertile country, and then advanced to *Conſtantinople*, hoping to make themſelves maſters of that ſtately metropolis, and of the immenſe wealth lodged in it. But the *Saracens*, whom

Gratian *marches to the aſſiſtance of his uncle.*

Valens *gives battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival.*

The Goths *beſiege in vain* Adrianople *and* Conſtantinople.

[w] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 455.

Mavia

Mavia their queen had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and who were more dextrous at ſudden onſets, than regular engagements, having in ſeveral ſallies cut off great numbers of the *Goths*, the reſt thought it adviſeable to break up the ſiege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they ſpent in ravaging, without oppoſition, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mæſia*, and even *Illyricum*, as far as the *Julian Alps*, which part that province from *Italy* [x], The neighbouring barbarians, namely the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entered the *Roman* territories at the ſame time, putting all to fire and ſword, and ſurpaſſing the *Goths* themſelves in the unheard-of cruelties they practiſed [y]. St. *Jerom* gives us a pathetic account of the calamities ſuffered at that time by the ſubjects of the empire. The whole country, ſays he, from *Conſtantinople* to the *Julian Alps*, have been ſwimming theſe twenty years in *Roman* blood: *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Theſſalonica*, (or rather *Theſſaly*) *Achaia*, both *Epirus's*, *Dalmatia*, both *Pannonia's*, are filled with *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alans*, *Hunns*, *Vandals*, *Marcomanns*, &c. whoſe avarice nothing has eſcaped, whoſe cruelty has been felt by perſons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent perſons of both ſexes, how many ſacred virgins, have been outrageouſly inſulted, and hurried into captivity? Biſhops have been inhumanly maſſacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the ſacred altars turned into mangers. The downfal of the *Roman* empire is at hand [z]. The ſame ſaint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the preſent time, tells us, that *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and *Dalmatia*, his native country, looked ſtill like deſerts, and that nothing was to be ſeen in them but briars and thick foreſts [a]. The cities of *Illyricum*, which ſuffered moſt on this occaſion, were *Petavio* and *Murſia*; the former is ſaid to have been betrayed to the barbarians by *Valens*, whom the *Arians* had attempted to raiſe to that ſee [b]. As there were great numbers of *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, quartered in the forts and cities of *Aſia*, *Julius*, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would riſe and join their countrymen, if they ſhould move that way, by private letters ſent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be maſſacred at the ſame time. This ſevere, but perhaps neceſſary, order was put in execution without the

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, *and other barbarians*

All the Goths *put to the ſword in the eaſt.*

[x] Idem, p. 456—458. & l. xx. p. 160. [y] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 469. Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [z] Hier. epiſt. 3. p 26. [a] Idem in Soph. 1. p. 209. [b] Ambros. epiſt. 1. p. 867.

leaſt

leaſt noiſe or diſturbance, and *Aſia* delivered from the danger it had juſt reaſon to apprehend; for *Zoſimus* aſſures us, that the *Goths* only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the *Romans* as they were treated by them [c].

We left *Gratian* on the frontiers of *Thrace*, ready to enter that province, and join *Valens*; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loſs the *Romans* had ſuſtained in the fatal battle of *Adrianople*, which was brought to him by *Victor*, who had had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, than he marched back to *Sirmium*, to deliberate there on the moſt proper meaſures to be taken in ſo critical a conjuncture. After a ſhort ſtay at *Sirmium*, he marched at the head of all the forces he could aſſemble, to *Conſtantinople*, to ſecure that metropolis; and in the mean time conſidering with himſelf how many brave officers had periſhed in the preſent war, and how much he ſtood in need of an able and faithful general, he ſent for young *Theodoſius*, who, after having given ſignal proofs of his courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to *Spain*, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the ſtorm that threatened him. *Theodoſius* complied with the emperor's command; and quitting his retirement, haſtened into *Illyricum*, where he was received by *Gratian* with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after ſent at the head of a conſiderable army againſt the *Sarmatians*, who were in full march to join the *Goths*: but *Theodoſius*, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Danube*. The victory he gained on this occaſion was ſo complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which *Theodoſius* himſelf gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by perſons ſent on purpoſe to view the field of battle [d]. To this victory, and the other which *Gratian* had gained this year over the *Germans* before he left *Gaul*, *Auſonius* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the ſame year appeaſed the troubles on the *Rhine* and the *Danube* [e]. From *Conſtantinople* the emperor returned to *Sirmium*, and paſſed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf by the death of *Valens*, maſter of the eaſt, than he recalled and reſtored to their ſees, the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by *Valens*; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conſcience to chriſtians of all denominations, except the

Gratian ſends for Theodoſius.

Who gains a complete victory over the Sarmatians.

Gratian recals the baniſhed biſhops.

[c] Zos. p. 752. AMMIAN. p. 469. [d] THEODORET. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [e] AUSON. conſ. p. 378.

Manichees,

Manichees, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians*, whom he would not ſuffer to have any churches [f]. This edict put a ſtop to the perſecution, which the *Arians* had raiſed, and carried on with great cruelty againſt the catholics, during the whole reign of *Valens*. *Gratian*, notwithſtanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviſeable for the preſent to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raiſing new diſturbances, which, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous conſequences. This law, granting liberty of conſcience to all chriſtians, ſeems to have taken place only in the eaſt, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this year, and addreſſed to *Flavianus*, vicar of *Africa*, he abſolutely condemns the *Donatiſts*, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will ſuffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the goſpel, to the faith of the apoſtles, and to the tradition of the church [g].

He condemns the Donatiſts.

While he reſided at *Sirmium*, ſurrounded on all ſides by the barbarians, he named *Auſonius* and *Olybrius* conſuls for the enſuing year. He wrote to *Auſonius*, who had been his preceptor, a moſt obliging letter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the ſame time ſent him the conſular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed [h]. As *Valens* died without iſſue male, *Gratian* by his death became ſole maſter of the empire; but not thinking himſelf, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to ſo great a burden, eſpecially at ſo critical a conjuncture, when the *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Sarmatians*, and *Quadians*, had broken into the empire on one ſide, and the *Alemanns* and other *Germans* nations were ready to invade it on the other, he reſolved to take a collegue capable of eaſing him of part of his burden, and extricating the ſtate out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young *Valentinian* ſhared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being then but ſeven or at moſt eight years old. Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon thoſe, to uſe the expreſſion of *Themiſtius*, as his neareſt relations, who were beſt qualified for ſo great a truſt, he determined to aſſume *Theodoſius* for his partner in the ſupreme power; a perſon of moſt extraordinary accompliſhments and no leſs admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war,

He raiſes the poet Auſonius *to the conſulſhip.*

He reſolves to take a collegue.

[f] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 116. [g] Idem, tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194. [h] Auſon. ibid. p. 381.

and

and the mighty exploits he had already performed [i]. Pursuant to this resolution, he declared him emperor at *Sirmium* on the nineteenth of *January* of the ensuing year 379, while *Ausonius* and *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius* were consuls. It was with the utmost difficulty that *Gratian* prevailed upon him to accept, says *Pacatus*, what others sought with so much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means to attain. He refused, continued the same author, what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere constraint [k]. After *Gratian* had to the general satisfaction both of the people and soldiery, declared him emperor with the usual solemnity, he committed to his care the east, *Thrace*, and the rest of the provinces, which had been governed by *Valens*, reserving for himself only *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; for *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*, were held by his brother *Valentinian* [l]. *Sozomen* writes, that to the east *Gratian* added *Illyricum* [m]; which, if true, must be understood of the east part of *Illyricum*; for the west part was always held by the princes of the western empire, who till this time had been masters of both. *West Illyricum* comprised both *Pannonia's*, the one and the other *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Savia*, which we take to be the province that was for some time known by the name of *Valeria*. That *Gratian* kept these provinces is past dispute [n]. *East Illyricum* consisted of *Macedon*, the one and the other *Epirus*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Crete*, both *Dacia's*, *Upper Mœsia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana* [o].

He raises Theodosius to the empire.

And commits the eastern provinces to his care.

Theodosius, whom *Gratian* raised to the empire, was, according to most authors, a native of *Cauca* in *Galicia*, which city still retains the same name; but *Marcellinus* in his chronicle supposes him to have been born in *Italica* near *Seville*, the birth-place of the emperor *Trajan*; and both that writer and *Claudian* reckon him among the great men of the *Ulpian* family, from which *Trajan* was sprung [p]. *Theodosius* resembled that prince according to *Victor*, both in the features of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of *Trajan*, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition [q]. He was the son of *Thesiantia* and the celebrated *Theodosius*, who conquered a new province in *Britain*, overcame *Firmus* in *Africa*, and was deservedly accounted the

Birth, education, employments, &c. of Theodosius.

[i] Themist. or. xiv. p. 182. [k] Pacat. p. 253, 254. [l] Theod. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zos. p. 746. [m] Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707. [n] Cod. Theod l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. & l. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14. [o] No tit. c. 3. p. 6. [p] Marcell. chron. p. 78. Claud. p. 40. [q] Vict. p 54 6, 547.

greateſt commander of his age [r]. But his triumphs and great reputation having raiſed him many enemies at court, he was executed at *Carthage* in the year 376, the ſecond of *Gratian*'s reign, as we have related above. *Victor* tells us, that the name of the emperor *Theodoſius*'s father was *Honorius* [s]; but he is therein contradicted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in moſt antient coins, bear the prænomen of *Flavius*, which, after *Conſtantine*'s time, became common to thoſe who had none of their own: whence ſome authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of *Theodoſius* made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that *Claudian* and *Victor* only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from *Trajan*. *Pacatus* obſerves, that he was a native of *Spain*, as well as *Trajan* and *Adrian*; but takes not the leaſt notice of his being of the ſame family, which we can ſcarce believe he would have omitted, had *Theodoſius* been allied to thoſe two great princes. He had, according to *Victor*, only one brother and a ſiſter, whoſe children he brought up with the ſame care as he did his own [t]. St. *Ambroſe* and *Symmachus* ſuppoſe him to have had ſeveral brothers [u]. One of his brothers, by name *Honorius*, had by his wife *Maria*, whom *Claudian* ſtyles one of the moſt illuſtrious women *Spain* ever produced, two daughters, *Thermantia* and *Serena*, of whom the latter was married to the famous *Stilicho*, and the former to another general, whoſe name is not mentioned [w]. *Eucherius*, whom we ſhall ſee conſul in 381, is ſuppoſed to have been another of the emperor's brothers [x]. The emperor himſelf was born in the year 346, ſo that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age [y]. We are told that he was called *Theodo ius*, not only becauſe his father had been ſo named, but becauſe both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him that name, ſignifying according to the import of the *Greek* word *Theodoſius*, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God [z]. He ſerved under his father in *Britain*, when he was yet very young [a]; and being ſoon after created duke of *Maeſia*, he gained a memorable victory over the *Sarmatians* in 374, being then only eighteen years old [b]. After the death of his father he withdrew to *Spain*, to avoid the

[r] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. [s] Vict. p. 546. [t] Idem p. 547. [u] Ambros epiſt. 17. p. 214. Sym. l. x. epiſt. 57. p. 459. [w] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 194. Cange Byz. fam. p 75. [x] Themiſt or. xvi. p. 203. [y] Theodor. l. v. c 5. p 710. [z] Vict. p. 46. [a] Zos. p. 760. [b] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 410.

ſtorm

ſtorm which threatened him too; and there led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by *Gratian* in 373, and declared emperor [c]. He was then married to *Flaccilla*, called by moſt of the *Greek* writers *Placilla*, and by ſome *Placidia*. She is thought to have been the daughter of *Antonius*, who, after having been prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul* in 376, and the two following years, was raiſed to the conſulſhip in 382 [d]. She was a native of *Spain* [e], and ſiſter to the mother of *Nebridius*, who married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo* a *Moorish* prince, and count of *Africa* [f]. *Nebridius* was proconſul of *Asia* in 396, but died ſoon after; for *Salvina* was a widow, when St. *Jerom*, who had lived in great intimacy with the father of *Nebridius*, wrote to her in 400 [g]. *Theodoſius* had at leaſt three children by *Flaccilla*, viz. *Arcadius*, born about the year 377, during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the firſt of *May* 408. *Honorius*, born in 384, and a daughter, named *Pulcheria*, born before the year 379, ſince *Theodoſius* had then, according to *Claudian* [h], ſeveral children. To theſe ſome add, and among the reſt St. *Ambroſe* [i], and *Themiſtius* [k], a third ſon, named *Gratian*. They do not tell us whether he was the ſon of *Flaccilla*, or *Galla*, the emperor's ſecond wife, of whom hereafter; but *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* writes in expreſs terms, that the emperor had by *Flaccilla* only three children, *viz.* two ſons and one daughter [l]. Beſides *Gratian*, who died before his father, the emperor had by *Galla* the celebrated *Placidia*, mother to *Valentinian* III. and another ſon; but the mother died in childbed, and the child with her [m].

THE joy which the news of *Theodoſius*'s promotion gave to all the ſubjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his juſtice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with *Claudian*, that the empire, without the aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*, would never have recovered its former luſtre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians [n]. But to return to *Gratian*, he ſeems to have continued ſome

[c] AMBROS. ſermo de diverſ. p. 125. VICT. p. 546. [d] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 350. [e] CLAUD. ibid. p. 193. [f] HIER. ep. 9 p. 73. [g] Idem, ibid. [h] CLAUD. ibid. p. 194. [i] AMBROS. ibid. p. 122. [k] THEMIST. p. 477. [l] GREG. NYSS. in funere Flaccillæ. p 533. [m] Zos. l. iv. p. 777. [n] CLAUD. conſul Hon. c. 4. p. 40, 41.

months at *Sirmium*, after the promotion of *Theodosius* [o]; nay, *Socrates*, tho' in this place somewhat confused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians; who surrounded him on all sides; and soon after set out for *Gaul*, upon intelligence, that the *Germans* were up in arms, and ready to break into that province [p]. He was at *Aquileia* in the beginning of *July*, and in the latter end of the same month at *Milan* [q], where he contracted great intimacy with St. *Ambrose*, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deserves no less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the pious and truly christian sentiments it contains [r]. It was at his request that St. *Ambrose* wrote, tho' unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatise on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving the divinity of the Holy Ghost [s]. The pious emperor was so well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had sequestered at *Milan* in 380, with a design as was thought, to give it to the *Arians*, out of complaisance to his mother-in-law *Justina*. At the same time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conscience to all sects, he published another, fobidding all heretics, especially the re-baptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold assemblies in any part of the empire. This law is dated from *Milan* the third of *August* of the present year 379 [t], and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of St. *Ambrose*. *Gratian* left *Milan* soon after; and passing thro' *Rhætia*, the province of the *Sequani*, and *Germania Prima*, repaired to *Treves*, where he was on the fourteenth of *September* [u], and perhaps before; for he is said to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have surprised the people of *Gaul* with his unexpected arrival [w]. He passed the winter at *Treves*, and consequently was in that city, when *Ausonius*, upon the expiring of his consulship, pronounced the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him [x]. This year we find the *Lombards*, whom we shall see two hundred years hence masters of *Italy*, first mentioned in history.

Gratian returns to Gaul.

A law against heretics.

The Lombards.

[o] Auson. ep. 2. p. 5, 6. [p] Socr. l. v. c. 6. p. 260. [q] Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 100. [r] Ambros. de fide, p. 109---112. [s] Idem ibid. & de Spir. l. i. c. 1. p. 213. [t] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 117. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 100. [w] Auson. conf. p. 411. [x] Idem ibid.

Prosper,

Proſper, who after having copied the chronicle of St. *Jerom* to this time begins now one of his own, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the moſt diſtant coaſts of the ocean, and their native country *Scandinavia*, and ſeeking new ſettlements, as they were over-ſtocked with people at home, attacked firſt, and overcame about this time, the *Vandals*, a *German* nation. They were headed by two chiefs named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, who dying about ten years after, they created *Agelmond*, ſon to the latter, their firſt king, who reigned thirty-three years [y]. We are told, that the *Lombards*, and the *Gepidæ*, were for many years one and the ſame nation; and that they paſſed the *Danube* together about the year 400, in the reign of *Honorius*, who allowed them ſettlements about *Sirmium* and *Singidunum*. This is what *Grotius* writes upon the authority of *Paulus Diaconus*, who flouriſhed in the ninth century [z]. *Grotius* adds, that the *Gepidæ*, and conſequently the *Lombards*, held the tenets of *Arius*, and that they were orignally *Vandals* [a]. Tho' we have ſaid after *Grotius*, that *Proſper* is the firſt author who mentions the *Lombards*, yet we muſt own, that their name is to be met with in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus* and *Strabo*. But to this *Grotius* anſwers, that by the name of *Lombards* in thoſe authors are meant, not the people we are here ſpeaking of, but other *German* nations, who from their long beards were called *Longobardi* and *Langobardi*.

WE left *Theodoſius* at *Sirmium*, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of *January* of this year 379. He was ſurrounded on all ſides with numberleſs multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, ſcoured the neighbouring countries without reſtraint, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Dacia*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were already loſt. The *Goths*, the *Taifali*, the *Alans*, and the *Hunns*, were maſters of the greateſt part of theſe provinces, and had ravaged and laid waſte the reſt: the *Armenians*, *Iberians* and *Perſians*, were likewiſe up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the empire [b]. What evils, ſays *Gregory Nazianzen*, have we not ſeen or heard of? whole countries have been deſtroyed with fire and ſword; many thouſand perſons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly maſſacred; the rivers are ſtill dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps

The deſolate ſtate of the eaſtern provinces.

[y] PROSP. chron. GROT. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p. 53 [z] Idem ibid. p. 27. PAUL. DIAC. de geſt. Longobard. l. i c. 2 --6 p. 746. [a] GROT p. 27, 53. [b] THEMIST. or. xvi p. 207.

of

of dead bodies. Let us not aſcribe the calamities we ſuffer to the cowardice of our ſoldiers, who have conquered the world; our ſins, and the *Arian* impiety, which has ſo long prevailed, are the only cauſe of our misfortunes [c]. The few ſoldiers who had ſurvived the late defeat, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, kept within the cities and ſtrong-holds of *Thrace*, without daring ſo much as to look abroad, much leſs to make head againſt the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies [d]. *Gratian*, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor ſome troops; 'tis at leaſt certain, that he left with him two officers of great diſtinction, viz. count *Ricomer*, a *Frank* by nation, and *Majorianus*, who commanded the troops of *Illyricum* under *Gratian*, and was by *Theodoſius* raiſed to the poſt of general both of the horſe and foot. Both theſe officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves under *Theodoſius* in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the *Goths* [e]. *Theodoſius* leaving *Sirmium* ſoon after the departure of *Gratian*, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of *Eaſt Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had yielded to him, as we have obſerved above [f], and was ſtill there on the ſeventeenth of *June* [g]. During his ſtay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the eaſt ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the ſovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from *Conſtantinople* was the celebrated orator *Themiſtius*, who, in a ſpeech which he pronounced on that occaſion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his anceſtors. The emperor received them all in a moſt obliging manner, promiſing to redreſs, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained [h]. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his ſtay at *Theſſalonica*, he took the field, probably about the end of *June*; for on the ſeventh of *July* he was at *Scupi* in *Dardania*, and on the tenth of *Auguſt* at a place called *Vicus Auguſti* [i], the ſituation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can ſcarce give any account; for our beſt guide, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, fails us here; and other authors are ſo obſcure in their accounts, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and often with themſelves, that we can ſcarce depend upon any thing

The chief cities in the eaſt ſend deputies to Theodoſius.

[c] Greg. Naz. or. xiv p. 214. [d] Themist. ibid. p. 180.
[e] Sidon. car. v. p. 312. Theodoſ chron. p 99. Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [f] Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [g] Cod. [h] Themist. or. xiv. p. 180---183. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 100.

they

they relate. *Idatius* [k], *Proſper* [l], and *Oroſius* [m], tell us, that many great battles were fought, and as many ſignal victories gained by *Theodoſius*. On the other hand, *Zoſimus* mentions but one battle, which he deſcribes at length, but as he ſtudies on all occaſions to detract as much as he can from the glory of *Theodoſius*, he aſcribes the ſignal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one *Modares*, a prince of royal extraction among the *Goths*, who had lately taken part with the *Romans* [n]. *Zoſimus*, prompted by his blind zeal for the worſhip of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom againſt a prince who compleated, as we ſhall ſee, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had ſuffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, againſt whom he betrays on all occaſions an inveterate hatred, and unſurmountable prejudice. As to *Modares*, by whoſe conduct *Thrace* was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and deſtruction, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and experience in war. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote ſome letters to him, wherein he extolls his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquility of the church [o]; whence we may conclude him to have been, not only a chriſtian, but a catholic. *Proſper* tells us, that *Theodoſius* not only overcame the *Goths* in ſeveral pitched battles, but forced them to repaſs the *Danube*, and by that means delivered *Thrace* from the inſupportable yoke under which it groaned [p]. Great numbers of them took part with the *Romans*, after having delivered up to the emperor ſome of the chief men among them as hoſtages. Thus *Proſper*, *Zoſimus* [q], and *Sozomen* [r]. However, it is no eaſy matter to determine, whither thoſe retired who repaſſed the *Danube*, ſince their own country was poſſeſſed by the *Hunns*, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by ſome authors confuſedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any diſtinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the *Goths* ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, and the reſt withdrew from *Thrace*. In this, at leaſt, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus reſtored *Thrace* to its former tranquility, returned

He gains ſeveral victories over the Goths.

[k] IDAT. chron. faſt [l] PROSPER chron. [m] OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [n] Zos. l. iv. p. 751, 752. [o] GREG. NAZ. epiſt. 135, 136. p 864. [p] PROSP. chron. [q] Zos. p. 756. [r] Soz. l vii. c. 4. p. 707.

in the latter end of the autumn to *Theſſalonica*, and there took up his winter-quarters.

The following year 380, the two emperors were conſuls, *Gratian* the fifth time, and *Theodoſius* the firſt. The former, after having paſſed the winter at *Treves*, from which place we find two laws dated the ſixth and fifteenth of *February*, ſet out early in the ſpring for *Italy*, and was on the fourteenth of *March* at *Aquileia*, and at *Milan*, on the twenty-fourth of *April*. From *Milan* he advanced to *Sirmium*, and continued till the end of the ſummer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in *Pannonia* [r]. *Theodoſius* was ſeized in the month of *February* of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged *Gratian* to quit *Gaul*, and haſten into *Illyricum*, leſt the neighbouring barbarians ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to break into *Thrace* [s]. As the *Goths* were ſtill in arms, and threatened to paſs the *Danube*, *Gratian*, during the malady of his collegue, propoſed, and concluded, a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by *Theodoſius* upon his recovery [u]. One of the articles of this treaty was, if *Zoſimus* is to be credited, that the *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, ſhould be at liberty to quit the ſervice when they pleaſed, provided they found others to ſubſtitute in their room [w]. *Gratian*, by a law dated from *Milan* the twenty-fourth of *April*, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the ſtage ſuch women as had embraced the chriſtian religion, tho' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profeſſion [x]. He renewed the ſame law the following year, adding this clauſe to it, that if ſuch women behaved for the future more like players than chriſtians, they ſhould be condemned to ſerve the ſtage the remaining part of their lives, without remiſſion [y]. As for *Theodoſius*, being ſeized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earneſtneſs the ſacrament of baptiſm; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of *Aſcolus* biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, after having carefully informed himſelf of the faith that prelate profeſſed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameleſs in his manners, the pious emperor immediately ſent for him to court, was baptized by him; and from that inſtant, the violence of the malady abating,

Gratian returns to Illyricum.

And concludes a treaty with the Goths.

Theodoſius, being ſeized with a dangerous malady, is baptized.

[r] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 102—104. [s] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649. [t] Prosp. chron. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 756. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 365. [x] Idem, leg. 9. p. 371. & leg. viii. p. 370.

he

he began to recover [z]. Soon after, the emperor gave a signal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law dated from *Theſſalonica* the twenty-eighth of *February* of the preſent year 380. In that law *Theodoſius* declares that he will have all his ſubjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of *Rome* had received of St. *Peter*, which was taught by *Damaſcus* biſhop of that city, and by *Peter* biſhop of *Alexandria*, a man of great ſanctity; that is, that they muſt all acknowledge and confeſs the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, that thoſe, who held this doctrine, ſhould be deemed chriſtian catholics: but, on the contrary, ſuch, as rejected it, ſhould be treated as heretics and infamous perſons; their conventicles ſhould not be called churches, and they themſelves ſhould undergo thoſe puniſhments, which were due to their wickedneſs, from the imperial authority and divine juſtice, it being a crime and a ſacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out ignorance [a]. Thus this memorable law, which was addreſſed to the people of *Conſtantinople*, and to the preſect *Eutropius*, with orders to ſend it into all the provinces, and cauſe it to be every-where obſerved by the ſubjects of the empire [b]. To this law St. *Auſtin*, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that *Theodoſius*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, by a law full of mercy and juſtice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppreſſed by the protection given by *Valens* to the *Arians* [c]. Beſides this, the emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners, *viz.* one dated the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding *Eaſter*; that is, during *Lent*; another of the eighteenth of *December*, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceaſed huſbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: Several laws againſt informers, who were to be puniſhed with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the ſixteenth of *November*, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the eſtates of ſuch perſons as were condemned for treaſon; adding, whereas the importunity of ſuch petitioners often wreſts from the prince what he ought not to grant, his reſcript in their favour ſhall be of

His zeal for the orthodox faith.

Several laws of this year.

[z] AMBROS. ep. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 64. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 25. p. 57. [b] Idem ibid. & Soz. p. 708. [c] August. ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64.

no force; and ſuch as ſhall by that means have obtained the confiſcated eſtates, ſhall be puniſhed as tranſgreſſors of the laws. Theſe eſtates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion [d]. Under other princes, the eſtates of perſons condemned for treaſon were frequently granted to thoſe who had accuſed them, which proved a great encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of *Theodoſius*, put a ſtop to their vile practices. By former laws, the eſtates of ſuch as had been baniſhed, or executed, fell to the exchequer; but *Theodoſius*, by two laws of this year, dated the ſeventeenth of *June*, orders the eſtates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children; and thoſe of the latter to be left intire to their children or grand-children [e]. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent to the children of thoſe who were executed, than to the children of ſuch as were only baniſhed. In caſes of treaſon, only one ſixth of the criminal's eſtate was to be left to his children, whether he was baniſhed or executed. The emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, which are ſo many inſtances of his good-nature, his application to buſineſs, and his care of the public welfare [f].

The Goths *re-enter* Thrace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the *Goths* had concluded with *Gratian*, during the malady of *Theodoſius*, that prince had no ſooner left *Illyricum*, to return to *Gaul*, than they paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of *Fritigern*, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax*; and breaking into *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, advanced as far as *Macedon*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword [g]. *Zoſimus* writes, that they laid waſte *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and penetrated as far as *Achaia*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition [h]. *Theodoſius*, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of *Macedon*, thought it adviſeable not to venture an engagement with forces ſo much ſuperior to him in number; but to harraſs them by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The *Goths*, appriſed of his deſign, attacked the *Roman* camp in the dead of the night, made themſelves maſters of it, cut moſt of *Theodoſius*'s men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, had he not ſaved himſelf by a ſpeedy flight, while the *Goths* were buſied in plundering the tents [i]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Idatius* [k], *Marcellinus* [l], *Gregory Nazianzen*,

[d] Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 441. [e] Idem, l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 8. p. 335. [f] Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 6. p. 39. tit. 2. leg. 6. p. 32. & l. x. tit. 18. leg. 2. p. 486. [g] Jorn. ibid. p. 649. [h] Zos. p. 756. [i] Idem. p. 757. [k] Idat. faſt. [l] Marcel. chron

zianzen, who was then at *Conſtantinople* [m], and *Philoſtorgius* [n], an *Arian* writer, and conſequently no-ways partial to *Theodoſius*, aſſure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; and that, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, which happened, according to ſome, on the ſeventeenth, according to others, on the twenty-fourth, of *November*, he entered that metropolis in triumph. *Jornandes*, who omits no opportunity of ſetting forth the exploits of his *Goths*, takes no notice of their pretended victory over *Theodoſius*. Beſides, *Gregory Nazianzen* deſcribes his triumphal entry into *Conſtantinople*, of which he was an eye-witneſs; and adds, that he well deſerved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceneſs, had ventured to engage him [o]. The emperor, ſoon after his arrival in that metropolis, appointed *Gregory Nazianzen* biſhop of the place, in the room of the *Arian* biſhop *Demophilus*, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the doctrine of the council of *Nice*. The emperor in perſon conducted the new biſhop to the great church, and put him in poſſeſſion, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the *Arians*, who had held them for the ſpace of forty years [p]. Thus was the orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the metropolis of the eaſt, about the latter end of this year 380. The next conſuls were *Fl. Syagrius* and *Fl. Eucherius*, uncle, as is ſuppoſed to *Theodoſius*. *Gratian* was this year, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, at *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *March*; at *Aquileia* on the twenty-ſecond of *April* and eighth of *May*; and at *Treves* on the fourteenth of *October*. He returned to *Aquileia* on the twenty-ſixth of *December*, and ſeems to have paſſed the winter in that city [q]. *Valentinian* had introduced the cuſtom of ſetting yearly at liberty ſome criminals, on occaſion of the feſtival of *Eaſter*. This cuſtom *Gratian* confirmed by a law addreſſed to *Antidius*, vicar of *Rome*; but excludes from ſuch indulgence all criminals guilty of treaſon, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, inceſt, magic, all falſe coiners, and ſuch as had been pardoned before. This law was read at *Rome* on the twenty-firſt of *July* of this year 381 [r]. As to the affairs in the eaſt, *Theodoſius* continued at *Conſtantinople*, at leaſt to the nineteenth of *July*. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he publiſhed a law dated the tenth of *January*,

Theodoſius *defeats the* Goths.

The orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the eaſt.

[m] GREG. NAZ. car. 1. p. 20. [n] PHILOST. l. ix. c. 19. p. 133. [o] GREG. NAZ. car. i. p. 20, 21. [p] Socr. l. v. c. 7. p. 263, 264. GREG. NAZ. ibid. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 104, 105. [r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 6. p. 275.

All the churches delivered up to the catholics.

forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold aſſemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to *Sapor*, one of the greateſt generals of his time, who was ſent into the ſeveral provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic paſtors in poſſeſſion of the churches the ſectaries had uſurped. *Sapor* met no-where with the leaſt difficulty in the execution of his commiſſion, except at *Antioch*, where the catholics were divided among themſelves [t]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the *Arians* were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of *Conſtantinople* [u]. This year *Athanaric*, the moſt powerful of all the *Gothiſh* princes, who had maintained a three years war with *Valens*, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the *Roman* territories, notwithſtanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground; and coming to *Conſtantinople*, was there received with great marks of friendſhip by *Theodoſius*, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of *January* of the preſent year. But *Athanaric* died ſoon after, *viz.* on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and *Theodoſius* cauſed him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with ſuch pomp and ſolemnity, that the *Goths* who had attended him in his flight, aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, reſolved never to moleſt the *Romans*; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceaſed prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that ſide [v]. *Oroſius* writes, that the emperor's generous behaviour to *Athanaric* made ſuch a deep impreſſion on all the *Gothiſh* nations, that, charmed with his virtue and ſingular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and ſubmitted to the laws of the empire [w]. The ſame thing is confirmed by *Idatius* and *Marcellinus*; but this did not happen till the third of *October* of the following year, as we ſhall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of *Athanaric* at *Conſtantinople*, and before his death, the philoſopher *Themiſtius* pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he obſerves, among other things, that *Theodoſius*, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but

Athanaric recurs to Theodoſius. dies, and is interred at Conſtantinople.

[t] Idem. l. vi. tit 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. Theodoret. l. v. c. ii. p. 706. [u] Philost. l 9 c. 19 p 522. [v] Zos. l. iv. p. 758, 759. Oros. l. vii c. 34. p. 220. [w] Oros. ibid.

had

had not yet condemned one perſon to death [x]. The pious emperor, no leſs deſirous to heal the diviſions that rent the church, than to redreſs the abuſes which prevailed in the ſtate, ſummoned this year, in the month of *May*, the ſecond general or œcumenical council, which was held at *Conſtantinople* by all the biſhops of his dominions [y]. While the council was aſſembling, the emperor publiſhed a law dated the ſecond of *May*, depriving ſuch as had renounced the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, of the right of diſpoſing of any thing by will [z]. By a law dated the eighth of the ſame month, he extends that penalty to the *Manichees*, whoſe eſtates he declares confiſcated, unleſs their children ſhould embrace the true religion; in which caſe they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents [b]. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of *June*, *Theodoſius* declared, that the reſpect due to the prieſthood not ſuffering biſhops to be ſummoned to the public courts as witneſſes, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there [c]. By another law dated the nineteenth of *July*, he forbids the *Eunomians* and *Arians* to build churches, either in the cities or in the country, and declares the places where they ſhall have preached, or performed any other function, confiſcated [d]. All theſe laws are dated from *Conſtantinople*; but two others, of the twenty-firſt of *July*, from *Heraclea* in *Thrace* [e], whither the emperor had advanced againſt ſuch of the barbarians as were ſtill in arms. *Zoſimus* tells us, that having demanded aſſiſtance of *Gratian*, that prince ſent him a conſiderable body of troops commanded by *Baudo*, or *Bauto*, and *Arbogaſtes*, who were both *Franks*, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire The former was father to *Eudoxia* the wife of *Arcadius*, and maintained a correſpondence by letters with *Symmachus* [f]. Of the latter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Upon the arrival of theſe two renowned commanders, the *Goths*, who were ravaging *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, retired with great precipitation into *Thrace*; but not being able to ſubſiſt in that province, which they themſelves had laid waſte the preceding year, they were forced to ſue for peace, and ſubmit to *Theodoſius* [g]. Thus *Zoſimus*, detracting, according to his cuſtom, as much as he can, from the glory of *Theodoſius*. However, he owns,

The ſecond œcumenical council.

Several laws of Theodoſius *againſt heretics.*

[x] THEMIST. orat. xv p. 185—190. [y] SOCR. l. v. c. 8. p. 264. [z] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 203. [b] Idem. tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120. [c] Idem. l. tit. 39. leg. 8. p. 327. [d] Idem. tit. 1. leg. 3. p. 9. [e] Cod. Theod. chron. p 105. [f] Zos. l iv. p. 757. SYMM. l. iv. ep. 15, 16. p. 150. [g] Zos. ibid. p. 758.

that

The Scyri *and* Carpodacæ *defeated by* Theodosius.

that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Scyri* and *Carpodacæ*, who had, jointly with the *Hunns*, broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repass the *Danube* [h]. We find the *Scyri* frequently mentioned amongst the northern barbarians; but of the *Carpodacæ* no farther notice is taken in history. This campaign ended, it seems, in *September*; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at *Adrianople*, and on the twenty-eighth at *Constantinople*, where he continued the remaining part of the year [i].

A law of Gratian *against beggars.*

The following year 382, when *Antonius*, called also by some, *Antoninus*, and supposed to have been father-in-law to *Theodosius*, was consul with *Syagrius*, the neighbouring barbarians broke into *Italy*; but were soon driven back by *Gratian*, who passed the greatest part of this year at *Milan*, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions [k]. From some laws published in the month of *September* of this year, it appears that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies, for the defence of *Rhætia* and *Illyricum*. A law dated the fifteenth of *December* informs us, that persons of fortune were obliged to supply the army with horses [l]. As *Rome* was infested by multitudes of beggars, *Gratian* by a law dated the twentieth of *June*, orders *Severus*, prefect of the city, to seize such of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against them, either as slaves, if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture [m]. By another law, dated the eighteenth of *August*, he suspends, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of *Victory*, which stood in the place where the *Roman* senate assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated [n]. This altar had been removed by *Constantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357, but re-established by *Julian* in 361, and suffered to continue there by *Valentinian*, who allowed to all his subjects the free exercise of what religion they liked best. At the same time, *Gratian* declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the vestal virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to seize on the lands, which, for the future, should be be-

He causes the altar of Victory *to be removed out of the senate.*

[h] Idem, p. 759. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p 105. [k] Idem, p. 106. [l] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 149. [m] Idem, l. xiv. tit. 18. p. 250, 257. [n] Idem, l. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 290.

queathed

queathed to them or their temples. The pagan ſenators ſent deputies, at the head of whom was *Symmachus*, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke theſe laws; but *Gratian* would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence [o]. The heretics met with no leſs ſevere treatment in the eaſt from *Theodoſius*, than the pagans in the weſt from *Gratian*; for by a law dated the laſt of *March*, he declared ſuch of the *Manichees*, as were then known by the names of *Encratitæ*, *Saccofori*, and *Hydroparaſtatæ*, that is, *the continent*, the *ſack-bearers*, the *water-drinkers*, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform againſt them, and likewiſe againſt ſuch as, in the celebration of *Eaſter*, differed as to the day from other chriſtians; theſe he likewiſe pronounced guilty of death [p]. All the laws enacted this year by *Theodoſius* are dated from *Conſtantinople*; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the *Goths* having, by their deputies, offered to ſubmit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of *Macedon*, and ſhut up in *Thrace*, where they could not ſubſiſt, *Theodoſius*, not caring to drive them to deſpair, received their deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the *Hunns*, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to ſettle in *Thrace* and *Mæſia*; which two provinces were almoſt quite diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other ſubjects of the empire [q]. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they ſubmitted. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* ſervice; but formed a ſeparate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the ſource of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injuſtice, and cruelty, of the *Roman* officers, they refuſed to put themſelves into their power, and inſiſted upon their continuing united, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt ſuch inſults as they had reaſon to apprehend, when diſperſed among the *Roman* troops. *Zoſimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodoſius*, and his want of foreſight, in this particular [r]; but *Themiſtius*, in a ſpeech which he pronounced before the emperor himſelf, tells him, that he gained, by his indulgence and good-nature, the barbarians, whom he

Laws of Theodoſius againſt heretics.

The Goths *ſubmit to* Theodoſius.

[o] AMBR. ep. 11. p. 195. SYMM. l. x. ep. 54. p. 455. 456.
[p] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 9. p. 124. [q] THEMIST. orat. xvi. p. 199. [r] Zos. p. 758.

was

was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms [f]. The *Goths* therefore were not yet ſo far weakened, as to ſubmit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impoſe upon them [t].

THE next conſuls were *Fl. Merobaudes*, the ſecond time, and *Flavius Saturninus*. *Gratian* was, from the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 383, to the ſecond of *May*, at *Milan*; at *Padua* on the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of the ſame month; and at *Verona* on the ſeventeenth of *June* [u]. He publiſhed ſeveral excellent laws this year, and among the reſt one dated the nineteenth of *January*, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular perſons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged [w]; another dated the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, inflicting ſevere penalties on ſuch as ſhould conceal deſerters or robbers [x]; a third, condemning informers to ſuch puniſhments as were due to the crimes of which they accuſed others, when they could not make good the charge [y]; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to ſuch orders as tribunes, ſecretaries, counts, or any other perſons, however dignified and diſtinguiſhed, ſhould pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth [z]: The former of theſe two laws is dated the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, and the latter the ſeventeenth of *June*. By a law dated the twenty-ſecond of *May*, he declares thoſe incapable of diſpoſing of their eſtates by will, who ſhall renounce the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, *Judaiſm*, or the execrable tenets of the *Manichees*. Thoſe by whom they ſhall have been ſeduced, are ſubjected to the ſame penalty [a]. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine, that raged in *Rome*, but more on account of the diſturbances that were raiſed in the ſtate by *Maximus*, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor *Gratian*. That uſurper, named *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, was by birth a *Briton*, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from *Socrates* [b]; but, in our opinion, that author ſpeaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place of his nativity [c], as does likewiſe *Gildas* [d]. *Pacatus*, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, aſſures us, that he was a ſtranger in *Britain*,

Several laws published by Gratian.

[f] THEMIST. ibid. p. 212. [t] Idem, p. 212. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 108, 109. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. [x] Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222. [y] Idem, tit. 1. leg. 14. p. 19. [z] Idem, l. i. tit. 3. leg. 1. p 27. [a] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 205. [b] USSER. eccleſ. Britan. antiq p 199. [c] Vid. Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. [d] GILD. de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 117.

and

and had been baniſhed into this iſland [e]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was a native of *Spain* [f], which is not improbable, ſince it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to *Theodoſius*. He was brought up, ſays *Pacatus*, in the family of *Theodoſius* as a ſervant, and employed in the meaneſt offices [g]. *Zoſimus* pretends, that he ſerved in *Britain* with *Theodoſius*, who, as we have obſerved above, attended his father into this iſland in the year 368. Be that as it will, ſeeing *Theodoſius* raiſed to the empire, ſays *Zoſimus*, while he could not attain to any creditable employment, prompted by jealouſy and envy, he began to foment the averſion of the *Roman* ſoldiers to *Gratian*, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; inſomuch that in the end they revolted, declared *Maximus* emperor, and, with the uſual ſolemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied to *Theodoſius*, and that it was with his participation and conſent he had taken upon him the ſovereignty [h]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Sulpicius Severus* [i], and *Oroſius* [k], tell us, that the ſoldiers mutinying forced him to accept the purple. The authority of theſe two authors, of whom the former flouriſhed at that very time, and the other ſoon after, is of great weight with us. *Oroſius* ſtyles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means [l]; and *Sulpicius* ſpeaks of him as one, who, abating this uſurpation, deſerved in every other reſpect to be eſteemed and commended [m]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, before his uſurpation, he had gained ſeveral ſignal victories in *Britain* [n]; and ſome modern authors, that he drove the *Scots* quite out of the iſland [o]. But neither is conſiſtent with what we have related above out of *Zoſimus*. *Maximus* at firſt was ſupported only by a ſmall number of the inhabitants of this iſland; but others flocking to him from all parts of *Britain*, he found himſelf in a very ſhort time at the head of a numerous army, which, without loſs of time, he tranſported into *Gaul*; and landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from *Gratian*, and join him, not ſo much by force of arms, as by art and addreſs [p], extending, ſays *Gildas*, by lyes and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wick-

Maximus revolts in Britain.

His character.

He paſſes over into Gaul.

[e] PACAT. p. 263, 269. [f] Zos. p. 760. [g] PACAT. p. 264. [h] Zos. p. 760. [i] SULP. SEV. vit. S. Martin. c. 23. p. 208. [k] OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [l] OROS. ibid. [m] SULP SEV. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290. [n] GREG. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30. [o] Vide USS. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 592. [p] Zos. l. iv. p. 760.

edneſs

edneſs and rebellion [q]. *Gratian* was then making war upon the *Germans* called *Juthongi*; but he no ſooner heard of the arrival of the uſurper in *Gaul*, than he haſtened to *Treves*, to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emiſſaries of *Maximus*, abandoned him, to take part with the uſurper. However, thinking himſelf ſtill a match for *Maximus*, he left *Treves*, went in queſt of his enemy, and offered him battle [r]. *Baronius* writes, that *Gratian*, finding himſelf abandoned by his own troops, had called the *Hunns* and *Alans* to his aſſiſtance, and that his army conſiſted chiefly of thoſe barbarians [s]. The learned *Uſher* was once of the ſame opinion [t]; but afterwards retracted it [u]; St. *Ambroſe*, on whoſe authority it was grounded, ſpeaking in the letter quoted by *Baronius* [w], not of *Gratian*, but of *Valentinian* II. *Gratian's* army was commanded by *Merobaudes*, and count *Balio*, an officer of known valour and fidelity [x]. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near *Paris* [y]. But *Zoſimus* tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the preſence of each other, without any action, except a few ſkirmiſhes in which no great advantage was gained on either ſide; but that in the end the troops of *Gratian*, provoked at his ſhewing ſo much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, ſhamefully deſerted him, and went over to *Maximus*.

Gratian abandoned by his army.

Gratian, ſeeing himſelf thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred horſemen; and having got into *Lyons*, after he had been refuſed admittance into other cities, he was there taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death [z].

And put to death at Lyons.

That he was put to death at *Lyons*, all authors agree, except *Zoſimus*, who miſtook, as is ſuppoſed, *Singidunum* in *Muſia* for *Lugdunum* in *Gaul*. *Socrates* [a] and *Sozomen* [b] relate his death with ſeveral circumſtances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that *Andragathius*, who was general of the horſe under *Maximus*, and ſent by him to purſue *Gratian*, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was croſſing the *Rhone*, put himſelf into a cloſe

[q] Gild. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 170. [r] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. Zos. p. 760. [s] Baron. ad ann. 383. [t] Uss. Brit. eccleſ. antiq. p. 590. [u] Idem, ibid. p. 1058. [w] Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320. [x] Prosper. p. 267. Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. [y] Prosp. Tyro. chron. [z] Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. Hier. chron. p. 26. Ambros. Pſal. lxi. p. 746. [a] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. [b] Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.

litter,

litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the empreſs *Læta*, whom *Gratian* had lately married, going to her huſband. The emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to ſee one whom he ſo tenderly loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was ſtanding with open arms ready to receive her, *Andragathius*, ſtarting out of the litter, ſeized him, and ſoon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. *Ambroſe*, a contemporary writer, *viz.* that *Gratian* was betrayed by a perſon whom he had truſted with intire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refuſed at firſt to comply with the invitation, ſuſpecting ſome treachery; but being in the end deceived by falſe oaths, and feigned proteſtations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew with thoſe who had feaſted with him [c]. Theſe circumſtances are not mentioned by hiſtorians; only *Oroſius* and *Marcellinus* write, that he was ſurpriſed by the craft and artifice of *Maximus*, and ſoon after put to death [d]. Thus died *Gratian* in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, ſixteen years and one day, but from the death of his father, only ſeven years and nine months [e]. He married in 374 or 375 *Conſtantia*, the poſthumous daughter of the emperor *Conſtantius*, and had by her a ſon, and other children [f]; but they all died, it ſeems, before him [g], as did likewiſe his wife *Conſtantia*, whoſe body was brought this very year to *Conſtantinople*, according to *Idatius* and the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*, and interred on the ſecond of *December*. *Gratian*, not long before his death, married to his ſecond wife *Læta* [h], to whom, as well as to her mother, by name *Piſſamine*, *Theodoſius* allowed a yearly penſion, to ſupport them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of *Rome*, while that city was beſieged by *Alaric* in the year 408 [i]. The death of *Gratian* was no ſooner known at *Milan*, than St. *Ambroſe*, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loſs of ſuch an excellent and inimitable prince, as he ſtyles him, ſet out in great haſte from that city to demand his body of *Maximus* in the name of *Valentinian*, but the

[c] AMBROS. pſal. lxi. p. 848. [d] OROS. p. 220. MARCELL. chron. [e] SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p 270. MARCELL. chron. [f] AUG. civit. Dei. l. v. c. 25. AMBR. de fid. l. i. c. 20. [g] THEODOR. l. v. c. 12. p. 722. [h] Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721. [i] Idem ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 815.

usurper refused it to him, pretending, that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to renew the grief of the soldiery [k]. However, they were afterwards brought to *Milan*, and interred there near the tomb of *Valentinian* II. As for his character, all writers, whether christians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality that can be desired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and desire of doing good to all, in which he seemed to place his chief happiness. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, though a zealous pagan, writes, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the same time blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diversions [l], which may be justly imputed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying seriously to business in his riper years. St. *Ambrose*, *Theodoret*, *Rufinus*, *Ausonius*, and even *Zosimus* himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he surpassed all the princes who had reigned before him, *Constantine* himself not excepted. St. *Ambrose*, in his answer to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the title of *most christian* [m]. The many laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are so many instances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Though none of the christian princes his predecessors had scrupled to assume the habit of the high pontiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to custom, brought to him, he rejected it, saying, that it was not consistent with the principles of the christian religion to wear that habit. Thus *Zosimus* [n]; but it will be no easy task to prove that either *Constantine* after his conversion, or any other christian prince, ever assumed the habit or title of Pontifex Maximus, though the latter was commonly given to them by the *pagans*, and even to *Gratian* himself [o]. The pagan priests, adds *Zosimus*, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit, or title of high-pontiff, the chief man among them uttered these memorable words; *If the prince will not be styled* pontifex maximus, Maximus *will soon become* pontifex [p], foretelling, that *Maximus* would be raised to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of *Maximus*. However that be, *Maximus* was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he took his son *Flavius Victor* for his collegue in the

His character.

It said to be the first who rejected the title of high-pontiff.

Maximus declared his son Victor his collegue.

[k] Ambros. psal. lxi p. 849. [l] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 344. [m] Ambros de fid. p. 110. p. 160. Baron. ann, 312. [n] Zos. l. iv. p. 761. [o] Grut. [p] Zos. ibid.

power

power he had uſurped, and gave him, though then only an infant, the title of *Auguſtus*, as we read in *Victor* the hiſtorian [q]; which is confirmed by ſome antient inſcriptions [r], though *Zoſimus* gives him only the title of *Ceſar* [s]. The uſurper fixed the ſeat of his empire at *Treves*, and extended his wings, to uſe the expreſſion of *Gildas* [t], over *Spain* and *Britain*, being maſter, according to *Zoſimus* [u], of all the countries, which *Gratian*, in the diviſion of the weſtern provinces, had reſerved for his own ſhare. We do not find, that he put any of *Gratian*'s favourites to death, except *Merobaudes*, the conſul of this year, and *Balio*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Vallio*, one of the beſt officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to *Gratian*, by whom they had been raiſed for their eminent ſervices to the greateſt offices in the ſtate [w]. *Merobaudes* received orders from the tyrant to diſpatch himſelf, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death [x]. *Pacatus* writes, that *Balio* was ſtrangled in his own houſe by the *Britons*, who ſerved under *Maximus* [y]; but from St. *Ambroſe* it appears, that the uſurper had commanded him to be conveyed to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, to be there burnt alive; but that he by a violent death prevented the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence [z]. *Proſper*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Gratian* was betrayed by *Merobaudes*; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer ſufficiently clears him from ſo black an aſperſion; whence in the chronicle of *Proſper*, ſome, inſtead of *Merobaudes*, read *Mellobaudes*; for *Mellobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, ſerved under *Gratian* in quality of *comes domeſticorum* [a]; and treachery was in thoſe days the peculiar character of that nation. *Maximus* commanded count *Narſes* likewiſe, and *Leucadius*, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to *Gratian*; but was prevailed upon by the famous St. *Martin* to ſpare them [b]. *Paulus Diaconus*, in his life of St. *Ambroſe*, tells us, that that prelate was ſent into *Gaul* to propoſe an accommodation between *Maximus* and young *Valentinian*; on which occaſion he treated the uſurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to atone by a ſincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed

Puts Merobaudes and Balio to death.

[q] VICT. p. 546. [r] REIN. p. 326. [s] Zos. p. 770. [t] GILD. excid Brit. c. 10 p. 117. [u] Zos. p. 766 [w] PACAT. p. 267. AMBROS. ep 56. p. 320 [x] PACAT. ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 321. [a] Vide VALES. rer. Fran. l. ii. p. 59. [b] SULP. dialog. iii. c. 15. p. 321.

in

in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful ſovereign: the ſame author adds, that other biſhops, more complaiſant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and ſhameful flatteries, lulled him aſleep in his wickedneſs [c]. As *Maximus* had brought over with him into *Gaul* the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, and the *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in the iſland, the country remained by that means expoſed to the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who meeting with little or no oppoſition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages. The *Romans* now-and-then ſent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they conſtantly returned, and continued thus harraſſing the *Roman* provinces till the arrival of the *Angles* and *Saxons*, who made themſelves maſters of that part of the iſland which is now known by the name of *England*, about the middle of the fifth century [d]. Thoſe *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, never returned to their native country; but are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in *Armorica*, which was allotted to them by *Maximus*, and from its new inhabitants called *Britannia*, now *Bretagne* [e]. Colonies are ſaid to have been ſent from this iſland into *Bretagne* at three different times, *viz.* in the reign of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, during the uſurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Angles* made themſelves maſters of this iſland [f]. The antients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to queſtion the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. *Conſtantius*, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of St. *Germain* of *Auxerre*, calls *Bretagne*, *Armorica*, [g]; but *Sidonius* of *Clermont*, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, ſpeaks of *Britons* inhabiting the country that borders on the *Loire* [h]; nay, amongſt his letters we find one to *Riotham* their king [i]. That the *Britons*, who went over with *Maximus*, ſettled in *Armorica* among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any antient hiſtorian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the antient proprietors, made themſelves abſolute maſters of the country, under the conduct of their leader *Conan Meriodec*; and wanting women, had recourſe to *Dionotus*, or *Diodochus*, king of *Corn-*

The Britons *who attended* Maximus *into* Gaul, *are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in* Bretagne.

[c] Paul. Diac. vit. Ambroſ. p. 82, 83. [d] Gild. c. 11. p. 117. [e] Idem ibid. Usser. ibid. p. 199, 200. [f] Usser. ibid. p. 421. [g] Surius, 31. Jul. p. 366. [h] Sidon. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [i] Idem, l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.

wall,

wall, who ſent them his own daughter, by name *Urſula*, with eleven thouſand young women of quality, and ſixty thouſand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant fable, even by the *Roman-catholic* writers. Had the *Britons* wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept thoſe of the country, when they drove out the men. Beſides, it is altogether improbable, that *Cornwall* was ſo ſtocked with women as to ſpare ſeventy-one thouſand virgins. The fleet, fraught with theſe unhappy virgins, is ſuppoſed to have been driven by a ſtorm to the mouth of the *Rhine*, and to have ſailed up that river to *Cologn*, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for *Gratian* againſt *Maximus*, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. *Urſula* is ſtill revered in the church of *Rome* as a ſaint; but the number of eleven thouſand virgins, ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years ſince left out of the *Roman* breviary. Of *Auſonius*, who was preceptor to *Gratian*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (L). But to reſume the thread of the hiſtory.

Theodoſius,

(L) *Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Auſonius*, was a native of *Bourdeaux*. He tells us, that he was deſcended of a noble family (15); however, his father, who was a native of *Baxas*, and lived at *Bourdeaux*, followed the profeſſion of phyſic, till his ſon procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of *Illyricum*. He practiſed *gratis*, and was generally eſteemed a man of learning; but, what may ſeem ſtrange, was better acquainted with the *Greek*, than the *Latin*, tongue. He died in 377, at the age of eighty-eight or ninety (16). *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, uncle to *Auſonius* by the mother, was born in *Autun*, and deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but his father and uncle being proſcribed in the reign of *Gallienus* and *Aurelian*, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to *Bayonne*, where he married *Æmilia Corinthia Maura*, deſcended of a good family, and had by her one ſon named *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*, and three daughters, *Hilaria*, *Dryadia*, and *Æonia*: *Arborius* was a celebrated profeſſor of eloquence; *Hilaria* profeſſed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; *Dryadia* was betrothed, but died a little before the celebration of her nuptials; *Æonia* was mother to *Auſonius*. *Julia Cataphronia*, the ſiſter of *Julius Auſonius*, our author's father, embraced the ſtate of virginity, and lived to a great age (17). As for *Auſonius* himſelf, he ſtudied rhetoric under his uncle *Arborius* at *Toulouſe*, where *Arborius* taught about the year 325, before he was invited to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantius*; he ſtudied likewiſe at *Bourdeaux* under

(15) *Auſon. grat. act. pro conſul.* p. 389. (16) *Idem, parent.* i. *idyl.* 30. p. 355 — 359. (17) *Idem, parent.* iv. p. 106—109. *Profeſſ. Burdeg. car.* 17. p. 160.

Minervius,

Theodosius, who had never ſtirred this year from *Conſtantinople*, or the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no ſooner informed

Minervius, *Nepotianus*, and *Staphylus*, profeſſors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his ſtudies, he firſt pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profeſſion he followed for the ſpace of near thirty years, till he was, by *Valentinian* I. appointed preceptor to his ſon *Gratian* in 367, whom he attended into *Germany* the following year 368 (19). He had ſoon after ſome employment at court, with the title of *comes* or count, and was by degrees raiſed to the firſt offices in the ſtate. *Valentinian* made him quæſtor, and had even promiſed him the conſulſhip (20). After the death of *Valentinian*, *Gratian* raiſed him to the high ſtation of *præfectus prætorio*, firſt of *Italy* and *Africa*, and afterwards of *Gaul*. He was prefect of *Gaul*, and likewiſe conſul, in 379 (21). He was, it ſeems, at *Treves* when *Gratian* was killed (22); but ſoon after retired to *Guienne* (23). In a letter to *Paulinus*, about the year 392, he deſcribes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is ſuppoſed to have been in *Saintonge*. He profeſſed, without all doubt, the chriſtian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of *Scaliger*, altogether unworthy of the chriſtian name, being filled with pagan expreſſions, and the moſt barefaced obſcenities, in which he perhaps ſurpaſſes the moſt infamous among the pagan poets. As for his ſtyle, it is commended by ſome, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in *Baillet* (25). His works, which give ſome light to hiſtory, are the epigrams he wrote on the profeſſors of *Bourdeaux*, his verſes on the chief cities of the empire, and the ſpeech in which he returned thanks to *Gratian* for the honour he had done him in raiſing him to the conſulſhip. He wrote verſes on all the emperors, who had reigned till his time, and likewiſe conſular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long ſince entirely loſt, and of the former only a ſmall part has reached us. His poem on the *Moſelle* was greatly eſteemed by *Symmachus* (27), and is ſtill looked upon, by the beſt judges, as his maſter-piece (28). Some aſcribe to him, but without ſufficient ground, the diſtichs that paſs under the name of *Cato*

(18) *Verſus in clar. urb. p.* 208. *epiſt. p.* 457. *idyl. p.* 367. *Profeſſ. Burdig. car.* 12. 25. *p.* 156, 169. (19) *Idyl* 32. *p.* 367. *epiſt.* 4. *p.* 428. (20) *Idem, grat. act. pro conſ. p.* 378. (21) *Idem, ibid. p* 391. (22) *Idem, epiſt.* 9. *p.* 443. (23) *Idem, epiſt.* 18. *p.* 463. *idyl* 31. *p.* 485. (24) *Idem, epiſt.* 23. *p.* 485. (25) *Baillet jugemens des ſçavans, p.* 466 — 472. (26) *Auſon. p.* 136, 199, 375. (27) *Sym. l.* i. *epiſt.* 8. *p.* 9. (28) *Vide Baillet, p.* 472.

(29).

informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he drew together all his forces, with a deſign to march againſt the uſurper, and prevent

(29). The emperor *Theodoſius*, who had a particular eſteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). *Auſonius* and *Symmachus* lived in great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). *Gratian*, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, but likewiſe raiſed moſt of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above, with the title of preſect of *Illyricum* before the year 379; for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of his age (32). *Sanctus*, who married his wife's ſiſter, was made governor of *Britain* (33). *Paulinus*, ſon-in-law to his ſiſter *Dryadia*, was raiſed to the government of the province of *Tarraco* in *Spain*, and the huſband of his other niece by the ſame *Dryadia*, to great employments (34). *Arborius*, preſect of *Rome* in 380, is ſuppoſed to have been his nephew by the ſame ſiſter (35). *Auſonius* married *Attuſia Lucana Sabina*, the daughter of *Attuſius Lucanus Taliſius*, one of the chief citizens of *Bourdeaux*, and had by her two ſons, *viz.* *Auſonius* and *Heſperus*, and one daughter, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory. *Auſonius* died in his infancy; but *Heſperus* was preſect in *Africa* in 376, of *Italy* in 378, and the ſame year preſect of *Gaul* with his father. The daughter of *Auſonius* was married firſt to *Vallatinus Euromius*, who died when he was yet very young, though he had been already governor of a province in *Illyricum*, and afterwards to *Thalaſſus*, who was proconſul of *Africa* in 373. She had one Son by *Euronius* or *Euromius*, and ſeveral children by *Thalaſſus*, of whom the eldeſt was named *Auſonius* (36). *Symmachus* mentions a ſon of *Thalaſſus*, to whom the ſenate had, at his requeſt, granted ſome favours (37). *Auſonius* had taken care to inſtruct his daughter in the liberal ſciences (38). His wife *Sabina* died in the twenty-eighth year of her age (39); and *Auſonius* compoſed her epitaph thirty ſix years after (40). He wrote his conſular tables, and ſome other hiſtorical pieces, for the uſe and inſtruction of his ſon *Heſperus*, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and compoſed than himſelf (41). *Heſperus* married the daughter of *Se-*

(29) *Voſſ poet. Lat. c. 4. p. 55.* (30) *Auſon. p. 1.* (31) *Sym l* i. *ep.* 8. *p.* 9. *ep.* 25 *p.* 22. *ep* 31. *p.* 25. &c. (32) *Auſon. idyl.* 30. *p.* 358, 359 *parent* i. *p.* 102. (33) *Idem, parent.* xviii *p.* 123 (34) *Idem, ibid. p.* 123, 129. *idyl.* 30. *p* 358. (35) *Idem, parent. p.* 121. (36) *Idem, ibid* p. 119. *idyl.* 30. p. 358. *Sym l* i. *ep* 19. p. 17. (37 *Sym.* l. v. *ep* 56. p 208. (38) *Auſon idyl.* 12 p. 364, 365. (39) *Idem, parent.* p 119. (40) *Idem, ibid.* p. 113. (41) *Auſon.* p. 79. *idyl.* 12. p. 362.

vent him from seizing on *Italy* and *West-Illyricum*, belonging to young *Valentinian*. But in the mean time, *Maximus* having assured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of *Valentinian*, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* thought it advisable to put off his journey into the west [a]. Not long after, *Maximus* sent his great chamberlain to *Theodosius*, not to make an apology, says *Zosimus* [b], for the murder of *Gratian*, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. *Theodosius* not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of *Gratian* a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, hearkened to the proposals of *Maximus*; and acknowledging him in the end for his collegue, sent *Cynegius*, then *comes largitionum*, and afterwards prefect of the east, into *Egypt*, with orders to proclaim *Maximus* there, and to cause his image to be set up in *Alexandria* [c]. *Zosimus* in this place writes, that *Theodosius* only pretended to be reconciled with *Maximus*, to divert him from surprising young *Valentinian*, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere [d] blames him for observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. *Pacatus* tells us, that when *Maximus* revolted, *Theodosius* was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the east [e], perhaps with the *Saracens*; for he is said by *Marcellinus* [f], to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and

Maximus proposes an alliance with Theodosius.

Who acknowledges him for his collegue

[a] Themist. or. xviii. p. 220. [b] Zos l. iv. p. 764.
[c] Idem, p 761. [d] Idem, p. 768. [e] Pacat. p. 263.
[f] Marcell. chron.

verus Censor Julianus, and *Pomponia Urbica*, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest, named *Pastor*, died when he was but a youth: of *Paulinus*, his eldest son surnamed *the penitent*, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and styled *Eucharisticon*, it appears, that his father was first vicar of *Macedon*, where *Paulinus* was born in 376, and afterwards proconsul of *Africa*, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (42).

(42) *Paulin. eu.* p. 284, 286.

Libanius,

Libanius writes, that the news of a victory gained this year by *Richomer* was received with great joy by the inhabitants of *Antioch* [g]. The *Huns*, likewise called *Ephtolites* whose country bordered on *Persia*, as appears from *Procopius*, are said to have broken into *Mesopotamia* about this time, and to have even laid siege to *Edessa*, which obliged *Theodosius* to send part of his forces to the relief of that city [h]. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this juncture chose rather to receive *Maximus* for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued the whole year at *Constantinople*, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the present year 383, that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of *January*, he had declared his son *Arcadius* emperor [i]. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of *Hebdomon*, distant seven miles from *Constantinople*. *Arcadius* was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of *May* 408, he was according to *Socrates*, in the thirty-first year of his age [k]. As for *Valentinian* II. who possessed the western provinces of *Illyricum*, with *Italy* and *Africa*, while *Maximus* held *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, he was at this time but twelve, or at most, thirteen years old; and the great disturbances which his mother *Justina* raised, by espousing with too much warmth the cause of the *Arians*, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her *Probus*, who had been consul in 371, and prefect of *Illyricum* and *Italy* in 368, had the chief direction of affairs [l]; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to *Theodosius* [m]; nay, *Orosius* looks upon *Theodosius* as sole emperor, after the death of *Gratian*, of the western as well as the eastern provinces [n].

Arcadius declared emperor.

THE next consuls were *Richomer* and *Clearchus*. The former was of the royal blood of the *Franks*, had been *comes domesticorum* under *Gratian*, and was left by that prince with *Theodosius*, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391,

[g] LIBAN. vit. p. 67. [h] SUR. 15 Novemb. p. 342. [i] IDAT. MARCELL. PROSP. chron. [k] SOCR. l. vi c. 23. p. 332, SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. [l] SOCR. l. v. c. 11 p. 270. [m] AMBROS. ep. xi. p. 195. [n] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

he is ſtyled general of the horſe and foot [o]. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the ſeveral letters which *Symachus* wrote to him [p]. He is by ſome authors called *Ricimer*, and by others *Riciimer*, and *Ricomer*. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſpeaks of one *Richimer*, the father of *Theodemir* king of the *Franks* [q], whom ſome authors, whoſe opinion is not ill-grounded, take to be the conſul of this year 384. *Clearchus*, his collegue, had been proconſul of *Aſia* in 364, and afterwards prefect of *Conſtantinople*, in which employment he was ſucceeded this year by the philoſopher *Themiſtius*, who, on that occaſion, made a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of *Theodoſius*, who had raiſed him to that dignity [r]. This year *Proculus*, count of the eaſt, being accuſed of extortion, and ſeveral outrages committed by his orders at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, was ignominouſly depoſed, and was obliged to abſcond, till the rage of the multitude was appeaſed [s]. *Icarius*, the ſon of *Theodorus*, who had conſpired againſt *Valens*, was appointed count of the eaſt in his room, which office he diſcharged with great rigour and ſeverity, not ſparing even the public magiſtrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, ſays *Libanius* [t], which had been but lately publiſhed; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-ſixth of *April* 380, and thirty-firſt of *July*, 381. This year a famine, attended as uſual with a dreadful plague, raged in *Antioch*, and moſt other cities in *Syria*. The plague ſoon ceaſed; but the famine continuing, *Libanius*, in the name of the people of *Antioch*, had recourſe to *Icarius*, intreating him to relieve, by ſome means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily periſhing in great numbers with hunger. But *Icarius*, without being in the leaſt affected with their calamity, returned no other anſwer, than that they were abhorred, and juſtly puniſhed, by the gods [w]. This occaſioned great diſturbances in *Antioch*, which, however, were appeaſed without bloodſhed. The ſame year, *Theodoſius*, reſolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods, enacted ſeveral laws, forbidding all his ſubjects, on pain of death or perpetual baniſhment, to offer ſacrifices to idols; to conſult auſpices, or diviners of what denomination ſoever; or to practiſe any of thoſe

A famine in Syria.

The cruelty of Icarius.

[o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. p. 129 & ea. 54, 56, 69, &c. l. ii. c. 9. p. 74. [p] Symm. l. iii. ep. 59. 61. [q] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. [r] Themist. orat. xvii. p. 213. [s] Liban. vit. p. 18 & orat. xx. p. 471. [t] Idem. orat. xx. p. 464. [u] Cod. Theod. tit iv p. 435. [w] Liban. vit. p. 65 & orat. xx. p. 468.

ceremonies,

ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his chriſtian predeceſſors [x]. *Zoſimus*, in his uſual ſtyle, better becoming a declaimer than an orator, tells us, that *Theodoſius* proclaimed war againſt the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with ſuch ſeverity againſt thoſe who worſhipped them, that no one dared to own he believed there were gods, or could with ſafety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the ſtars that ſhine there [y]. *Libanius* writes, that on a certain occaſion, ſtanding in need of the aſſiſtance of the gods, he had recourſe to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or ſhed a tear before their ſtatues, he only bewailed within himſelf his unhappy condition [z]. It was on occaſion of the above-mentioned laws, that *Libanius* made his famous ſpeech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks; blames the conduct of *Conſtantine the Great*; extols *Julian*; and ends his ſpeech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their anceſtors, than the inhabitants of the city, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force [a]. The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the *Latins Pagani*, to their idols and temples, gave riſe to the denomination of *Paganus* or *Pagan*, which began about this time to be given to all who worſhipped idols. *Libanius* in that ſpeech often addreſſes himſelf to *Theodoſius* as preſent; but nevertheleſs we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that he had the boldneſs to pronounce it before ſo religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the preſence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own ſcholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was ſo far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan ſophiſt alledged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed *Cynegius* this very year prefect of the eaſt, he ſtrictly injoined him to ſhut up all the temples within his juriſdiction. *Cynegius* executed his orders with ſuch zeal and fidelity in the *Eaſt*, properly ſo called, that he was ſoon after ſent by the emperor for the ſame purpoſe into *Egypt*, where, by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worſhip, and by ſhutting up the temples, in ſuch manner that no one could have acceſs to them, he, in a ſhort time, utterly aboliſhed the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above

Theodoſius *cauſes all the temples to be ſhut up in the* Eaſt, *and in* Egypt.

[x] Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267 &. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266. [y] Zos. p 758. [z] Lib. vit. p. 63.
[a] Idem, orat. pro temp. p. 10—63.

all

all others, addicted to ſuperſtition [l]. The zeal, which he exerted on this occaſion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388, the honour of being interred in the church of the *Apoſtles* at *Conſtantinople*, the burying-place of the emperors [m]; whence his aſhes were conveyed the enſuing year by his wife *Acancia* into *Spain*, probably the place of his nativity [n]. He was *comes largitionum*, from 381 to 383, when he was made prefect of the eaſt, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the year 388, in which he died, being then conſul with the emperor *Theodoſius* [o]. *Libanius* himſelf, notwithſtanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magiſtrate of an unblemiſhed character [p]; and *Theodoſius*, in a law addreſſed to him in 385, ſays, that his juſtice and equity were known and applauded by all the world [q]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Baronius* ſhould confound the prefect *Cynegius* with another of the ſame name, who in 401, was ſent by *Arcadius* to demoliſh the temple of *Marnas* and other temples in the city of *Gaza*. This year the emperor publiſhed a law, forbidding the marriages of couſin-germans, which had been always deemed lawful among the *Romans*, and no one had ever looked upon as inceſtuous. However, *Theodoſius* not only prohibited ſuch marriages, but, by the ſame law, commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their eſtates to be confiſcated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate [r]. *Arcadius* ſoftened the rigour of this law by another, dated the twenty-ſixth of *November* 396, whereby he exempts the tranſgreſſors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of *Theodoſius*; but nevertheleſs declares ſuch marriages unlawful and inceſtuous, and the children incapable of receiving the leaſt legacy from their parents [s]. In 405, he intirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the mariages of couſin-germans abſolutely lawful [t]. This revocation was not received in the weſt till the time of *Juſtinian*, who cauſed it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and ſuch marriages were celebrated without reſtraint or ſcruple in the weſt, as well as in the eaſt. At the ſame time, and under the ſame penalties, *Theodoſius* revived the ancient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to

He forbids, under ſevere penalties, the marriages of couſin-germans.

[l] Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 444. Idat. chron. [m] Zos. p. 769. [n] Idat. faſt. [o] Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111. [p] Liban. de ingred. ad judices, p. 100. [q] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 15. p. 21. [r] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. [s] Idem, tit. 1. p. 297. [t] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 19. p. 419.

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the niece of a firſt wife [u]. By another law of this year, dated the twenty-firſt of *January*, he ordered *Cynegius* to make a diligent ſearch after the *Eunomian*, *Macedonian*, *Arian*, and *Apollinarian*, biſhops and clergy in *Conſtantinople*, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city [w]. By a third he forbids the *Jews* to buy chriſtian ſlaves; and allows all chriſtians the liberty of ſetting free ſuch ſlaves as they ſhall have purchaſed [x]. *Theodoſius*, as appears from the dates of his laws, paſſed moſt part of this year at *Conſtantinople*, and there received a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of *Perſia*, to ſolicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich preſents, and to excuſe, ſays a panegyriſt [y], by his ſubmiſſion, all the evils, which, till that time, the *Romans* had ſuffered from the *Perſian* nation. They had loſt their great king *Sapor* II. who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned ſeventy years. He was ſucceeded by *Artaxer*, whom *Eutychius* ſuppoſes to have been his ſon [z], tho' *Agathias* and *Abulfaragius* call him his younger brother [a]. But if *Sapor* himſelf was born after the deceaſe of his father, as moſt authors write, he could not be ſucceeded by his younger brother. *Artaxer*, ſtyled *Ardſhir* by *Abulfaragius* and *Eutychius*, and *Artaxerxes* by *Scaliger* and *Petavius*, reigned only four years, and was ſucceeded in 383, by his ſon *Sapor* III. called by *Theophanes*, *Arſabel*, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed the kingdom in 388, to his ſon *Vararanes* or *Varanes* IV. ſurnamed *Kermaſaa*, perhaps from ſome country called *Kerma*, conquered by his father. *Varanes* reigned eleven years, and maintained the whole time a good underſtanding with the *Romans* [b]. The embaſſadors, of whom we have ſpoken above, were ſent, not by *Sapor* II. as *Pacatus* ſeems to ſuppoſe [c]; but by *Sapor* III. who reigned in *Perſia* this year 384. *Oroſius* writes, that a treaty was concluded between the *Perſians* and *Romans*, in virtue of which the whole eaſt ſtill enjoyed a profound tranquility at the time he was compoſing his hiſtory; that is, about the year 416 [d]. The articles of this treaty are not mentioned by any hiſtorian; but from a law of *Theodoſius*, dated the fourteenth of *June* 387, and addreſſed to *Gaddanes*, *ſatrapa* or governor of *Sophene*, it appears, that

A ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of Perſia.

With whom he concludes a treaty.

[u] Cod. Theod. l. iii tit. 12. leg 3. p 297. [w] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5 leg 13. p. 129. [x] Idem, l iii. tit. 1. leg. 5 p. 246 [y] PACAT p. 263. [z] EUTYCH. p. 472. [a] AGATH. l. iv p 135. ABULF. p 90 [b] AGATH. p. 136. THEOPH p 55, 58. EUTYCH. p. 472 CLAUD. in Eut. l. ii. p. 120. [c] PACAT. p. 263. [d] OROS. ibid.

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the authority of the *Roman* emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by moſt geographers, is placed in the ſouth of *Armenia*, and is reckoned, by ſome hiſtorians, one of the five provinces which *Jovian* yielded to the *Perſians*. While the *Perſian* embaſſadors were ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, a ſecond ſon was born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of *September*. *Theodoſius* gave him the name of *Honorius*, to honour in his ſon, ſays the poet *Claudian*, the memory of his brother [e], diſtinguiſhed him with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, or *moſt noble*, and named him conſul for the year 386 [f].

Honorius *born.*

The ſame year, the *Sarmatians* having made an irruption into the dominions of *Valentinian*, he diſpatched one of his generals, not named in hiſtory, againſt them, who drove them back with great ſlaughter, and took many priſoners, who were all ſent to *Rome*, to be either maſſacred in the ſhows of gladiators, or deſtroyed by the wild beaſts. The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on the general who commanded on that occaſion [g]. As for *Valentinian* himſelf, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in *Italy*; for, during the months of *March* and *April*, he was at *Milan*; at *Aquileia* in the month of *September*; and again at *Milan* in *October*, and the two remaining months of the year [h]. By a law dated the twenty-ſecond of *March*, which was this year *good-friday*, he commanded all the priſoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be ſet at liberty, in honour of the approaching great feſtival [i]. This year died *Vettius Agorius Prætextatus*, a perſon greatly commended and extolled, as one of the moſt deſerving men of his age, by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote his hiſtory about this time, by *Zoſimus*, *Symmachus*, *Libanius*, and in general by all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himſelf, but augur, high-pontiff of *Veſta* and the ſun, and the head, as we may ſtyle him, of the pagan ſuperſtition. He was by *Julian* made proconſul of *Achaia* in 362, by *Valentinian* I. preſect of *Rome* in 367, and after prefect of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; in which employments he acquitted himſelf ſo as to be at the ſame time feared and beloved. *Ammianus* writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and

The Sarmatians *defeated by the troops of* Valentinian.

Prætextatus *dies.*

[e] Claud. de Ser. p. 194. [f] Socr. l. v. c. 12. p. 171. Theoph. p. 59. [g] Symm. l. x. ep. 61. p. 461. [h] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 112. [i] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 7. p. 276, 277.

probity

probity of the antient *Romans* [k]. *Zoſimus* calls him a man of an unblemiſhed character, and propoſes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magiſtrates [l]. *Macrobius* ſuppoſes the banquet of the learned men which is the ſubject of his *Saturnalia*, to have been celebrated at the houſe of *Prætextatus* [m]. *Symmachus* looked upon him as in every reſpect the beſt, or, at leaſt, as one of the beſt, men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but conſtantly yielded, to the children or relations of the teſtator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no leſs affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that ſuch as poſſeſſed eſtates adjoining to his, in the diſputes, which aroſe between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himſelf; ſo great was the opinion they had of his integrity [n]. The many letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him, and, after his death, to the emperors concerning him, are ſo many panegyrics, in which he extols his wiſdom, his integrity, his modeſty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his moſt inveterate enemies [o]. He came this year to *Rome*, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magiſtrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praiſe of *Valentinian* [p]. He was then conſul elect; but, before he entered upon that new office, he was ſnatched away by a natural, but ſudden, death, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Roman* people. The ſenate erected ſeveral ſtatues to the honour of a perſon, who lived, to uſe the expreſſion of *Symmachus*, even after his death, in the memory of all good men [q]. St. *Jerom*, who was then at *Rome*, compares the death of *Prætextatus*, whom he ſtyles a ſacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbeſs *Lea*, who died a few days after him [r]. *Prætextatus* was no friend to the chriſtians; but uſed to ſay, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him biſhop of *Rome* [s]. About this time, *Symmachus* was appointed prefect of *Rome*, in which employment he acquitted him- Symmachus *made prefect of Rome.*

His character.

[k] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 210. & l. xxvii. p. 399. [l] Zos. l. iv. p. 735. [m] MACROB. l. i. c. 1. p. 162 [n] SYMM. l. i. ep. 38. —49. p. 29. ep. 47. p. 34. [o] Idem, l. x. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. [p] Idem, l. x. ep. 37. p. 424. HIER. ep. 24. p. 156. [q] Idem, l. x. ep. 23, 24. 37. p. 405, 406, 424. [r] HIER. ep. 24. p. 156. [s] Idem, ep. 61. p. 165.

ſelf with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new conſuls, prætors, and quæſtors. The conſuls uſed, agreeable to a cuſtom which then obtained, to ſend rich preſents to their friends, and to all perſons of diſtinction; and the prætors and quæſtors to expend immenſe ſums in the public ſports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the preſents to be given by the conſuls, and the ſums to be laid out in the public ſhows by the two other magiſtrates, were fixed by this law, and thoſe declared infamous, who ſhould ſolicit an exemption from it[t]. This year a famine being apprehended in *Rome*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of corn in *Africa*, which uſed of late years to ſupply that metropolis, *Theodoſius*, at the requeſt of *Symmachus*, delivered the *Roman* people from the danger that threatened them, by ſending them great plenty of grain from *Egypt* and *Macedon*. For this ſeaſonable ſupply *Symmachus* returned thanks, not only to *Theodoſius*, but to count *Richomer*, and likewiſe to *Ruſinus*, who, it ſeems, made already ſome figure in the emperor's court[u]. The great power he afterwards acquired there, does no-ways redound to the honour of *Theodoſius*. The following year 385, when *Arcadius* and *Bauto* were conſuls, St. *Auguſtin*, then profeſſor of rhetoric in *Milan*, pronounced on the firſt of *January* a panegyric on the two new conſuls[w]. *Bauto* was by nation a *Frank*, and had been ſent by *Gratian*, in 381, to the aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*; but returning afterwards into the weſt, he ſerved *Valentinian* II. with great fidelity. *Valentinian* paſſed the firſt ſix months of this year at *Milan*, and the reſt either at *Aquileia* or *Verona*[x]. Tho' he enacted this year ſeveral excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he ſuffered his mother *Juſtina* to perſecute and oppreſs the catholics, becauſe they would not yield the great church at *Milan* to the *Arians*, whom ſhe countenanced and protected[y]. *Theodoſius* continued all this time at *Conſtantinople*, where a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him; but diſcovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Moſt of the conſpirators were apprehended, tried, and ſentenced to death; but *Theodoſius* generouſly forgave them, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' ſome perſons, in whom he repoſed great confidence, were ſuſpected to be in

Theodoſius *ſupplies* Rome *with corn.*

He forgives thoſe who had conſpired againſt him.

[t] Symm. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 382, 384.
[u] Symm. l. iii. ep. 55, 82. p. 127, 138. [w] Aug. contra lit. Petiliani, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131. [x] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 114. [y] Socr. l. v. c. 11.

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that number [z]. Not long after died at *Conſtantinople* the emperor's daughter *Pulcheria*, who was ſoon followed by the empreſs *Flaccilla* her mother, to the great grief of *Theodoſius*, who was a no leſs tender father than huſband. The empreſs died at *Scotuminum* in *Thrace*, where ſhe was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health, but her body was brought back to *Conſtantinople*, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done ſome time before that of her daughter *Pulcheria* [a]. The fathers of the church, who lived in that age, beſtow upon her the higheſt encomiums; and the pagan writers themſelves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other virtues [b]. The *Greeks* honour her as a ſaint, and celebrate her feaſt on the fourteenth of *September*, perhaps the day on which ſhe died [c]. The next conſuls were *Honorius*, ſtyled in the *faſti nobiliſſimus puer*, and *Evodius*, perhaps the prefect of *Gaul* under *Maximus*. This year *Theodoſius* continued at *Conſtantinople* till the third of *September*, when he is ſuppoſed to have left that metropolis, in order to march againſt the *Greuthongi*, who were ready to paſs the *Danube*, and break into the empire, under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king [d]. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated, by the two emperors *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius*, who returned to *Conſtantinople*, leading with them an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of *October*: Thus *Idatius* in his *faſti*, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle [e]. *Claudian* likewiſe ſpeaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the *Greuthongi* [f]. But *Zoſimus*, to rob *Theodoſius* of the glory of this, as he does of moſt other victories, aſcribes it to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, *Promotus* ſent into the enemy's camp ſome perſons who, pretending to be deſerters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the *Roman* commander, and his army, into their hands. *Odotheus*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, ſuffered himſelf to be conducted by them; but, in the mean time, *Promotus*, informed by his emiſſaries of the enemy's deſign, received them ſo briſkly, while they expected

The death of Pulcheria, *and her mother the empreſs* Flaccilla.

Theodoſius *gains a great victory over the* Greuthongi.

[z] THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231. [a] GREG. Nyſſ. de Pul. p. 516. & de Flaccill. p. 528. [b] THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231. orat. xviii. p. 225. [c] Vide men. mag. Græc. 14 Sep. p. 209. & CANGE Byz. fam. p. 70. [d] CLAUD. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 55. [e] IDAT. p. 61. MARCEL. p. 6. [f] CLAUD. ibid.

to meet with no oppoſition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the *Danube*, and drowned, and the reſt either taken priſoners, or cut in pieces. After this, *Promotus* attacked and made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately ſent to *Theodoſius*; but the emperor ordered them to be ſet at liberty, and, having made them rich preſents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the good-will of the barbarians, ſays *Zoſimus*, to entice them into his ſervice, and to employ them in the war againſt *Maximus*, for which he was then making great preparations underhand [g]. All other writers ſuppoſe *Theodoſius* to have commanded his troops in perſon; nay, *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himſelf, who was killed in the battle [h].

He ſets the captives at liberty.

He marries Galla.

The emperor, ſoon after his return to *Conſtantinople*, married to his ſecond wife *Galla*, ſiſter to *Valentinian* II. and daughter to *Valentinian* I. by the empreſs *Juſtina*. He had by her a ſon called *Gratian*, who died before his father, and a daughter named *Galla Placidia*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of her brother *Honorius*, and her ſon *Valentinian* III [i]. As for *Valentinian*, he was at *Milan* on the eighteenth of *January*; at *Ticinum* or *Pavia* on the fifteenth of *February*; at *Aquileia* on the twentieth of *April*; at *Milan* during the months of *June* and *July*; at *Aquileia* on the third of *November*; and again at *Milan*, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and on the third of *December* [k]. *Baronius* produces a letter written this year by *Valentinian* to *Saluſt* prefect of *Rome*, injoining him to rebuild the church of St. *Paul* in the neighbourhood of that city, and to inlarge it, by taking in, with the conſent of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the ſenate, and the chriſtian people, with the orders he had received, and to follow in every thing the directions of the venerable biſhop of that city [l]. *Prudentius* deſcribes the church of St. *Paul* placed on the *Oſtian-way*, or the way leading to *Oſtia*, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which *Baronius* underſtands of the emperor who reigned in *Prudentius*'s time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finiſhed by *Honorius* [m]. That it was finiſhed in the reign of *Honorius* is certain, not from the words of *Prudentius* quoted by *Baronius*, but from an

Valentinian *orders the church of St.* Paul *in the* Oſtian-way *to be rebuilt.*

[g] *Zos.* l. iv. p. 755—763.
[h] Claud. ibid. p. 55.
[i] Philost. l. x. c. 7. p. 139.
[k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 116—117.
[l] Baron. ann. 386.
[m] Idem ibid.

antient

antient inſcription, which informs us at the ſame time, that it was begun by *Theodoſius*, perhaps when he came to *Rome* in 398, and imbelliſhed by his daughter *Placidia*, in the time of *Leo the Great*, biſhop of *Rome* [n]. However, it is manifeſt from the code [o], that *Valentinian* iſſued orders this year 386, for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of *Honorius*. The next conſuls were the emperor *Valentinian* the third time, and *Eutropius*, who had been proconſul of *Aſia*, and afterwards prefect of the eaſt. In the very beginning of this year, 387, *Theodoſius* publiſhed a law addreſſed by way of letter to all the cities of the eaſt, injoining the magiſtrates to honour the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, by ſetting at liberty ſuch as on the approach of that great feſtival they ſhould find in their priſons, unleſs they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occaſion that the emperor uttered thoſe memorable words; *I wiſh it were in my power to reſtore life to the dead* [p]. This year, *Theodoſius* finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to cuſtom, the fifth year of the reign of his ſon *Arcadius*, to which he added, it ſeems, the ſolemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence [q]; for we are told, that on ſuch occaſions each ſoldier received five pieces of gold [r]. Moſt cities ſubmitted chearfully to this burden; but the people of *Antioch*, complaining of it as an unreaſonable oppreſſion, crouded to the houſe of *Flavianus* their biſhop, as ſoon as the edict was publiſhed, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his eſcape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's ſtatues, broke ſome of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the ſtatues of his two ſons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, of the late empreſs *Flaccilla*, and of his father *Theodoſius*, through the chief ſtreets of the city, uttering the whole time moſt injurious and abuſive reflections againſt their perſons [s]. Having thus demoliſhed moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, they ſet fire to the houſe of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore ſome grudge, and would have committed other diſorders, had they not been diſ-

A ſedition at Antioch

[n] GRUTER. p. 1170.
[o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 383.
[p] CHRYS. tom. i. or. 6. p. 84.
[q] LIBAN. or. xiii. p. 526.
[r] AMMIAN. p. 314, 315.
[s] LIB. or. xv. p. 407.

perſed

perſed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, ſtruck terror into all the reſt. The governor, hearing the archers were come, ſhewed himſelf to the multitude, and with an air of authority commanded them to diſperſe, and retire to their houſes. Thus was the ſedition quelled at once; and the city reſtored by noon to its former tranquility [q]. The two perſons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed againſt their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: ſome were beheaded; others expoſed to the wild beaſts in the theatre, and ſome burnt alive; he did not even ſpare the children, who had inſulted the emperor's ſtatues; and cauſed ſeveral perſons to be executed, who had been but bare ſpectators of the injuries offered them [r]. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable ſeverity againſt the unhappy *Antiochians*, almoſt without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, a report was ſpread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of *Syria* was at once turned into a deſert, the citizens abandoning in the utmoſt terror and confuſion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deſerts. As that report proved groundleſs, ſome returned to their native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the juſt reſentment of the emperor, kept themſelves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongſt the rocks and mountains. To thoſe who returned, St. *Chryſoſtom* preached ſome of thoſe inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to ſtir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their ſins [s]. The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehenſion they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and diſſolute people, as appears not only from St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf [t], but from *Sozomen* [u], and even from *Libanius* [w]. In the mean time, *Theodoſius* being informed of what had paſſed at *Antioch*, and particularly of the inſults offered to his ſtatues, and to thoſe

Which is appeaſed, and the authors of it puniſhed.

[q] Idem. or. xiv. & xxiii. p. 396, 415. [r] Chrys. homil. iii. p. 49. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19, p. 731. Lib. p. 397. [s] Vide Chrys. hom. ii. p. 22. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86. hom. iv. p. 54. [t] Idem, p. 169. [u] Soz. l. vii. c. 23. p. 741. [w] Lib. or. xiv. p. 403.

of

of his father, of the late empreſs, and of his children, was provoked to ſuch a degree, that in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion he commanded the city to be laid in aſhes, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, to be put to the ſword [x]. This ſhews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in a paſſion, to enter into the moſt violent meaſures. His indignation ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he had favoured that city above all the reſt; for he had deſigned to reſide ſome time there, as *Valens* had done, and had with that view built a magnificent palace at *Daphne*, and another in the old city, beſides ſeveral other ſtructures, with which he had at a great expence, embelliſhed that metropolis [y]. But nothing incenſed him ſo much againſt that ungrateful city, as their having inſolently inſulted even the dead [z], that is, his father and the empreſs *Flaccilla*. However, as his wrath ſoon aſſuaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himſelf for the preſent with cauſing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be ſhut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and ſubjecting it as a common village to its rival *Laodicea* [a]. A certain quantity of bread was there daily diſtributed amongſt the poor, as at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*; and of this largeſs too the emperor thought fit to deprive them [b]. Theſe puniſhments *Theodoſius* inflicted on the *Antiochians* in general, but at the ſame time he diſpatched *Cæſarius*, *magiſter officiorum*, and *Ellebichus*, *magiſter militum*, or general, with full power to try and puniſh ſuch as had been concerned in the late riot [c]. *Ellebichus* was a man of an unblemiſhed character, and is ſaid to have ſquared all his actions by that golden and truly chriſtian rule, *Do as you would be done by* [d]. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote a letter to him, intreating him, by their ancient friendſhip, to diſcharge a reader from the ſervice, and aſſuring him, that by ſo doing he would draw down the bleſſing of Heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management [e]. *Cæſarius*, his collegue in this commiſſion, was at this time *magiſter officiorum*, was prefect of *Conſtantinople* in 365, prefect of the eaſt in 395, and conſul in 397 [f]. He is commended by *Sozomen* and *Libanius* as a man of great integrity, and one who never promiſed what he did not deſign to perform [g]. Theſe two officers the emperor

Theodoſius highly provoked againſt the city of Antioch.

Appoints judges to try and puniſh the offenders.

[x] CHRYS. ep. ad Cel. hom. vii. p. 207. THEODORET. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. [y] THEODORET. l. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733. [z] Idem ibid. [a] CHRYS. or. xii. p. 137. LIB. or. xvii. p. 197. THEOD. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. [b] LIB. p. 408. [c] CHRYS. or. xvii. p. 195. [d] LIB. or. xxiii. p. 529. [e] GREG. NAZ. ep. cxxiii. p. 857. [f] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 354. [g] Soz. l. ix. c. 2. p. 802, LIB. or. xxii. p. 518.

emperor chooſes in regard of their known integrity, to try and puniſh, according to the laws, ſuch of the *Antiochians* as ſhould be accuſed and found guilty of having been any-ways concerned in the late ſedition. St. *Chryſoſtom* deſcribes, with his uſual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occaſion ſeized the inhabitants of *Antioch*: they apprehended nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of their city; the emperor, as they were well informed, was highly offended, eſpecially at the outrages offered to his deceaſed father, and to the late empreſs, and reſolved to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; the judges were men not to be moved by intreaties, or gained over with preſents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, puniſhable with death and the confiſcation of their eſtates; even ſuch, as were barely ſuſpected, were liable to the moſt rigorous inquiries, to racks and tortures. The conſternation was, as St. *Chryſoſtom* informs us, ſo great and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what effects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deſerts; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that reſolution. As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, eſpecially by *Ellebichus*, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in ſome degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commiſſioners, having placed guards in the ſeveral quarters of the city, to reſtrain the people from aſſembling, ſummoned all the members of the ſenate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alledged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and, after various inquiries, diſmiſſed them, highly ſatisfied with the treatment they had met with, eſpecially from *Ellebichus*, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themſelves at his feet, implored his protection. The compaſſion and good-nature he ſhewed on this occaſion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the ſcene ſoon changed; for *Ellebichus*, having cauſed great numbers of perſons of all ranks to be ſeized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where juſtice was uſually adminiſtered; and ordering the priſoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, ſentenced ſuch of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered thoſe who denied it to be cruelly racked, without ſhewing the leaſt pity or compaſſion, as if he had changed his nature. Thoſe, who had ſeen him the day before, could ſcarce

The city in the utmoſt conſternation.

Ellebichus, one of the judges proceeds with the utmoſt ſe-

perſuade

perſuade themſelves he was the ſame man; for not ſatisfied with cauſing perſons of the firſt quality to be racked and tortured, like ſo many ſlaves, he uttered dreadful menaces againſt the whole city, threatening to lay it in aſhes, and put the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, to the ſword, unleſs they redeemed themſelves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely diſcovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treaſonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-ways concerned in them. St. *Chryſoſtom*, who was an eye witneſs of all that paſſed, ſo far as his tenderneſs and compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful, deſcription of this ſcene of horror, which he compares to that of the laſt day, when all diſtinction of birth, wealth, and rank, will ceaſe, and every one be puniſhed, or rewarded, according to his deſerts [h]. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges; who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a ſhort hearing, either ſentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themſelves guilty, and diſcovered their accomplices. St. *Chryſoſtom* mentions a lady of the firſt quality, who, ſeeing her ſon apprehended by an officer on horſeback, laid hold of his bridle, and ſuffered herſelf to be dragged in that manner through the ſtreets to the tribunal, where, with her hair diſhevelled, and bathed in tears, ſhe threw herſelf at the feet of *Ellebichus*; but he, deaf, to all intreaties, purſued his inquiries with ſuch rigour, as threw the whole city into the utmoſt confuſion. St. *Chryſoſtom*, who, with ſome others of the ſacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compaſſion, and was therein ſeconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, where they led a retired life amongſt the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their ſolitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occaſion, to comfort with their preſence the diſconſolate citizens, and try whether they could raiſe any ſentiments of humanity or commiſeration in the hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges were ſitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their fellow-creatures with more humanity and compaſſion, they prevailed upon them in the end to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe who were found guilty, and all proceedings againſt ſuch as were not yet con-

St Chryſoſtom and the hermits obtain a reſpite for ſuch as were condemned.

[h] CHRYS. orat. xiii. p. 147—150. & orat. xxii. p. 252.

victed, till a report of the whole had been made to the emperor, and his further pleaſure were known. One *Macedonius*, an anchoret, univerſally eſteemed and revered for his ſanctity, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt; for meeting *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* on horſeback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by his garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to diſmount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little ſurpriſed, that a perſon, in appearance ſo mean and contemptible, ſhould dare to ſpeak to them in ſuch a ſtyle; but they were no ſooner informed who he was, than diſmounring from their horſes, they threw themſelves at his feet; when the holy anchoret, addreſſing them in the *Syriac* tongue, "The emperor, ſaid he, "however diſtinguiſhed by his imperial dignity, is ſtill a "man; and therefore ought to conſider his nature, as "well as his rank. Thoſe, whom he commands, are of the "ſame nature with himſelf, and the images of the Supreme "Being; let him therefore take care not to provoke the "Almighty, by deſtroying the living images of the divine "nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate images of his "body. Other ſtatues may be eaſily raiſed to him in the "room of thoſe that have been demoliſhed; but he, notwithſtanding his boaſted power, is not able to make the "leaſt reparation for a ſingle life, which he has once taken "away [i]." We are told, that both *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* heard theſe words, which were interpreted to them in *Greek*, with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard [k]. The judges having, at the requeſt of the eccleſiaſtics and hermits, agreed to ſuſpend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleaſure was known, ſuch as had been found guilty were conducted under a ſtrong guard to the public priſon, and the reſt diſmiſſed. Amongſt the former were all thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whoſe eſtates were immediately ſeized, together with their houſes and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the ſtreets, their friends and neareſt relations fearing, leſt, by harbouring them, they ſhould be involved in the ruin of their huſbands and fathers [l]. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they ſhould prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order to this, they reſolved to repair without delay to *Con-*

[i] Idem p. 193, 194. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19. p. 731, 732.
[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem, p. 517.

ſtantinople,

ſtantinople, and throw themſelves at the prince's feet; but *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius*, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of ſo long a journey, adviſed them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and took upon themſelves to preſent it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the ſame day to their mountains and deſerts [m]. Upon their departure, it was agreed between *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius*, that the former ſhould remain at *Antioch*, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly *Cæſarius* ſet out that very evening, and purſued his journey with ſuch expedition, that the ſixth day about noon he reached *Conſtantinople*, diſtant above five hundred miles from *Antioch* [n]. In the mean time *Ellebichus* cauſed thoſe who had been condemned to be removed from the public priſon to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and ſeeing their friends and relations [o]. St. *Chryſoſtom* let no day paſs without viſiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in ſuſpenſe between hope and fear, to an entire reſignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence [p]. The *Antiochians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's reſentment, had ſent, a few days after the riot was committed, *Flavianus*, biſhop of the place, to intercede with *Theodoſius* in their behalf. *Flavianus* had met *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* on the road, who acquainted him with the commiſſion they were going to execute at *Antioch*. The holy biſhop, in hearing it, burſt into tears; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey, ſtill hoping he ſhould be able to ſoften the good-natured emperor into compaſſion. The day after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, he appeared at court; but, in order to move the emperor to compaſſion, ſtood at a diſtance from him, ſilent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no ſooner obſerved him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to juſtify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the *Antiochians* had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. *Flavianus*, burſting into tears, anſwered, that the ſevereſt puniſhment he could inflict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they

They draw up a memorial in behalf of the Antiochians.

The priſoners treated with great humanity by Ellebichus.

Flavianus, *biſhop of* Antioch, *recurs to the emperor in their behalf.*

[m] Idem, orat. xvii. p. 195. [n] Lib. orat. xxii. p. 518. & orat. xxiii. p. 533. [o] Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535. [p] Chrys. orat. xvii. p. 204.

had committed, and their undutiful return to ſo indulgent a prince; but at the ſame time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every chriſtian; that from his pardoning ſuch enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he profeſſed; that the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, *&c.* He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himſelf a laſting inſtance to all poſterity of humanity and good-nature; and ſeaſonably put him in mind of the order he had iſſued this very year, commanding all priſoners to be ſet at liberty againſt the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occaſion, *viz.* *I wiſh it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and reſtore them to life!* This admirable ſpeech, which is related at length by St. *Chryſoſtom*, made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and reſtored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* [q]. But *Libanius* [r] and *Theodoret* [s] tell us, that the emperor, though greatly ſoftened by the ſpeech of *Flavianus*, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of *Cæſarius*; who preſenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the ſame time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he ſaid, had been already ſufficiently puniſhed, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of *Antioch*, ſhewing, that it was not without reaſon he had treated them with ſo much ſeverity, after they had, in ſuch an outrageous manner, inſulted his deceaſed father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however juſt, was ſoon appeaſed, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or baniſhment, reſtored to them their eſtates, their ſhows, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expreſſions of the deepeſt concern for the death of thoſe who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to *Flavianus*, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the diſconſolate city; but the holy biſhop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the joy, which the arrival of the meſſenger

Theodoſius grants them a general pardon.

And reſtores to the city all its privileges.

[q] Chrys. orat. xx p. 226—233. [r] Lib. orat, xxii. p. 519.
[s] Theodor. l. v. c. 19. p. 732.

cauſed

caused in *Antioch*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, to whom we refer our readers, deſcribes at length what paſſed on this occaſion; and concludes with theſe words: *Let the pagans be aſhamed, or rather inſtructed; and, learning our philoſophy of an emperor and a biſhop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces ſuch eminent virtues* *.

Maximus invades the dominions of Valentinian, who flies to Theodoſius.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the eaſt the boundleſs ambition of *Maximus* raiſed far greater diſturbances in the weſt; for that uſurper, not ſatisfied with the provinces which had been held by *Gratian*, paſſed this year the *Alps* all on a ſudden, wih a deſign to ſeize on *Valentinian*'s ſhare too; and, meeting with no oppoſition, marched ſtrait to *Milan*, where *Valentinian* uſually reſided. The young prince, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt him, fled firſt to *Aquileia*, and from thence, being cloſely purſued by *Maximus*, to *Theſſalonica*, with his mother *Juſtina*, and the prefect *Probus*, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius* [t]. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to *Valentinian*, in anſwer to one he had received from his mother *Juſtina*, told him, that he was not at all ſurpriſed at the progreſs *Maximus* had made, nor at the bad ſucceſs that attended his affairs, ſince the tyrant had protected, and he perſecuted, the orthodox faith; for *Valentinian*, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of *Arius*, but perſecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven ſeveral of them from their ſees, being induced thereunto by his mother *Juſtina*, a moſt zealous *Arian*. Soon after *Theodoſius* removed from *Conſtantinople*, attended by ſeveral members of that ſenate, to *Theſſalonica*, in order to comfort with his preſence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where *Valentinian* was lodged; and after having aſſured him, that he was reſolved to employ all the forces of the eaſt in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the *Arian* impiety, as the only obſtacle to the ſucceſs which they might expect from heaven [u]. *Suidas* relates the diſcourſe which *Theodoſius* made on that ſubject [w]. *Zoſimus* writes, that in a great council held at *Theſſalonica*, all the counſellors to a man were of opinion, that war ſhould be forthwith declared againſt *Maximus*; but that *Theodoſius*, foreſeeing and dreading the evils inſeparable from a civil war, ſent firſt embaſſadors to the tyrant, ſeriouſly exhorting him to reſtore to *Valenti-*

Who induces him to renounce the doctrine of Arius.

* CHRYS. orat. xv. p. 234. [t] Zos. l. iv. p. 667. THEODOR. l. v. c. 14. SOZ. l. vii. c. 14. p. 721. [u] THEODOR. p. 724. [w] SUID. p. 347.

nian

nian the uſurped provinces, and content himſelf with *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which had been yielded to him by himſelf and *Valentinian* [x]. *Maximus* would not, it ſeems, hearken to any propoſals; for this very year he laid ſiege to *Aquileia*, which he reduced, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the inhabitants, as he did *Quaderna*, *Bononia*, *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, *Placentia*, and ſeveral other cities in *Italy*; nay, he was the enſuing year acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of *Africa* [y]. *Theodoſius*, therefore, finding a war inevitable, ſpent the remaining part of this, and the firſt months of the following year 388, when he was conſul the ſecond time with *Cynegius*, in making the neceſſary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. His army conſiſted chiefly of *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the ſervice, to prevent their raiſing diſturbances on the frontiers. He appointed *Promotus* general of the horſe, and *Timaſius* of the foot; and having committed the government of the eaſtern provinces to ſuch perſons as, he knew, would, in his abſence, conſult the welfare of his ſubjects, and maintain the public tranquility, he ſet out from *Theſſalonica* in the beginning of the ſummer, marching with great expedition through *Illyricum*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe *Maximus*, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, in *Aquileia*. *Andragathius*, one of the uſurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the paſſes of the *Julian Alps*; but a report being ſpread, that *Theodoſius* deſigned to paſs the *Ionian* ſea, and invade *Italy*, he was ordered to quit thoſe paſſes, and to man with the utmoſt expedition what ſhips he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his paſſage. Thus was *Maximus* deprived of the aſſiſtance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which *Andragathius* aſſembled, purſuant to his orders, on the coaſt of the *Ionian* ſea. In the mean time *Theodoſius* entering *Pannonia*, advanced to *Sciſcia*, now *Seiſſeg*, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of *Maximus* in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon *Theodoſius* as he was paſſing the *Save*; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf drowned in the river *. From *Sciſcia* the emperor advanced to *Pe-*

Maximus reduces ſeveral cities.

Theodoſius marches againſt him.

The army of Maximus *defeated.*

[x] Zos. l. iv. p. 768. p. 275 Zos p. 769. 17. p. 215.

[y] Ambros. ep. 17. p. 215. Pacat.

* Zos. l. iv. p. 769, 770. Amb. ep.

tavio

Pavio, now *Pettaw* on the *Drave*, where he was met by *Marcellinus*, the brother of *Maximus*, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, though his men fought with extraordinary courage and reſolution. We are not told, that *Maximus* was preſent at either of theſe battles; but he muſt have at leaſt advanced to ſupport his generals; for both *Pacatus* [a] and St. *Ambroſe* [a] write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of his ſhattered army, to *Aquileia*, whither *Theodoſius* purſued him, having ſent *Arbogaſtes* before to inveſt the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his eſcape. *Zoſimus* writes, that the emperor arriving ſoon after, took the town by aſſault [b]; and *Socrates*, that it was delivered up to him by the ſoldiers of *Maximus* [c]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was ſeized, according to ſome, by his own men, according to others, by the ſoldiers of *Theodoſius* who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. *Theodoſius* reproached him with the death of *Gratian*, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As *Maximus* was, or at leaſt pretended to be, touched with remorſe for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had uſurped, *Theodoſius* began to look upon him with an eye of compaſſion; which thoſe about him obſerving, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's ſight, and, without waiting his orders, ſtruck off his head [d]. He was executed at a place about three miles diſtant from *Aquileia*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, according to *Socrates* [e]; or on the twenty-eighth of *July*, as *Idatius* will have it [f]. St. *Ambroſe* writes, that *Maximus* was at the ſame time defeated by the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, and *Theodoſius* [g]. Thoſe two nations had broken into *Gaul*, as appears from *Gregory* of *Tours* [h], under the conduct of *Genobaud*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*; and having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, were preparing to repaſs that river with an immenſe booty, when *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, two of *Maximus*'s generals, falling up-

Theodoſius gains a ſecond victory.

Maximus taken.

And beheaded.

[a] PACAT. p. 270—275. [a] AMBR. p. 214. [b] *Zos.* p. 770. [c] SOCR. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. [d] SOCR. *Zos.* ibid. PACAT. p. 270. [e] SOCR. p. 273. [f] IDAT. chron. [g] AMBR. ep 17. p. 215. [h] GREG. Turon. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59.

on

on them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Quentinus* followed the *Franks* croſs the *Rhine*, which he paſſed near the preſent city of *Nuys*; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, moſt of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marſhes, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a diſgraceful and precipitous flight [i]. *Maximus* had left his ſon *Victor*, whom he had declared *Auguſtus*, in *Gaul*, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his abſence. Againſt him *Theodoſius* diſpatched *Arbogaſtes*, who took him priſoner, after having diſperſed the troops that attended him, and put him to death [k]. *Zoſimus* calls him a youth; but all other writers ſtyle him an infant. *Andragathius*, hearing of the defeat and death of *Maximus*, as he was cruiſing in the *Ionian* gulf, threw himſelf headlong into the ſea, and was drowned, chuſing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as *Gratian* had been ſeized and murdered by him, he had reaſon to apprehend [l]. *Oroſius* writes, that he was overcome in battle [m]; and St. *Ambroſe*, that he had joined *Maximus*, before his defeat, and periſhed ſoon after [n]. Thus ended a war, which at firſt threatened the empire with endleſs calamities; and the glory which *Theodoſius* acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the uſe of it; for immediately after the death of *Maximus*, he publiſhed a general amneſty, and was ſo far from perſecuting the friends and relations of the uſurper, that he would not even ſuffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was baniſhed, ſays *Pacatus*, no man's eſtate was confiſcated; and thoſe who deſerved, and would have ſuffered, the moſt cruel death under any other prince, were diſmiſſed by *Theodoſius*, without ſo much as hearing from him an angry word [o]. Thoſe, who had with moſt warmth eſpouſed the tyrant's cauſe, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the ſame author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their eſtates unmoleſted, and with them the ſame rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been diſtinguiſhed before the rebellion [p]. The wife and daughters of *Maximus* had been taken, and confined in a public priſon, by ſome of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no ſooner knew, than he ordered them to be ſet at liberty, ſettled a conſiderable penſion upon them, and charged one of their

Quentinus, one of the generals of Maximus, *defeated by the* Franks.

Victor, the ſon of Maximus, *taken in* Gaul, *and put to death.*

Theodoſius wins the victory with great clemency and moderation.

[i] Idem ibid. p 59. 60. [k] Zos. l. iv. p 770. Victor. p. 545. Prosp. p. 515. [l] Zos Vict. Prosp. ibid. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [n] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 214. [o] Pacat. p. 281. [p] Idem, p. 282.

kinſmen

kinſmen to take care, that no one injured or inſulted them [q]. But what St. *Ambroſe* and *Zoſimus* himſelf moſt of all admired in *Theodoſius*, was, his not only reſtoring to *Valentinian* his own ſhare, when no one was in a condition to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of the whole empire, but his generouſly relinquiſhing to him *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which, before the revolt of *Maximus* had been held by his brother *Gratian*. He was ſatisfied, ſays St. *Ambroſe*, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it for himſelf, though no one could have blamed him, had he retained ſome of thoſe provinces, conſidering the immenſe charge he had been at in reſtoring the young prince to the quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt [r]. As *Juſtina*, the mother of *Valentinian*, died about this time, *Theodoſius*, during the three years he continued in the weſt, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, ſcarce ſeventeen years old, and conſequently not yet equal to ſo great a burden [s]. While *Theodoſius* was purſuing the war in *Illyricum*, a report was ſpread at *Conſtantinople*, that his army was cut off, and he himſelf in great danger of falling into the hands of the uſurper. Hereupon the *Arians*, whom he had highly diſobliged, by driving them from their churches in 380, as we have related above, riſing in the night-time, ſet fire to the houſe of *Nectarius*, the orthodox biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who periſhed in the flames, and committed ſeveral other diſorders. But the news of the intire defeat of the uſurper being brought ſoon after to that metropolis, the *Arians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourſe to the clemency of *Arcadius*, whom *Theodoſius* had left at *Conſtantinople* in ſetting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himſelf, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted them [t]. It was without all doubt on this occaſion that the *Arians* ſet fire to the church of St. *Sophia*, which conſumed the roof of that ſtately edifice, as we read in *Codinus* [u]; but *Theodoſius*, notwithſtanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to encourage his ſon to acts of clemency, at his requeſt overlooked that, and the other enormous diſorders committed by the fanatics on that occaſion.

Diſturbances raiſed in Conſtantinople *by the* Arians.

Theodoſius pardons them, at the requeſt of his ſon Arcadius.

The emperor was ſtill at *Aquileia* on the twenty ſecond of *September*; but on the tenth of *October* at *Milan*, where he ſeems to have paſſed the winter [w]. Being informed, while

[q] AMBR. ep. 17. p 215. [r] AMBR. p. 216. [s] RUFIN. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. [t] Soc. l. v. c 13. p. 272. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. [u] CODIN. orig Conſtant. p. 64. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. 7. p. 410.

he reſided in that city, that the chriſtians had burned a ſynagogue of the *Jews*, and a temple of the pagans, at *Callinicum* in *Meſopotamia*, he condemned the biſhop of the place to rebuild the ſynagogue at his own expence, and ordered all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in either of theſe riots, to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But St. *Ambroſe*, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater diſorders in the *Arians*, ought not to exert ſo much rigour againſt an orthodox biſhop and his people, wrote to him from *Aquileia* in their favour; and upon his return to *Milan* perſuaded the emperor, by a ſpeech which he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given [x]. About the latter end of this year the ſenate of *Rome* diſpatched deputies to *Theodoſius*, earneſtly entreating him to give them leave to reſtore to its former place the altar of *Victory*, which had been removed by *Gratian*. The emperor ſeemed at firſt inclined to grant them their requeſt; but was in the end perſuaded by St. *Ambroſe* to deny it. However, *Symmachus*, the chief of the deputies, a man univerſally eſteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the antient religion of the *Romans*, in a panegyric which he pronounced ſoon after on *Theodoſius*, renewed the ſame requeſt in the name of the ſenate; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that inſtant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into baniſhment, forbidding him, under the ſevereſt penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of *Rome* [y]. The emperor's indignation ſeemed the more juſt, as *Symmachus* had been but very lately pardoned by him, while accuſed by his enemies of treaſon, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the uſurper *Maximus*. However, as *Theodoſius* was never more ready to pardon, than when he ſeemed moſt provoked, the friends of *Symmachus* no ſooner ſpoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, reſtored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world that he retained no ill will to him, raiſed him two years after to the conſular dignity [z]. This year *Theodoſius* enacted ſeveral laws againſt heretics, *viz.* one dated the ſecond of *March*, forbidding them, eſpecially the *Apollinarians*, to hold aſſemblies, to have biſhops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear

A deputation from the ſenate of Rome, *for reſtoring the altar of* Victory.

Their requeſt rejected, and Symmachus *baniſhed, but recalled.*

Several laws of this year, eſpecially againſt heretics.

[x] Ambr apol. 17, 18. vit. p 83. 84. [y] Socr. l. v c. 14. p. 273. Prosp de promiſſ. l iii c 38 p. 149. [z] Ambros. ſermo de diverſ iii p. 118. Sym. l. ii. ep 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61, 63. p. 89, 90. & l. v ep 15. p. 191.

at court, or to preſent any petition to the emperor [a]. The ſame prohibition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of *June* [b]. By another enacted two days after, all public diſputes concerning religion were forbidden under the ſevereſt penalties [c]. A law dated the twenty-ninth of *February*, declares all marriages between *Jews* and chriſtians unlawful, and ſubjects the contracting parties to the puniſhments due to adultery; another addreſſed to *Cyncgius*, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's ſiſter [d]. The ſame prohibition had been made by *Conſtantius* in 355 [e]. *Theodoſius*, who was ſtill at *Milan* on the twenty-ſecond of *May* [f], left that city ſoon after, and repaired to *Rome* with young *Valentinian* and his ſon *Honorius*, whom he had ſent for from *Conſtantinople*, after the defeat of *Maximus*. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of *June*; and a few days after *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*, an orator of *Gaul*, pronounced his panegyric in the ſenate, the emperor himſelf being preſent. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occaſion, of his affability and condeſcenſion, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houſes of private perſons, which won him the hearts of the *Roman* people [g]. The poet *Claudian* tells us, that at *Rome* he received embaſſadors ſent by the king of *Perſia* to treat with him about a peace between the two empires [h]. To *Theodoſius*'s journey to *Rome* was owing, according to *Prudentius* [i], the converſion of the ſenate and people of that city to the chriſtian religion; not that he uſed any violence, ſays that writer, for he indifferently raiſed pagans and chriſtians to the firſt employments in the ſtate [k]; but ſo great was the force of his example, that few, either in the ſenate or among the people, were ſo attached to their errors as to withſtand it. *Prudentius* mentions ſeveral illuſtrious families converted on this occaſion to the true religion, *viz.* the families of the *Paulini*, of the *Baſſi*, of the *Annii*, and of the *Gracchi*, at that time the moſt antient and noble family in *Rome*. The people, continues that writer, flocked to the *Lateran* church, to receive there the ſacred ſign of the royal chriſm, and to the vatican, to viſit the aſhes of

Theodoſius *goes to* Rome.

Endeavours to aboliſh idolatry in that metropolis.

[a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 14. p. 130. [b] Idem, leg. 15. p. 131. [c] Idem, tit. 4. leg. 2. p. 100. [d] Idem, l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. & cod. Juſtin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 425. [e] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. [f] Idem, p. 120. [g] Soz. p. 273. RUF. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. [h] CLAUD. p. 176. [i] PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 218. [k] Idem, p. 220.

the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. *Peter*, who was then ſuppoſed to have planted the faith in *Rome*. The idols, ſays St. *Jerom*, were every-where pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once ſo much revered, left in their nitches alone, or attended only by mice and owls: the capitol, continues the ſame writer, formerly ſo much frequented, is now turned into a deſert; the other temples are covered with duſt, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in paſſing by thoſe antient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. *Rome* forſakes *Jupiter* and his temples, deſpiſes his ceremonies, and is aſhamed of the worſhip formerly paid him [l]. *Theodoſius*, however, would not ſuffer the ſtatues of the gods, many of which were the work of the beſt artificers of antiquity, to be deſtroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public ſquares, where they ſerved as ornaments to the city [m]. *Theodoſius* ſtaid ſcarce three months at *Rome*, but in that ſhort time he not only ſeriouſly applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſion of idolatry, but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuſes, which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the ſeveral laws he publiſhed there [n]. He enacted one, dated the ſeventeenth of *June*, ordering all the *Manichees* to be driven out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children. A few days before *Theodoſius* left *Rome*, a comet is ſaid to have appeared in the the eaſt in the ſhape of a ſword; and moving northward, to have vaniſhed in the middle of the *Urſa Major*, after having laſted forty days, as we read in *Philoſtorgius* [o]; or only twenty-ſix, as *Marcellinus* will have it [p]. The former writer mentions ſeveral other prodigies, among which he reckons two men equally remarkable for their ſize, the one being ſeven cubits and three inches, and the other no taller, ſays that author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent underſtanding: the former was a native of *Syria*, and the latter of *Egypt*, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five [q]. *Theodoſius* left *Rome* on the firſt of *September*, was at a place called *Valentia* on the third of the ſame month, and on the ſixth at *Forum Flaminii*, now *Ponte Cen-*

A comet appears in the eaſt.

Theodoſius leaves Rome.

[l] Hier. ep. 7. p 54 & in Jov. l. ii. c. 18. p 95. [m] Prud. p. 220. [n] Cod Theod. l. xii. tit. 16. leg. 1. p. 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18. p 138. [o] Philost. l. x. c. 9. p. 139—141. [p] Marcell. chron. [q] Philos. ibid. p. 142, 143.

teſimo

teſimo on the *Topino*, not far from *Fuligno*, in the dutchy of *Spoleto*, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during *Lent* [r]. From thence he purſued his journey to *Milan*, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-ſixth of *November*, commanding the heretic biſhops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities and their ſuburbs [s]. From this law and ſeveral others of the enſuing year, it appears, that *Theodoſius* paſſed the winter in that city, while *Valentinian* marched into *Gaul*, to make head againſt the *Franks*, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that *Valentinian* had an interview with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two chiefs of the *Franks*; and that they delivered hoſtages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of *November*, was at *Treves*, where he took up his winter-quarters [t]. This year is chiefly remarkable for the deſtruction of the celebrated temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, which, according to the deſcription *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives us of it, ſurpaſſed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of *Jupiter Capitolinus* alone excepted [u]; nay, *Theodoret* calls it the greateſt, and without exception the moſt beautiful, temple, in the univerſe [w]. *Theodoſius*, who had hitherto ſpared that ſtately edifice, cauſed it this year to be levelled with the ground on the following occaſion. *Theophilus*, biſhop of *Alexandria*, having begged and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly conſecrated to *Bacchus*, but at that time ruined and forſaken, with a deſign to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of the rubbiſh, found among the ruins ſeveral obſcene figures, which the biſhop, to ridicule the ſuperſtition of the heathens, cauſed to be expoſed to public view. This provoked the pagans to ſuch a degree, that they flew to arms; and falling upon the chriſtians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppoſe their fury. At length the chriſtians took arms in their own defence; and, being ſupported by the few ſoldiers who were quartered in *Alexandria*, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day paſſed without ſome ſcuffle and bloodſhed. The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers (for the chriſtians were far more numerous), uſed to retire to the temple of *Serapis*; and thence ſallying out again unexpectedly

Valentinian concludes a peace with the Franks.

The pagans riſe againſt the chriſtians in Alexandria.

[r] Cod. Theod chron. p 120, 121. [s] Idem ibid. [t] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [u] Cod. Theod chron. p. 120. [w] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 234. [w] THEODOR. p 735.

Several christians massacred, and put to cruel deaths

tedly, seize on such of the christians as they met, and dragging them into the temple, either force them by the most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if they refused, to rack them to death. As they expected to be soon attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher, by name *Olympus*, for their leader, with a resolution to defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last extremity. In the mean time, *Evagrius*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Romanus*, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain to persuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole to the emperor, who extolling and envying the happiness of such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to be revenged on those at whose hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However, at the same time, he ordered the temple of *Serapis*, and all the other temples in *Alexandria*, which gave occasion to frequent disturbances, to be utterly demolished, charging *Theophilus*, bishop of the place, who had solicited this order, to see it put in execution, and enjoining *Evagrius* and *Romanus* to follow therein his directions. The pagans no sooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and dispersed, some of them retiring privately to their own houses, and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more distant countries. Among the latter was their leader *Olympus*, who conveyed himself in the night on board a vessel which was ready to sail for *Italy*. *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two grammarians, under whom *Socrates*, the ecclesiastic historian, had studied at *Constantinople*, withdrew from *Egypt*, and took refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians. The former used to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine christians with his own hand [x]. The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to *Theophilus*, who, with the assistance of the people and soldiery, reduced it in a short time to a heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. The celebrated statue of *Serapis*, the principal god of the *Egyptians*, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity car-

Theodosius *orders the famous temple of* Serapis, *and all the temples in* Alexandria, *to be pulled down.*

The statue of Serapis *broken in pieces.*

[x] Socr. l. vii. c 15. p. 724. Ruf. l. ii. c. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726.

ried

ried firſt in triumph by the chriſtians through the city, and then thrown into an huge fire kindled for that purpoſe in the amphitheatre. As the *Egyptians* aſcribed the overflowing of the *Nile*, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god *Serapis*, they concluded, that now he was deſtroyed the river would no longer overflow, and conſequently that a general famine would enſue. But when they obſerved, that the *Nile*, on the contrary, ſwelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immenſe plenty of all manner of proviſions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worſhip of the idols, adored the God of the chriſtians [y]. *Rufinus* [z], *Socrates* [a], *Eunapius* [b], and *Sozomen* [c] write, that croſſes were found engraved on ſeveral of the ſtones of the temple, which occaſioned the converſion of great numbers of the *Egyptian* prieſts, the croſs being in the ſacred language of that nation the ſymbol of life; and, on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of *Serapis*, would ſubſiſt till the ſign of life appeared. Not only the ſtatue of *Serapis*, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other ſtatues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous chriſtians carefully ſought for, ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets, and conſumed in the flames; inſomuch, that in the great city of *Serapis*, as *Alexandria* was frequently ſtyled, not the leaſt footſtep was left of that idol, or of the worſhip which for ſo many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of *Serapis* was built a church, and a *martyrium*, ſays *Rufinus* [d], meaning perhaps a burying-place for thoſe who had ſuffered martyrdom, during the late diſturbances. *Sophronius*, one of St. *Jerom*'s friends, wrote a particular and diſtinct account of the demolition of the temple of *Serapis* [e]; but his work has not reached our times. *Theophilus*, who was a prelate no leſs active than zealous, not ſatisfied with demoliſhing the temple of *Serapis*, encouraged the people, ſupported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the *Roman* troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places ſet apart for the worſhip of the idols throughout *Egypt*, cauſing every-where the ſtatues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable ſtatues, with which that ſuperſtitious province was filled, he

All the temples throughout Egypt *demoliſhed.*

[y] Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. Socr. l. v. c. 16. p. 274. [z] Ruf. ibid. [a] Socr. ibid. [b] Eunap. c. 4. p. 65—94. [c] Soz. l. vii. c. 15. p. 725. [d] Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. [e] Hier. vir. illuſtr. c. 133. p. 303.

is

is said to have spared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expose the pagan religion to ridicule [f]. *Theodosius* not only approved of what *Theophilus* had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been so long addicted [g]. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of such as should burn incense before them [h].

The following year 390, when *Valentinian* was consul the fourth time with *Neoterius*, *Theodosius* continued at *Milan*, as appears from the code, till the fifth of *July*; was at *Verona* from the twenty-third of *August* to the eighth of *September*; and again at *Milan* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and the twenty-third of *December*. At *Verona* he published a law, dated the third of *September*, commanding those who professed a monastic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, pursuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another dated the seventeenth of *April* 392 [i]. By a law, which was published at *Rome* on the fourteenth of *May*, he commanded those who should be found guilty of unnatural lust to be burnt alive in the sight of the whole people [k]. This year, an obelisk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at *Constantinople*, and a column before the church of St. *Sophia*, on which was a statue of *Theodosius* in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces [l]. As for *Valentinian*, he seems to have continued all this year at *Treves*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next consuls were *Tatianus* and *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*. *Theodosius* continued this year at *Milan* to the twenty second of *March*, was at *Concordia* on the ninth of *May*, at *Vicentia* on the twenty-seventh of the same month, and at *Aquileia* from the sixteenth of *June* to the fourteenth of *July* [m]. By a law dated the ninth of *May*, he declared those who should renounce the christian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, witnesses to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punish-

A law against unnatural lust.

One against apostates.

[f] Socr. p. 275. [g] Ruf. p. 189. [h] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 93. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98. [k] Idem. l. ix. tit. 2 leg. 4. p. 30. [l] Marcell. chron. [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 173.

ment

ment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men [n]. By another law, dated the ninth of the same month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities [o]. Some writers confine this law to the *Manichees*, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. *Theodosius* was, as we have observed above, at *Aquileia* on the fourteenth of *July*; but soon after he set out from thence for *Constantinople*, leaving the intire management of affairs in the west to *Valentinian*, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at *Thessalonica*, he found the province of *Macedon* in great confusion; for the barbarians, who, at the instigation of *Maximus*, had revolted, and concealed themselves among the marshes and woods, after the defeat of that usurper, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, began to sally out of their fastnesses in the night, and seizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peasants such refreshments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small inn, kept by a woman, stricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to stay there that night. In the same inn lodged a person, who declining to converse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no small jealousy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was she knew not; but that ever since the news of the emperor's return out of the west, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare who he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth *viz.* that he was employed as a spy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor's army, and

Theodosius *returns to the east.*

The barbarians, concealing themselves amongst the woods and marshes, infest the province of Macedon.

How discovered by Theodosius.

[n] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4. & v. p. 207, 208. [o] Idem, tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 197.

to inform them what places lay moſt convenient for their incurſions. Hereupon the emperor cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his ſoldiers to the place where he had learnt from the ſpy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Timaſius*, who together with *Promotus* commanded on this occaſion under *Theodoſius*, imagining moſt of the barbarians to be already cut off, adviſed the emperor to allow his ſoldiers ſome time to refreſh themſelves after ſo warm and fatiguing a ſervice, that they might with more vigour purſue the reſt, who could not make their eſcape. The emperor, following his advice, ſounded a retreat; but while his men were refreſhing themſelves without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and moſt of them overcome with wine or a ſleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himſelf, had he not been ſeaſonably reſcued by *Promotus*, at the danger of his own life. However, *Theodoſius*, having rallied his diſperſed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped the general ſlaughter. Thus *Zoſimus* [p], on whoſe ſingle authority the whole truth of this account reſts; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, according to *Zoſimus*, who ſtudies to leſſen on all occaſions the glory of *Theodoſius*, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Promotus*; but that brave general who had ſerved the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambuſcade by the barbarians in *Thrace*. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Rufinus*, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated *Promotus* in a very haughty and inſolent manner, the general, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſtruck him; which affront *Rufinus* revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpoſe a private correſpondence [q]. But *Claudian*, who mentions the death of *Promotus*, and wrote two books filled with invectives againſt *Rufinus*, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. *Zoſimus* adds, that *Rufinus* having complained of *Promotus* to the emperor, the prince, who repoſed an entire confidence in him, returned him this anſwer; *If the other miniſters continue thus to envy you your good fortune, they ſhall ſoon have the mortification to ſee you emperor* [r]. *Claudian* writes, that *Stilicho* revenged the death of his friend *Promotus*

The emperor in great danger.

He gains a complete victory over the barbarians.

Promotus *killed in an ambuſcade*

[p] Zos. l. iv. p. 770——773.
[q] Idem, p. 773.
[r] Idem ibid.

on

on the *Baſtarnæ*, by whoſe hands he fell; and that after having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he ſhut them up in a narrow valley, with the *Goths*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians, who had long infeſted *Thrace*, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor choſen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, ſays that poet, the evil counſels of the traitor *Ruſinus* [f]. *Theodoſius*, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, made it his chief ſtudy to ſuppreſs idolatry and *Arianiſm*, ordering ſuch temples as were ſtill ſtanding to be pulled down, and the *Arians* to be every-where driven out of the cities, leſt they ſhould infect their fellow-citizens with their peſtilent doctrine [t].

Theodoſius *endeavours to ſuppreſs idolatry and* Arianiſm *in the eaſt.*

THE next conſuls were *Arcadius*, the ſecond time, and *Ruſinus*. *Theodoſius* had, as we have obſerved above, during his three years ſtay in the weſt, uſed all poſſible means to extirpate idolatry; but, upon his return to the eaſt, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and ſuch of the ſenators of *Rome*, as continued ſtill attached to the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors, ſent a deputation to *Valentinian*, at the head of which was the celebrated *Symmachus*, intreating him to reſtore to their prieſts and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of *Gratian*. *Valentinian*, who was then in *Gaul*, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the many pagan miniſters who were in his court, to grant them their requeſt [u]. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to paſs the *Alps* towards *Rhætia*, and invade *Italy*, the emperor reſolved to quit *Gaul*, and haſten to *Milan*, in order to make head againſt them. As he was deſirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he diſpatched from *Vienne*, where he then was, an expreſs to St. *Ambroſe* biſhop of *Milan*, for whom he had an extraordinary eſteem and veneration, inviting him into *Gaul*, to adminiſter to him that ſacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, ſet out without delay; but before he reached *Vienne*, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as moſt authors agree, by *Arbogaſtes*. He was a *Frank* by nation, and owed his preferment to *Gratian*. After that prince's death, the ſoldiery, by whom he was highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and diſintereſtedneſs, raiſed him, without the conſent

Valentinian *refuſes to reſtore to the temples their antient privileges.*

[f] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l i c. 17.
[t] RUF. l. ii. c. 19. p. 185. [u] AMBR. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 114. SYMM. l. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

either of *Valentinian*, who was then a child, or of his mother *Juſtina*, to the poſt of general; in which command he acquitted himſelf with great fidelity and moderation, while *Theodoſius* continued in the weſt; but, upon the departure of that prince for *Conſtantinople*, he began to act more like a ſovereign than a miniſter or officer, arrogating to himſelf the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an abſolute ſway. Such of the officers in the army as ſeemed attached to *Valentinian* he diſcharged, and put *Franks*, in whom he could confide, in their room, diſpoſing at the ſame time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's conſent or knowledge, and beſtowing them upon perſons of his own faction. *Valentinian*, no longer able to brook ſuch a ſhameful ſervitude, reſolved to diſcharge *Arbogaſtes*; and accordingly ſeeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But *Arbogaſtes*, having peruſed it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with the utmoſt arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to diveſt him of it. After this, *Arbogaſtes*, well appriſed that *Valentinian* would not ſuffer ſuch an outrage to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly diſpatched him a few days after [w]. Authors diſagree as to the manner of his death: *Zoſimus* writes, that while *Valentinian*, attended by a ſmall guard, was diverting himſelf in the neighbourhood of *Vienne*, *Arbogaſtes*, aſſaulting him unexpectedly, ſtabbed him with his ſword [x]. According to *Philoſtorgius*, he was ſtrangled, while he was taking his diverſion on the banks of the *Rhone*, by aſſaſſins, whom *Arbogaſtes* had hired for that purpoſe. The ſame author adds, that, after they had ſtrangled him, they tyed his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himſelf; for his guards were at ſome diſtance, and out of ſight [y]. St. *Jerom* [z], *Oroſius* [a], *Rufinus* [b], *Epiphanius* [c], *Socrates* [d], and *Sozomen* [e], agree, that he was ſtrangled; but the two latter will have it ſuppoſed this to have happened in the palace, and the act of the court, gained over by *Arbogaſtes*, to have been the authors of his death. *Idatius* and *Tiro Proſper* only

Arbogaſtes pretends to controul the young prince.

He is diſcharged; but refuſes to reſign his poſt, and cauſes Valentinian to be murdered. Various opinions concerning the manner of his death.

[w] Zos. p. 225. Zos. p. 776. Socr. p. 93. Soz. ibid. [x] Zos. ibid. [y] Philoſtorg. l. xi. c. 1. p. 145. [z] Hieron. Chron. p. 176. [a] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [b] Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 171. [c] Epiph. de menſ. & pond. 20. p. 177. [d] Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. [e] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 739.

write,

write, that he was murdered by the treachery of *Arbogaſtes*. The report which *Arbogaſtes*, and thoſe of his faction, ſpread abroad, *viz.* that the prince had laid violent hands on himſelf, was credited by many, and among the reſt by *Proſper*, who relates it in his chronicle as an event not to be queſtioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. *Ambroſe* would have extolled, as he does, his piety and religious ſentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of ſelf-murder. He died in 392, on the fifteenth of *May*, that year the eve of *Penteco ſt*, after having lived only twenty years and ſome months, and borne the title of emperor ſixteen years and about ſix months, tho' he cannot be ſaid to have reigned till the death of *Gratian*, who died eight years and nine months before him [f]. St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that when he ſaw himſelf unexpectedly attacked by the aſſaſſins, the only words he uttered were, *Alas! my poor ſiſters!* [g]. The funeral ceremonies were performed the next day, the ſixteenth of *May*, with great ſolemnity; and his body was ſent to *Milan*, and interred there near that of his brother *Gratian*, on which occaſion St. *Ambroſe* pronounced an oration in praiſe of the deceaſed prince [h], who, according to him, and moſt other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipſed, the glory of the beſt emperors, had he been ſuffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, ſober, liberal, ſincere in his friendſhip, entirely unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the diſpoſing of employments partial to merit alone [i]. *Zoſimus*, tho' highly prejudiced againſt all chriſtian princes, owns, that his death was a public loſs [k]. He had perſecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, ſhe had perſecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a moſt zealous patron of the orthodox faith, diſcountenancing the *Arians* and other ſectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of diſtinguiſhing truth from falſhood [l]. His two ſiſters, *Juſta* and *Grata*, continued at *Milan*, and there embraced, after his death, the the ſtate of virginity. His ſiſter *Galla*, who was married to *Theodoſius*, died two years after in child-bed. *His character.*

AFTER the death of *Valentinian*, *Arbogaſtes* might have eaſily ſeized on the ſovereignity; but not caring to appear guilty of ſuch a treacherous and inhuman murder, he choſe to confer it on one *Eugenius*, and to reign in his

[f] Epitom. p. 177. Philoſtr. p. 144. [g] Ambr. ibid. p. 112. [h] Idem ibid. p. 113—115. [i] Idem ibid. Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 250. [k] Zos. l. iv. p. 776. [l] Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 107.

name.

Eugenius is ſet up by Arbogaſtes in his room.

name [m]. *Eugenius* had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally eſteemed on account of his eloquence. *Ricomer*, at the requeſt of *Symmachus*, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the eaſt with *Theodoſius*, recommended him to *Arbogaſtes*, by whoſe intereſt he was raiſed to the poſt of ſecretary [n]. *Zoſimus* tells us that *Arbogaſtes*, repoſing an intire confidence in *Eugenius*, and judging him capable of the moſt daring reſolutions, imparted to him the deſign he had formed of murdering *Valentinian*, and raiſing him to the empire in his room; that *Eugenius* rejected at firſt the propoſal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the meaſures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his intereſt, after the death of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a perſon well qualified for that high ſtation [o]. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the weſtern provinces, ſays *Socrates* [p]; which muſt be underſtood of *Weſt Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; but not of *Africa*, which, after the death of *Valentinian*, ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from *Conſtantinople* the thirtieth of *December* 393, and addreſſed to *Gildo* count of *Africa*; and the other dated from the ſame place the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, and addreſſed to *Silvanus* duke of the province *Tripolitana* [q]. It is likewiſe manifeſt from *Claudian*, that *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodoſius*, and not *Eugenius* [r]. The new uſurper, tho' a chriſtian,, was greatly favoured by the pagans, who were well appriſed, that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in *Arbogaſtes*, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruſpices, who began to appear anew, aſſured him, that he was deſtined to the empire of the whole world; that he would ſoon gain a complete victory over *Theodoſius*, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but thoſe of the *Roman* empire [s]. Tho' *Eugenius* ſeemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to St. *Ambroſe*, who did not anſwer his letter, till he was preſſed by ſome of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the reſpect due to an em-

He ſeizes on all the weſtern provinces.

[m] Philost. l. xi c. 2. p. 145. Oros. l. vii. c 35. p. 220. Claud. conſ. Hon. 3. 4. p. 25, 41. [n] Soc. l. v. c 25. p. 293. Zos p. 775. Philost. p. 146. Symm. l iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. [o] Zos. p. 775. [p] Socr. p. 294. [q] Cod Theod. chron. p. 128. [r] Claud. bell. Gild. p. 76. & conſul. Hon. 6. p. 77. [s] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740.

peror.

peror [t]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, ſome diſturbances happened in the court of *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*: *Ruſinus*, not ſatisfied with the conſular dignity, to which he was raiſed this year, notwithſtanding the report of his having been the author of the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians, began to aſpire at the prefecture of the eaſt, which was held by *Tatianus*, whom he cauſed to be accuſed of oppreſſion in his government. *Zoſimus* will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by *Ruſinus*, on account of his integrity. *Proculus*, the ſon of *Tatianus*, and prefect of *Conſtantinople*, was accuſed of the ſame crime, *Ruſinus* hating him, ſays *Zoſimus*, for the ſake of his father. *Theodoſius* appointed ſeveral judges to try them; but as *Ruſinus* was at the head of that commiſſion, and the other judges dreaded his reſentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was depoſed, and confined to *Lycia*, his native country; and the ſon ſentenced to death; which *Theodoſius* no ſooner knew, than he ſent him his pardon: but the meſſenger, gained over by *Ruſinus*, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Libanius* charges both *Tatianus*, and his ſon *Proculus*, with cruelty and oppreſſion [v]; and the laws enacted on this occaſion by *Theodoſius*, give us room to believe, that the charge brought againſt *Tatianus*, was not altogether groundleſs, as *Zoſimus* ſtyles it; for by one law he took off a tax which had been levied by *Tatianus*, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the eſtates and effects of ſuch perſons, as had been proſcribed by him, to be reſtored to them or their children; and by a third addreſſed to *Ruſinus*, he declared thoſe guilty of death, who, for the future, ſhould be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they had taken [x]. As for *Proculus*, he muſt have been guilty of greater crimes than his father, ſince he was puniſhed with more ſeverity. But however juſt was the puniſhment, inflicted on *Tatianus*, his countrymen the *Lycians*, who had no ſhare in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his diſgrace and misfortunes; nevertheleſs *Theodoſius*, at the inſtigation of *Ruſinus*, a declared enemy to the *Lycians*, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable

Tatianus *and his ſon* Proculus *accuſed at the inſtigation of* Rufinus.

Tatianus *baniſhed, and his ſon executed.*

[t] AMB. ep. 15 p. 210. [u] Zos l. iv. p. 774. [w] LIB. orat. xvi. p. 423. [x] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219. 220.

of

of any preferment [y]. This unjuſt law was afterwards revoked by *Arcadius*, who reſtored the *Lycians* to their former condition, aſcribing the baſe treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning *Rufinus* [z]. As *Tatianus* is highly commended by *Zoſimus*, and perſecuted with great cruelty, the catholics, while he was governor of *Egypt* under *Valens* in 367, ſome writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been *comes largitionum* to *Valens* in 374, three times prefect of the eaſt, and twice conſul. He is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after his diſgrace. When he was depoſed, *Rufinus* was appointed prefect of the eaſt in his room [a]. The affair of *Tatianus* and *Proculus* was not yet ended, when news of the death of *Valentinian*, and the uſurpation of *Eugenius*, was brought to *Conſtantinople*. A few days after, embaſſadors arrived from the uſurper, who, without ſo much as mentioning the name of *Arbogaſtes*, demanded an audience in the name of *Eugenius*; and being admitted to the emperor's preſence, propoſed an alliance between him and their maſter. *Theodoſius* received them in a very obliging manner, amuſed them, ſays *Zoſimus*, with fair words, and diſmiſſed them loaded with rich preſents [b]. At the head of this embaſſy was one *Rufinus*, an *Aquitanian*, who was attended by ſeveral biſhops ſent by *Eugenius* to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As *Theodoſius* charged *Arbogaſtes* with the murder of *Valentinian*, the biſhops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that falſe, as they ſtyled it, and groundleſs, aſperſion [c]. *Eutropius* [d], *Theodoret* [e], and *Sozomen* [f], tell us, that, upon the departure of the embaſſadors, *Theodoſius* diſpatched the eunuch *Eutropius*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reigns of *Arcadius*, to conſult a holy hermit, by name *John*, by nation an *Egyptian*, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. *Eutropius* was injoined to bring him, if poſſible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his ſolitude, to aſk him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking *Eugenius* firſt? or, if he ſhould wait till the uſurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court, but adviſed the emperor to begin the war without delay, aſſuring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodſhed; that he would die in *Italy*, after his victory, and in dying leave his ſon emperor of the weſt. Thus the

Rufinus *made prefect of the eaſt*

Eugenius *ſends deputies to* **Theodoſius,**

[y] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38 leg. 9. p. 278, 279. [z] Idem, tit 3 p. 279 [a] Amer. ep 50. p 309 [b] Zos. p. 776 [c] Ruf p 191. [d] Idem. p. 192. [e] Theodoret. l. v. c. 24 p. 738. [f] Soz p. 740.

above-

above-mentioned writers. *Theodosius*, upon the return of the messenger, began his military preparations; but as he confided more in the assistance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited in the first place all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who disposes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and bestows victory on whom he pleases [g]. *Who prepares for war.* *His piety.*

The military preparations, to which *Theodosius* applied himself with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing several laws this year, among the rest one condemning such heretics as should confer or receive holy orders to pay, by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places where they should perform any religious ceremony, confiscated [h]. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of *July*, he commands those who should raise disturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be banished, and confined to some desert, if they had been guilty of the same fault before [i]. The law of the eighteenth of *October* of this year, commands such criminals as should have purloined the public money, and taken sanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and punished, or the bishops who protected them, to pay what they owed [k]. From this law it appears, that the custom of taking sanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, St. *Austin*, being solicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name *Fascius*, who had fled to his church as to an asylum, or to satisfy his creditors, chose the latter [l]. By a law dated the eighth of *November*, the emperor revived all the ancient laws against paganism, forbidding, under the severest penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion [m]. *His laws against heretics.*

THE following year *Theodosius* was consul the third time, with *Abundantius*, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horse and foot [n]. In his room *Eugenius* was acknowledged consul in the west, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that usurper is styled the collegue of *Theodosius* in the consulship [o]. This year *Theodosius* published many excellent laws, and among the rest one abrogating an antient law, which punished those with death, who uttered seditious words against the prince. If such words, says *Theodosius*, in his law of this year, *of treason.* *He revokes the law*

[g] RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p. 191. [h] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 21. p. 138. [i] Idem ibid. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 101. [k] Idem, l. ix. tit. 45. leg. 1. p 358. [l] AUG. ep. 268. p. 901. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 12. p. 273. [n] Cod. Theod chron. p. 126. [o] Vide REIN. p. 1021.

proceed from levity, they are to be deſpiſed; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven [p]. In the beginning, or, as ſome will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of *January*, or twentieth of *November*, the emperor declared his ſecond ſon, *Honorius, Auguſtus*. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity in the palace of *Hebdomon* near *Conſtantinople* [q]. The poet *Claudian* introduces on this occaſion *Theodoſius* inſtructing the young prince in the art of governing [r]. This year was ended at *Conſtantinople* a ſquare, which bore the name of *Theodoſius*; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the *Goths* and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equeſtrian ſtatue of *Theodoſius*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*; but the column was ſtill ſtanding in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in hiſtory [s]. *Theodoſius* paſſed this whole year at *Conſtantinople*, making the neceſſary preparations for the dangerous war which he was reſolved to undertake. As for *Eugenius*, he had gained the preceding year conſiderable advantages over the *Franks*, being induced to make war upon them by *Arbogaſtes*, who bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes of that nation. This war was managed by *Arbogaſtes*, who, paſſing the *Rhine* near *Cologne* in the depth of winter, laid waſte the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, *Marcomir* ſhewing himſelf only at a diſtance on the hills, with ſome parties of the *Anſivarii* and *Chatti* [t]. Hence it appears, that theſe antient nations of *Germany* were at this time compriſed under the name of *Franks*. *Eugenius* himſelf approached the *Rhine*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of *Arbogaſtes*, renewed the antient alliance between the *Romans* and *Franks*, he left *Gaul*, and repaired to *Italy*; which he had ſcarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the *Roman* ſenate, intreating him to reſtore to the temples the revenues of which they had been deprived by *Gratian*, and to re-eſtabliſh the celebrated altar of *Victory*. *Eugenius* received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their requeſt. The ſenate ſoon after ſent a ſe-

Honorius *declared* Auguſtus.

Eugenius *gains conſiderable advantages over the* Franks.

[p] Cod. Theod. l xi. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 42. [q] Philost. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. Soz l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. Claud. conſ. Hon. 3. p. 35. 36. [r] Claud. ibid. p. 45—50. [s] Chron. Alex. p. 708. Cange Conſtant. antiq. l i. p 76—80. [t] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61, 62.

cond

cond deputation to ſolicit the ſame favour; which was denied them a ſecond time. But when by a third embaſſy they renewed their requeſt, *Eugenius* yielded at length to their importunity, reſtoring the pagan religion and temples to their former luſtre, and ſuffering the antient ceremonies and ſacrifices to be renewed in the ſenate of the metropolis of his empire [u]. The following year, 394, *Arcadius* being conſul the third time, and *Honorius* the ſecond, *Theodoſius* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople* on the fifteenth of *May* [w]; but he left that metropolis ſoon after; for he was on the thirtieth of the ſame month at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *June* at *Adrianople* [x]. He bent his march through *Dacia*, and the other provinces between *Thrace* and the *Julian Alps*, which ſeparate *Italy* from *Noricum*, with a deſign to force the paſſes of thoſe mountains, and break into *Italy*, before the army of *Eugenius* was in a condition to oppoſe him. Upon his arrival at the *Alps*, he found the paſſes guarded by *Flavianus* prefect of *Italy*, at the head of a conſiderable body of *Roman* troops, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight. *Flavianus* was killed at the firſt onſet. *Theodoſius*, having thus opened himſelf a paſſage over the *Alps*, was met, as he came down from thoſe mountains, by *Eugenius*, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river *Frigidum*; which *Sanſon* and others take to be the river *Vipao* or *Wiback* in the county of *Gorice*, about thirty-ſix miles from *Aquileia*. The army of *Theodoſius* was no leſs numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by ſeveral bodies of *Armenians*, *Iberians*, *Arabians*, *Goths*, and other barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*. The *Roman* troops were commanded by *Timaſius* and *Stilicho*, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by *Gainas*, *Saul*, *Bacurius*, and *Alaric* the *Goth*, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory. Of *Gainas*, who was of the ſame nation, and *Saul*, who was likewiſe a barbarian, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Bacurius* was a native of *Armenia* [y], or, as *Ruſinus* will have it, of *Iberia* [z]; nay, he is ſtyled by that writer king of *Iberia*. Among the *Romans* he was *comes domeſticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, and univerſally eſteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildneſs of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies [a]. *Ruſinus*, the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian,

Eugenius favours the pagan ceremonies.

Theodoſius forces the paſſes of the Alps.

[u] AMBR. vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210. [w] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Zos. p. 777. [z] RUF. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. [a] Zos. ibid.

who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of *Paleſtine*, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous chriſtian, a worthy companion of *Theodoſius*, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body [d]. Under theſe leaders the army of *Theodoſius* advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expoſe the *Romans*, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and reſolution; but were ſoon put in diſorder by the regular and well-diſciplined troops of *Eugenius*, headed by *Arbogaſtes*, who ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner. *Bacurius*, however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being ſupported by *Timaſius* and *Stilicho*, renewed the combat, which laſted till night coming on, both armies retired to their reſpective camps. *Bacurius* on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end ſurrounded on all ſides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himſelf for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the *Goths* and other auxiliaries above ten thouſand were killed; but of the *Romans*, who ſupported them, only a ſmall number, *Eugenius*, concluding he had gained the day, and that the army of *Theodoſius* was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refreſh themſelves, that they might be the better able to purſue the enemy next morning. In the mean time *Theodoſius* was adviſed by his generals not to hazard a ſecond engagement, but to retire in the night, repaſs the *Alps*, and put off the deciſion of the war till another campaign; againſt which time he might with great eaſe recruit his army, and renew the war with freſh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonſtrances, having aſſembled his troops by break of day, led them in perſon againſt the enemy; and entering their camp when leaſt expected, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [e]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians aſcribe the victory gained by *Theodoſius*, not to any ſurprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous aſſiſtance of St. *John* the evangeliſt, and the apoſtle St. *Philip*, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and aſſured him of victory. The ſame writers add, that *Theodoſius* no ſooner attacked *Eugenius*'s numerous for-

[d] Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192. [e] Zos p. 778.

ces,

ces, than a violent ſtorm ariſing, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themſelves, and raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, as quite deprived them of their ſight; ſo that having two enemies to encounter at once, they were quickly overcome. Of this ſtorm mention is made by *Theodoret* [f], *Oroſius*, [g], *Sozomen* [h], St. *Ambroſe* [i], *Rufinus* [k], St. *Auſtin* [l], and the poet *Claudian* [m], who deſcribe it with great elegance in ſome verſes which he wrote eighteen months after [n]; but, to flatter *Honorius*, will have it to have been owing to his deſtiny. *Arbogaſtes* behaved on this occaſion with great intrepidity; but in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, his men, quite diſheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the ſtorm, that Heaven fought againſt them, either betook themſelves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, who readily received them into favour; but at the ſame time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the uſurper. They no ſooner received this order, than they flew to the riſing ground where *Eugenius* had poſted himſelf to behold the battle, and was ſtill waiting the event of it. When he obſerved them coming in great haſte towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he aſked them, whether they had, purſuant to his orders, ſecured *Theodoſius*. They anſwered, that they deſpiſed the commands of a tyrant and uſurper, whom they were come to ſeize, and deliver up to their lawful ſovereign; and loading him that inſtant with irons, dragged him, ſtripped of all the enſigns of majeſty, to the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of *Valentinian*, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire by his unjuſt uſurpation, and with putting his confidence in *Hercules*, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief ſtandard he had diſplayed the image of that fabulous deity. *Eugenius* begged earneſtly for his life; but while he lay proſtrate at the emperor's feet, his own ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a ſpear, ſhewed it to thoſe who, remaining in his camp, had not yet ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*. At that ſight they were all thunder-ſtruck; but being at the ſame time informed, that *Theodoſius* was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their

Eugenius taken, delivered up to Theodoſius, *and put to death by his command.*

[f] THEOPOR. l. v. c. 24. p. 739. [g] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 229. [h] Soz l. vii. c. 24. p. 742. [i] AMBR. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 117. & in pſal. xxxvi. p. 692. [k] RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p. 103. [l] AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c 26. p. 642. [m] CLAUD. conſ. Hon. 3. p. 36. [n] Idem ibid.

arms

Arbogaſtes *lays violent hands on himſelf.*

arms and ſubmitted [o]. *Arbogaſtes*, the chief author of the death of *Valentinian*, and the evils attending it, deſpairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being appriſed that diligent ſearch was made after him, he laid violent hands on himſelf [p]. The children of *Eugenius* and *Arbogaſtes*, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reaſon to expect the ſame treatment, took ſanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not ſatisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganiſm, which they profeſſed, to the chriſtian religion, appointing proper perſons to inſtruct them, and convince them of their errors; which they had no ſooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates, and raiſed them to conſiderable employments [q]. Great numbers of the partizans of *Eugenius* having fled for refuge to the great church of *Milan*, St. *Ambroſe* repaired to *Aquileia*, where the emperor then was, to ſolicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amneſty proclaimed [r]; nay, the emperor is ſaid to have been ſo concerned for the blood that was ſhed in the battle, as to abſtain for ſome time from the holy euchariſt [s]. He probably followed therein the directions of St. *Ambroſe*, at leaſt his conduct was agreeable to the ſentiments of that prelate, who, in ſpeaking of judges, ſays, That though he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy euchariſt, after they have ſentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abſtaining for ſome time of their own accord from the holy myſteries [t]. The emperor, immediately after his victory over *Eugenius*, ſent for his ſon *Honorius*, whom he had left at *Conſtantinople*, under the care of *Rufinus*, who was thereby veſted with almoſt an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, *Theodoſius* had removed from *Aquileia* to *Milan*, where he received him and *Serena*, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St *Ambroſe* [u]. *Serena* was daughter to *Honorius*, the emperor's brother. A few days after he declared his ſon *Honorius* emperor of the weſt, aſſigning him for his ſhare, *Italy*,

Honorius *declared emperor of the weſt.*

[o] Ambr. vit. p. 86. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 41. Rud. p. 192. Theodor. p. 740. Socr. l. 5. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p 710. [p] Claud. ibid. p. 41. & conſ. Hon. 3. p. 39. Socr p. 295. Oros. p. 220. 221. [q] Amer. ep. 16. p. 211 Oros. ibid. [r] Ambr. vit. p. 86. [s] Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 753. [t] Amer. ep. 51. p. 309, 310. [u] Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192.

Gaul,

Gaul, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Africa*, and *Weſt Illyricum.* and appointing *Stilicho* his firſt general and prime miniſter [w]. With this declaration he ſent *Stilicho* to *Rome*; on which occaſion *Serena*, whom *Theodoſius* had married to that general, and who accompanied her huſband to *Rome*, ſhewed a great deſire, ſays *Zoſimus*, to ſee the ſtatue of *Cybele*; but ſhe was no ſooner admitted into the temple, than ſhe ſnatched from the goddeſs a necklace of ineſtimable value, ſaying, it became better the niece of an emperor than a ſenſeleſs ſtatue. An old veſtal, who was preſent, tranſported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations againſt *Serena*, her huſband, and her children; but *Serena* cauſed her to be driven out of the temple, and puniſhed for her arrogance. At the ſame time her huſband *Stilicho* commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood theſe words: *This is reſerved for an unhappy king.* Thus *Zoſimus* [x], who ridiculouſly aſcribes to theſe two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befel *Stilicho* and *Serena*. The *Roman* ſenate ſent deputies to congratulate *Theodoſius* on his late victory, and to beg the conſulſhip of the enſuing year for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. The emperor granted them their requeſt, exhorting them at the ſame time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth, which now generally prevailed. *Zoſimus*, who ſeldom agrees with other writers, ſuppoſes *Theodoſius* to have gone in perſon to *Rome*, to have ſummoned to the imperial palace all the ſenators, who ſtill continued attached to the antient ceremonies of the *Romans*, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and renouncing the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the gods, to embrace the chriſtian religion, which alone could deliver them from their ſins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which *Rome* had been founded, and had ſubſiſted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could ſpare no money for the ceremonies of their religion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly ſuppreſſed [y]. He had before enacted ſeveral laws for the ſuppreſſion of idolatry; but *Eugenius* had revoked them, and reſtored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This

[w] Zos. l. iv. p. 773. [x] Zos. p. 774. [y] Idem, l. v. p. 814.

year

year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almoſt every day in moſt provinces of the empire, from the beginning of *September* to the end of *November*; for exceſſive and inceſſant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and ſuch a darkneſs as had not happened in the memory of man [z]: all which the writers of thoſe times ſeem to have looked upon as prognoſtics of the great loſs the *Roman* empire was to ſuſtain in the approaching death of the great *Theodoſius*.

THE next conſuls were the two brothers *Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius* and *Anicius Probinus*, the ſons of *Petronius Probus* and *Anicia Proba*, on whoſe conſulate *Claudian* wrote a poem [a]. *Theodoſius*, having reſtored the weſt to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to *Conſtantinople*, when he was ſeized with a dropſy, occaſioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war [b]. As ſoon as he perceived himſelf to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the eaſt to his eldeſt ſon *Arcadius*, and the weſt to *Honorius*. He likewiſe confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burthenſome to the people, charging his ſons and ſucceſſors to ſee his will duly executed as to theſe two points [q]. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that finding himſelf in great meaſure eaſed of his pain, he aſſiſted at a chariot-race; but his diſtemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his ſons to preſide at the ſports in his room; and withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night [r].

Theodoſius divides the empire between his two children.

Theodoſius dies.

He was heard a few minutes before he expired to utter the name of St. *Ambroſe* [s]. He died at *Milan* on the ſeventeenth of *January* of this year 395, two days before he had ended the ſixteenth year of his reign, being then at moſt in the fiftieth year of his age [t]. St. *Ambroſe* pronounced his funeral oration, in which he ſuppoſes him to enjoy the rewards promiſed in the goſpel to a religious and virtuous life [u]. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from *Milan* to *Conſtantinople*, where it was interred by *Arcadius* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, on the ninth of *November*, of the preſent year [w]. A tomb of porphyry was

[z] MAR. chron. AMB. ſerm. de diverſ. iii. p. 116. [a] CLAUD. de conſ. Olyb. & Prob p. 1—8 [b] SOCR. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii c. 28 p. 752. [q] AMB. ibid. p. 117. [r] SOCR. l. v. c. 26. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752. [s] AMB. ibid. p. 122. [t] SOCR. p. 295 Chr. Alex. p. 710. [u] AMB ſer. de diverſ. iii p. 117—121. [w] Zos. l. iv. p. 779. AMB. ibid. p. 125. SOCR. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300.

to

to be ſeen many ages after, ſuppoſed to be that of *Theodoſius*. It ſtood in the mauſoleum of *Conſtantine the Great*, near the church of the apoſtles [x]. As for the character of *Theodoſius*, all authors, whether pagan or chriſtian, *Zoſimus* alone excepted, agree, that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one ſingle vice. Not to mention the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin*, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a moſt zealous patron of the orthodox faith. *Themiſtius*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, and *Victor* the younger, though greatly attached to the antient religion of the *Romans*, which *Theodoſius* diſcountenanced above all his predeceſſors, and made it his chief ſtudy utterly to ſuppreſs, propoſe him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the eminent virtues that ſhone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the chriſtian religion, and averſion to the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the pagans, raiſed againſt him among thoſe, who in ſpite of his utmoſt endeavours continued obſtinate in their errors [y]. The teſtimony of thoſe writers, who had no leſs reaſon to be prejudiced againſt *Theodoſius* than *Zoſimus*, and who lived in thoſe times, muſt be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that hiſtorian, who lived a hundred years after. *Theodoſius* was, as we have hinted above out of *Aurelius Victor*, naturally choleric, and apt, in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, to iſſue ſuch orders as favoured of cruelty. But as he was ſoon appeaſed, we have but one inſtance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous maſſacre of the inhaditants of *Theſſalonica*, who had murdered in an inſurrection *Botericus*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Illyricum*, be cauſed he refuſed to ſet at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been impriſoned for offering violence to a woman of ſome diſtinction. When this came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the interceſſion of St. *Ambroſe*, and other biſhops aſſembled in a ſynod at *Milan*, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his miniſters repreſenting to him, that the *Theſſalonians* had been encouraged to this ſedition by the too great indulgence he had ſhewn to the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and that if he ſuffered the murder of his lieutenant to go thus unpuniſhed, his offi-

His character.

[x] CANGE urb. Conſt. antiq. l. iv. p 109. [y] Vide Sym. l. iii. ep. 81. p. 137. ep 13. p. 65. Vict epit. 545, 547.

cers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himſelf diſturbed and alarmed with daily inſurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to ſuch a degree, that, forgetful of the promiſe he had made to St. *Ambroſe*, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to *Theſſalonica*, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The ſoldiers, entering the city, purſuant to their orders, ſurrounded the people, while they were aſſembled to behold the *Circenſian* games; and falling upon them ſword in hand, without regard to ſex, age, or condition, without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly maſſacred, in the ſpace of three hours, above ſeven thouſand perſons, many of whom were ſtrangers come to *Theſſalonica* on occaſion of the ſports. When news of this maſſacre was brought to *Milan*, St. *Ambroſe* wrote to the emperor, who had left that city ſome time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, repreſenting to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a ſincere ſubmiſſion and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and returning a few days after to *Milan*, repaired, according to his cuſtom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But St. *Ambroſe*, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongſt them, till he had expiated ſo public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily ſubmitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as injoined by the canons of the church, and the cuſtom of thoſe times. He continued in that ſtate for the ſpace of eight months, that is, from the latter end of *April* to *Chriſtmas*, when, to make ſome amends for his crime, and to prevent both himſelf and his ſucceſſors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the obſervance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a reſpite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the ſentence of death and their execution [z]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Zoſimus*, who omits no opportunity of railing at *Theodoſius*, and often cenſures even the moſt commendable actions of that prince, ſhould take no notice of the above-mentioned maſſacre. The reader will find in the eccleſiaſtic writers other inſtances of the emperor's intire ſubmiſſion to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, ſelf-denial, and

The maſſacre of Theſſalonica.

An inſtance of his ſubmiſſion to the diſcipline of the church.

[z] Theodor. l. iii. c 17. Soz. l. iii. c. 24. Niceph. l. xii. c. 40. Amb. ep. xxviii. Aug. de civ. Dei, l. v. c. 26, &c.

other

other chriſtian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note *(M)*.

(M) Among the writers, who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, the celebrated orator *Symmachus* deſerves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the firſt place. He was the ſon of *L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus*, prefect of *Rome* in 364 (1). He is ſtyled at the head of his letters, by *Macrobius* (2), and in an antient inſcription, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus* (3). He had at leaſt three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 *(4)*. Of theſe *Celſinus Titianus*, whom in all his letters he ſtyles brother (5), ſeems to have been one. He diſtinguiſhes *Flavianus*, who was prefect of *Italy*, and joined *Eugenius*, in whoſe cauſe he loſt his life, with the ſame title (6); but moſt writers are of opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. *Symmachus* married *Ruſticiana*, the daughter of *Orfites*, who was for many years prefect of *Rome* under *Conſtantius*, and had by her one ſon, named *Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus* (7). *Orfites*, his father-in-law, was accuſed in 364, and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his eſtate was confiſcated, and he baniſhed; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his eſtate was reſtored to him, but nevertheleſs he died very poor about the year 370, leaving two daughters behind him, *viz. Ruſticiana*, and another, who was married to a perſon of diſtinction in *Hetruria* (8). Though *Symmachus* had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy ſenators (9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, quæſtor, prætor, corrector or governor of *Lucania* and *Bruttium* in 365, and 368, proconſul of *Africa* in 370, and 373, prefect of *Rome* in 384, and conſul in 391 (10). He is ſtyled in an ancient inſcription count of the third order *(11)*. He was a moſt zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account baniſhed by *Theodoſius*, but ſoon after recalled, as we have obſerved already. He brought up his ſon with extraordinary care, and ſeems to have taken upon himſelf to inſtruct him *(12)*. Being invited by *Theodoſius*, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to *Milan*, and aſſiſt at the ſolemnity of his conſulſhip in 399, he excuſed himſelf, alledging, that he could not leave his ſon *(13)*. His ſon was made by his intereſt, firſt

(1) *Sym l. ii. c. 44. p. 81. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 69* (2) *Macrob. l i. c. 5. p. 176, 177.* (3) *Rein p 399.* (4) *Sym. l iii. ep. 6 p. 104.* (5) *Idem, l. i. ep. 40, 56, 68. p 30, 38.* (6) *Idem, l. ii. ep. 44. p. 81. & ep. 83 p. 97.* (7) *Sidon. l. ii. ep. 10 p. 54. Sym l ix. ep. 121. p. 386. l. x. ep. 47. p 441, 442.* (8) *Cod. Theod tit. 6. p 376. Sym l. x. ep. 47. p 441, 442.* (9) *Plut. c. 80. p 197. Sym. l. v. ep. 5. p. 187 & ep. 66 p. 214. Ammian. p 377. Macrob. p. 745.* (10) *Sym. l. ix. ep. 41. p. 31. Cod. Theod tit. 6. p. 386.* (11) *Rein p 399.* (12) *Sym. l. vii. ep 30. p. 273.* (13) *Idem, l. viii ep. 68. p. 335.*

quæſtor, and afterwards prætor (14), quæſtor about the year 392, and prætor in 397. The latter dignity coſt him two thouſand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have ſpent on that occcaſion a far greater ſum, had he not been reſtrained by *Stilicho*, who at that time ruled under *Honorius* (16). Young *Symmachus* was proconſul of *Africa* in 415, and prefect of *Rome* in 419 (17). In the date of a law of the year 424, he is marked conſul (18); but moſt writers take that to be a miſtake. He married, after the year 394, the grand-daughter of *Flavianus*, and had by her a ſon before the death of his father (19). He wrote ſome epigrams on illuſtrious men, and ſeveral letters, which are to be found among thoſe of his father, who ſubmitted his own compoſitions to the cenſure and judgment of his ſon (20). *Symmachus*, the father, was eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator of his time; but his ſpeeches not meeting with the applauſe he expected, he applied himſelf intirely to the writing of letters (21). His ſpeeches have been long ſince loſt; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preſerved by his amanuenſis, and one of his friends, named *Elpidius*, and publiſhed after his death by his ſon (22). *Prudentius*, who wrote againſt him, while he was ſtill living, on occaſion of his endeavouring to perſuade the emperor to reſtore the altar of *victory*, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden ſpade made uſe of to dig up ordure (23). *Macrobius* compares his elegant and florid ſtyle, as he terms it, to that of *Pliny* the younger, and equals him in that reſpect to the beſt writers of antiquity (24). *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Caſſiodorus* admire his eloquence, and the purity of his ſtyle (25). Both theſe writers quote ſome paſſages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26). *Socrates* (27), *Photius* (28), and *Jornandes* (29), mention him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without ſome elegance; but the ſame thoughts, tho', generally ſpeaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his ſtyle favours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. *Jornandes* quotes the fifth book of the hiſtory of *Symmachus*; but as it does not appear, that either *Symmachus* the orator, or his ſon, ever

(14) *Idem, l. v. ep.* 44. *p.* 202. & *l. iv. ep.* 12. *p.* 147. (15) *Idem, l. iv. ep.* 8. *p.* 146. (16) *Idem ibid.* (17) *Cod. Theod tit.* 6. *p.* 386. (18) *Idem, tit.* 1. *p.* 386. (19) *Sym. l. iv ep.* 14. p. 149. (20) *Idem, l. vii. ep.* 21. p. 70. & *appendix ad ep. Symmachi*, p. 298, 301. (21) *Idem, l. iv. ep.* 29. p. 159. & *l. viii. ep.* 68. p. 335. (22) *Idem, l. iii.* p. 101, & *l. v. ep.* 83, 84. p. 220. (23) *Prud. in Sym. l. i.* p. 223. & *l.* 2. p. 225. (24) *Macr. l. v c.* 1. p. 364. (25) *Sid. l. i. ep.* 1. p. 11. & *car.* 9. p. 361. *l. viii. ep.* 10. p. 231. *Caſſiod. l xi. ep.* 1. p. 175. (26) *Sid.* & *Caſſiod. ibid.* (27) *Socr. l. v. c.* 14. p. 273. (28) *Phot. c.* 80. p. 197. (29) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 15. p. 636.

wrote

wrote any hiſtory, moſt authors take the hiſtorian quoted by *Jornandes* to be different from both (30).

The *Latin* poet *Rufus Feſtus Avienus* is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, becauſe he inſcribed a work to *Probus*, a conſular man, whom moſt writers take to be the celebrated *Probus*, who died not long before the year 395 (31). St. *Jerom*, in his comments on the epiſtle to *Titus*, writes, that the phænomena of *Aratus* had been lately tranſlated by *Avienus* (32); which work, together with his tranſlation of *Dionyſius*'s deſcription of the world, and a third poem by the ſame author on the ſea-coaſts, has reached our times. To the ſame *Avienus* or *Avianus* are generally aſcribed the fables of *Æſop* in *Latin* verſe, and the whole hiſtory of *Livy* in Iambics; but the latter laborious performance which, is mentioned by *Servius*, has been long ſince loſt (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the ſame author are ſtill extant. He writes with more taſte and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to thoſe of *Phædrus* (34). *Rufus Feſtus*, who was proconſul of *Achaia* under *Valens*, is thought to have been his ſon (35). *Victor* the hiſtorian, who cloſes his hiſtory with a kind of panegyric on *Theodoſius*, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote ſoon after the death of that prince (36). The name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* is common to him with another hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor *Valens*; but from him he is diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of *junior* or *the younger*: in ſeveral manuſcripts he is ſtyled *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, and under both theſe names he is quoted by *Paulus Diaconus* (37). He wrote the *Roman* hiſtory; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called *Victor's epitome* (38). *Gregory* of *Tours* quotes ſeveral things concerning the *Franks* out of an hiſtorian named *Sulpicius Alexander* (39), whom *Gothofredus* commends as an excellent writer, and ſuppoſes to be the ſame *Alexander* to whom *Symmachus* wrote ſeveral letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raiſed by *Valentinian* II. about the year 387, to the poſt of tribune and ſecretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the *Latin* poet *Manilius*, who wrote on aſtrology, flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, or his ſon *Honorius*; but from ſeveral paſſages in that poem, eſpecially from the laſt verſes of the firſt book, *Hæc tenus modo per gentes*, &c. moſt critics conclude him to have lived in the time of *Auguſtus*, and to have written ſoon after the defeat of *Varus* (41). The *notitia*, or ſtate of the provinces of the empire,

(30) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* p. 724. (31) *Idem, l. iii. c. 9.* p. 272.
(32) *Hier. in Tit. i.* p. 248. (33) *Voſſ. poet. Lat.* p. 50.
(34) *Vide Baillet. tom. vi.* p. 475, 476. (35) *Vide Sym.* p. 100.
(36) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 12* p. 221. (37) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 12.* p. 221. (38) *Vict. epit.* p. 531. (39) *Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9* p. 58, &c. (40) *Cod. Theod. l. x.* p. 409. *Sym. l. i. ep. 101.* p. 58. & *l. ix. ep. 27* p. 247. (41) *Voſſ. l. vii.* p. 643. *Voſſ. poet. Lat.* p. 30. *Manil.* p. 159, 161.

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publiſhed by *Surita* with the *itinerary of Antoninus*, is ſuppoſed to have been written in the time of *Theodoſius*; for mention is made there of the provinces of *Arcadia* in *Egypt*, and *Honorias* in *Pontus*, ſo ſtyled from that prince's two ſons, and no notice is taken of ſeveral other provinces formed by *Arcadius* after the death of his father (42). The five books of *Flavius Vegetius Renatus* on the military art are addreſſed to the emperor, by whoſe order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is ſometimes named *Valentinian*, and ſometimes *Theodoſius* (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of *Gratian*, and not long after the ravages committed by the *Goths* in that prince's reign, which he aſcribes to his having ſuffered the infantry to lay aſide their cuiraſſes and helmets (45). *Vegetius* is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *comes* or *count*, and even with the epithet of *illuſtrious*. He is commonly blamed for confounding the cuſtoms and regulations of the ancients with thoſe of his time.

The philoſopher *Themiſtius* flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, and was no leſs eſteemed by the *Greeks* than *Symmachus* by the *Latins*. He was ſprung from a noble family, and one of his anceſtors, a philoſopher by profeſſion, had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral honours by *Dioclefian* (46); perhaps his father *Eugenius*, who was no leſs famous for the profeſſion of philoſophy, than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongſt the letters of the emperor *Julian*, there is one to a philoſopher by name *Eugenius* (48); whom ſome take to have been the father of *Themiſtius*; if ſo, he muſt have been too young in *Dioclefian*'s time to be raiſed to any public employment. From his elogium, written by his ſon ſoon after his death, it appears, that he preferred *Ariſtotle* to all other philoſophers, and that in his old age he uſed to unbend his mind from the ſtudy of philoſophy with cultivating his garden (49). *Themiſtius* was of the ſame age with the emperor *Conſtantius* (50), born in 317. He was a native of *Paphlagonia*, and not of *Conſtantinople*, tho' he ſpent almoſt his whole life in that city (51). He ſtudied rhetoric at a place on the moſt diſtant borders of *Pontus* and *Colchis*, near *Phaſis*, a city of *Colchis*, on a river of the ſame name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated profeſſor, who taught in that country (52), and under whom he made ſuch progreſs, that he was ſurnamed *Euphradus* or the *fine ſpeaker* (53). *Gregory Nazianzen* ſtyles him the king of eloquence, and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but moſt of all in the art of ſpeaking (54). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on *Ariſtotle* for his own private uſe; but nevertheleſs they were pub-

(42) *Vide Noris epoch.* p. 298, 302. (43) *Veg. l. i.* p. 13. & *l ii* p. 30. (44) *Idem*, p. 13 (45) *Idem, l i. c.* 20. p. 24. (46) *Orat Conſtantii Aug. de Themiſt.* p. 22. *Themiſt or v* p. 63. (47) *Or. Conſ.* p. 23. (48) *Julian. ep xviii.* p. 135. (49) *Themiſt or. xx.* p. 234. (50) *Idem, or. i.* p. 375. (51) *Idem, or. ii.* p. 28. (52) *Idem, or xxvii.* p. 292 & *or. xvii* p. 214. *or xxvii.* p. 332, 333 (53) *Greg. Naz ep. cxl.* p. 866. (54) *Idem, ep cxxxix.* p. 865.

liſhed,

liſhed, and met with great applauſe (55). His comments on *Ariſtotle*, and his notes on *Plato*, were ſtill extant in the time of *Photius*, who ſtyles them an uſeful work (56). The author of the book on the categories or predicaments, falſly aſcribed to St. *Auſtin*, owns, that, in compiling that work, he had often recourſe to *Themiſtius*, a great and wiſe philoſopher of his time (57). Some fragments of the comments of *Themiſtius* on *Ariſtotle* are ſtill extant (58); and *Stobæus* quotes a paſſage out of that work concerning the immortality of the ſoul. When he had ended his ſtudies he went to *Conſtantinople*, and reſided there for the ſpace of at leaſt forty years (60). He firſt taught philoſophy, *viz* that of *Pythagoras*, of *Plato*, and of *Ariſtotle*; but made moſt account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of diſciples, and a philoſopher of *Sicyon* in *Peloponneſus*, who had ſtudied under *Iamblichus*, ſent him all his at once (62). He taught *gratis*; nay, he aſſiſted his diſciples with money ſo far as his ſmall eſtate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of *ſophiſt*, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (63). After he had taught ſome time at *Conſtantinople*, he went firſt to the court of *Conſtantius*, before whom he pronounced his firſt oration at *Ancyra* in 347, having been introduced to that prince by *Saturninus*, who was conſul in 383 (64). Not long after, that is, before the year 350, he ſaw *Conſtans* in the weſt (65). In the year 355, *Conſtantius* created him ſenator of *Conſtantinople*, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the ſenate of that city (66). Two years after, that prince cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to his honour (67). *Julian* wrote frequently to him in the time of his diſgrace; and, being created *Cæſar*, anſwered by a long letter that which *Themiſtius* had wrote to him from *Conſtantinople*, encouraging him to anſwer the mighty expectations the world entertained of him (68). Upon the acceſſion of *Jovian* to the empire, *Themiſtius* was ſent to the new prince by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, to congratulate him in their name; on which occaſion he pronounced, or deſigned to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (69), with ſeveral diſcourſes pronounced by him before *Valens*, who would hear him at leaſt once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369, when he concluded a peace with the *Goths*, to which the philoſopher pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attend-

(55) *Idem, or.* xxvii. *p.* 333. *or.* xxiii. *p.* 294, 295. (56) *Phot. c.* 73. *p.* 164. (57) *Aug. de Categ. c.* 2. *p.* 23. & *c.* 22. *p.* 34. (58) *Phot. c.* 74. *p.* 161. (59) *Euſeb. p.* 241. (60) *Idem, or.* xvii. *p.* 214. (61) *Idem, or.* xxiii. *p.* 298. & *or. Conſt. p.* 22. (62) *Idem, or.* xxiii. *p* 295. (63) *Idem, ibid. p* 294. (64) *Idem, or.* xiii. *p.* 165. & *or* xxxi. *p.* 352. (65) *Idem, or.* xiii. *p.* 165. *or.* xxxi. *p.* 354. *or. Conſt. p* 18. (66) *Or. Conſt ibid.* (67) *Themiſt. or.* iv. *p.* 54. (68) *Julian. ad Themiſt. p.* 479. (69) *Themiſt. or.* v. *p.* 69 (70) *Idem, or.* x. *p.* 129. (71) *Idem, ibid. p.* 133. & *or.* xiii *p.* 166.

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ed *Valens* into the eaſt, and in the *Perſian* war in 372 (72). *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that he reconciled in ſome degree that prince to the catholics by a ſpeech, which he pronounced before him, ſhewing, that he ought not to be ſurpriſed at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but, on the contrary, allow them great liberty (73). In the year 376, he was ſent by *Valens* to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*. As on his return he paſſed through *Rome*, the inhabitants of that metropolis earneſtly preſſed him to continue there, and teach philoſophy, but could not, by any offers, prevail upon him to accept that office; ſo that, after a ſhort ſtay in their city, he returned to *Conſtantinople* (74). *Theodoſius* raiſed him, in 384, to the dignity of prefect of *Conſtantinople*, and once had ſome thoughts of committing to his care the education of his ſon *Arcadius* (75). He wrote ſeveral diſcourſes in praiſe of that prince before the year 385; but as none of his orations are thought to be poſterior to that year, he is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after. All the emperors, who reigned in his time, ſhewed him great reſpect, and diſtinguiſhed him above all the other philoſophers. Of his orations thirty-three have reached our times, comprifing one in the *Latin* tongue, which ſeveral critics ſuppoſe not to be his. In *Photius*'s time they were in all thirty-ſix, and among them one addreſſed to *Valentinian* II. which, ſince his time, has been loſt (76). *Photius* commends his ſtyle as grave, and at the ſame time florid and elegant (77). He declares himſelf in ſeveral places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheleſs commends all the emperors alike, and beſtows as great encomiums upon *Valens* as upon *Theodoſius*. A poet, by name *Palladius*, charges him with ambitiouſly aſpiring at the dignity of prefect, notwithſtanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (78). When *Palladius* lived, we know not. *Themiſtius*'s thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one *Eutychianus*, who lived in the ſixth century; but it is evident, from his writings, that he profeſſed paganiſm, though he was not perhaps ſuch a fanatic as *Libanius* or *Eunapius*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him, recommending ſeveral perſons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the ſophiſts of the fourth century, was a native of *Sardes*, the metropolis of *Lydia*; but ſtudied at *Athens*, for the ſpace of five years, under *Proereſes*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere, profeſſor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to *Lydia*, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of phyſic, and to that of magic, under *Chryſanthus*, who had married his couſin: He was initiated in the myſteries of *Eleuſina*, aud blindly attached to all the

(72) *Idem, ibid.* (73) *Socr. l.* iv. *c.* 32. p. 250. *Soz. l.* vi. *c.* 36. p. 696. (74) *Themiſt. or* xxiii. p. 298. & *or.* xxxi. p. 354. (75) *Idem, or.* xvii. *p.* 215. (76) *Phot. c.* 76. p. 164. (77) *Idem, ibid.* (78) *Anthолog. l.* ii. *c.* 52. p. 188. *Voſſ. poet. Grec p.* 93. (79) *Greg. Naz. ep.* 139, 140. p. 865.

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ceremonies of the pagan ſuperſtition (80). By *Chryſanthus* he was induced to write the lives of the ſophiſts; which work he begins with the life of *Plotinus*, who flouriſhed in the middle of the third century. From *Plotinus* he proceeds to the lives of *Porphyrius*, of *Iamblichus*, and his diſciples, who were all addicted to the ſtudy of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them 81). He mentions the ravages committed in *Greece* by *Alaric* in 395 and 396: whence it is plain, that he did not put the laſt hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the hiſtory of the emperors, which conſiſted of fourteen books, and extended from the beginning of the reign of *Claudius*, the ſucceſſor of *Gallienus*, where the hiſtory of *Dexippus* ended, to the death of *Eudoxia*, the wife of *Arcadius*; that is, from the year 268 to 404 (82). His life of the emperor *Julian* was rather a panegyric, than a hiſtory (83). Some fragments of this hiſtory are ſtill to be found in *Suidas* (84), and in the abſtracts of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* on embaſſies. *Voſſius* writes, that the entire hiſtory of *Eunapius* is lodged in the public library of *Venice* (85). The hiſtory of *Zoſimus* is but an abridgment of that of *Eunapius* (86). They were both declared enemies to all the chriſtian princes, eſpecially to *Conſtantine the Great*, though *Eunapius* retrenched, in the ſecond edition of his work, moſt of the invectives againſt the chriſtians, which he had inſerted in the firſt (87). In his lives of the ſophiſts he betrays the ſame prejudice againſt the chriſtian religion, and, in ſeveral places, inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks. *Photius* commends his ſtyle as elegant, conciſe, and expreſſive; but finds fault with his endleſs metaphors, which better ſuit an orator than an hiſtorian (88). In the lives of the ſophiſts his ſtyle is often obſcure, and not eaſily underſtood, which has led ſeveral able writers into groſs miſtakes (89). He frequently diſagrees with the hiſtorians of his own time; nay, with thoſe who were eye witneſſes of the events they relate. The two philoſophers, *Pappus* and *Theo*, flouriſhed at *Alexandria* in the reign of *Theodoſius*, the former wrote a general deſcription of the earth, a treatiſe on the rivers of *Lydia*, and ſome other books on different ſubjects (90). *Theo*, or *Theon*, belonged to the muſeum, ſays *Suidas* (21); that is, to the ſociety of learned men, who compoſed the academy of *Alexandria*. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the *Nile*, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, aſtrology, on *Ptolemy*'s canon, and on other ſubjects (92). *Dodwell* publiſhed a fragment of *Theo* of *Alexandria* on *Ptolemy*'s canon, with a book of *faſti*, which he ſuppoſes to have been done by the ſame writer (93).

(80) *Eunap. c.* 8. p. 82, 102, 103. *Phot. c.* 77. p. 169. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 17. p 296 — 299. (81) *Eunap c.* 21. p 144. (82) *Phot. ibid Eunap* p. 71. (83) *Phot ibid.* (84) *Suid* p. 1090, 2237. (85) *Voſſ hiſt. Græc. l* ii *c.* 18. p. 252 (86) *Phot c* 98. p 272. (87) *Phot ibid. Suid* p. 1515. (88 *Phot.* p 100, 172. (89 *Vide Jonſ l* iii *c* 17. p 298. (90) *Suid.* p 424. & p. 1307. (91) *Idem, ibid* (92) *Idem, ibid.* & *Jonſ. l.* 3. *c* 2. p. 219. (93) *Append ad Cypr. diſſ* p. 1, 10, 98, 100.

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